# Governing Olympic Education in Beijing Primary Schools

**Honglu Zhang**

A thesis submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Education, The University of Auckland, 2021.

# Abstract

Olympic education has been enacted in multiple countries, but has received scant attention in the research literature. The existing studies on Olympic education are limited and tend to be descriptive, rather than analytical or even critical. Going beyond the dominant research foci on the effectiveness, practices and outcomes of Olympic education, this thesis critically explores the implementation of Olympic education as a requirement for winning the bid for the 2022 Olympic and Paralympic Winter Games in China. Specifically, it draws on the Foucauldian notion of governmentality to examine the rationalities and technologies that schools and stakeholders employ in their conduct of Olympic education, as well as the impact Olympic education has on students' and teachers' subjectivities.

The study itself is a critical ethnography of two primary schools in Beijing, China. My evidence was gathered from a range of sources: observations within and outside of the classrooms; note taking; conversations with school personnel and external providers; and documentary evidence, such as the government policy announcements, school websites, and media releases. The evidence was analysed via a Foucauldian-style discourse analysis, where I critically examined the rationalities, technologies, and subjects of government.

The findings suggest that the Chinese government employed two key technologies to achieve its ambition of improving China's international profile through Olympic education: policy announcements and outsourcing. Private stakeholders, such as winter sports equipment companies, adopted the technologies of floor winter sports equipment and expertise to achieve their profit-making aims. These technologies indicated the dominance of a hybrid socialist-neoliberal rationality of Chinese government, which contains authoritarian and neoliberal ideas and strategies. In contrast to prior studies, which tended to portray schools, students, and teachers as disinterested participants in Olympic education, my ethnographic research illuminates how schools considered Olympic education to be a type of performance whereby they employed certain technologies for self-promotion in the public education system. Similarly, students and teachers both exercised power within the discursive practices and technologies of Olympic education to actualise their own personal ambitions.

Overall, I argue that Olympic education is a technology for disparate stakeholders and individuals to achieve their governmental aims, and call for a rethinking of what Olympic

education – and Olympic education research – is, or could be. Olympic education is not simply a neutral educational programme, nor one that necessarily promotes Olympic values. Rather, it serves as a promotional programme within which actors pursue their self-interest, and where students' and teachers' subjectivities are shaped in (un)predictable ways.

## Acknowledgements

Writing this dissertation has had an enormous impact on me. The past four years have been a period of intensive growth, both academically and personally, and I would not have made it without the help and support from all my supervisors, peers, family and friends. Thank you to all the children and teachers who agreed to be part of this study for sharing your doubts, dreams, secrets, and for showing me a young world.

I would like to thank Associate Professor Alan Ovens, for his immense knowledge, motivation and patience. Thanks so much for showing me some Kiwi lifestyle (Kayak and BBQ). Dr Darren Powell - thank you for challenging me to be my best self, and supporting me unflinchingly. I appreciate your constructive feedback and intellectual support. And how could I forget - my previous supervisor Professor Richard Pringle, for making it possible for me to study at the University of Auckland and "abandoning" me soon afterward.

Thanks also to my 'third supervisors': Dr Liyun Wendy Choo, Dr Lucen Liu, Dr Katie Gormley, Dr Pengfei Zhao, Dr Yujiao Qiao, and my friend Brook. Thanks for reading my 'disgusting' writing, polishing my ideas, and enhancing my language. You helped keep my spirits high, and supported me every time I wanted to give up. I would not have made it without you.

To faculty staff Professor Toni Bruce who have encouraged me to keep on writing, provided valuable writing skills, and taught me to make decisions by myself. To Dr Rod Philpot who inspired me to be hardworking.

To Anh, Cheng Xiaolong, Cui, Deng Cheng, Jiani, Joshua, Lan, Li Yanping, Moe, Neera, Xiong Wen, Yang Tian, Yang Yan, Yue, Viviana and all my friends and fellow students - thank you for staying with me, sharing gossip, inspiring me to be creative, making me jealous of publications, and reminding me to be a woman!

Finally, but most importantly; to my parents who bore me, raised me, supported me, taught me and loved me - thank you. Words are not enough. I hope you will be proud when I finally start a job with a salary!

In the spirit of Foucault's critique of universal truth, I would like to begin with a warning: "Everything in this thesis may be all wrong, but if so, it is alright!"

# Table of contents

# List of figures

# List of tables

# Chapter one: Introduction

> *This is my first day at Mountain School. Everyone is excited to share with me their Olympic education experience. They mention so many activities: Writing letters to Olympians, designing their own Olympic mascots, making Olympic-themed stamps, and participating in ice hockey competitions. They also seem very proud of the Olympic decorations placed around their campus. I am overloaded with tons of information. These activities are different from my assumptions of Olympic education. I thought Olympic education activities were supposed to promote Olympism. Today's experience challenged me in many ways, though, I am not sure which specific ways yet.*
>
> *[FN 06/09/2018]*

On 6 September 2018, I started my data collection at one of the schools that agreed to participate in this study. I had assumed that Olympic education would be connected to Olympism[1], such as its values of excellence, friendship and respect. However, as I was about to find out, this was not really the case. The gap between theory and reality inspired me to distinguish between the two terms *Olympism education* and *Olympic education*. I employed the latter for this thesis because it captured more activities than Olympism, and it is the official term used by the International Olympic Committee (IOC) and my participating schools. To help me understand this complex phenomenon of Olympic education, I conducted a critical ethnography of two primary schools in Beijing, China, and drew on the Foucauldian concept of governmentality to explore the conduct of Olympic education at two Chinese schools, with a particular interest in examining various stakeholders' motivations and practices. I also examined students' and teachers' embodied experiences of Olympic education, especially in respect to the formation of their subjectivities.

In this introductory chapter, I highlight the importance of Olympic education by outlining the influential role the Olympic Games play in world politics and in China. I then discuss the lack of research in Olympic education despite its prevalence to rationalise my investigation, before outlining the limitations in the existing literature. In the third section, I introduce my use of critical ethnography and the theory of governmentality that underpins this

[1] Olympism is the philosophy of the Modern Olympics, and refers to fundamental principles and values, such as equality. Since Olympism closely connects to ethical and positive values, in this thesis, I interchangeably use Olympic values, and Olympic principles to refer to Olympism.

research, especially its role in supporting my understanding of Chinese students' and teachers' engagement and responses to Olympic education. Finally, I give an overview of my thesis.

## Why research the Olympics?

According to Lenskyj (2000), the modern Olympics are the great Circus Maximus of planet earth[2]. Pierre de Coubertin revived the ancient Olympic Games to create a modern international sports extravaganza in Athens in 1896 and, in the last three decades, the Olympics have dramatically expanded its size and scope (Chappelet, 2014; Guttmann, 2002; Hu, 2011; Ren, 2005; Zhu, 2007). In fact, this "invented tradition" (Hobsbawn, 1983, p. 303) of the late ninetieth and twentieth centuries has become a "leading contemporary global mega-event" (Roche, 2000, p. 99). For example, the number of sport events offered has climbed, especially winter sports, with 57 events in the 1992 Winter Olympics compared to 98 events in 2014 Olympics; and participating nations have also increased from a meagre 14 nations and 241 participants in the first Olympics held in 1896 to 207 countries and 11,238 athletes in 2016 (International Olympic Committee (IOC), n.d.). As the scope of the Olympics has grown, so has their influence on world politics.

The Olympics have also grown from a quadrennial festival to a stage for "sport for all campaigns" (Toohey & Veal, 2007, p. 7). Those interested in the stage the Olympics offer include state actors attempting to outmanoeuvre other countries as well as non-state actors with varied political and commercial agendas such as civil rights activists and corporations (Real, 2010; Zhu, 2007). The protest between the USA and the Soviet Union[3] at the 1980 Olympics and 1984 Olympics is an example of the politicisation of the Olympics. The American team boycotted the 1980 Olympics in Moscow and the Soviet Union and its allies later on boycotted the 1980 Olympics in Los Angeles (Zhu, 2007). Given that the Olympics also include many opportunities to bolster tourism, urban renewal, and the country's image (Toohey & Veal, 2007), it has also attracted many countries to host the Olympics, including China.

When China hosted the 2008 Olympics, I was in my last year of high school, preparing for the National Entrance Exam. We focused a lot on academic study and usually did not attend any extracurricular activities. However, our school did organise several activities for the

[2] Circus Maximus is an ancient Roman chariot-racing stadium. The metaphor here informs the importance of the Olympics.
[3] The Soviet Union and the USA were two opposite ideologies in what was known as the Cold War (1947-1989).

Olympics. They hung Olympic banners with slogans, set up a countdown clock, played Olympic-related news via the school radio broadcast, and provided students an opportunity to watch the opening ceremony. My classroom teacher also frequently reminded us to remember how great our nation was and will be. No single day went by without activities or comments related to the Beijing Olympics. This was when I realised the important meanings the Olympics have in China.

The Chinese government and Chinese citizens consider the Olympics a critical platform to present a positive image of the country and promote its international reputation (Luo & Huang, 2013; Xu & Jing, 2000). Not too long ago, China was known as the 'patient of East Asia' because of the deluge of opium. This is a title the Chinese government wants to get rid of and sport, including the Olympics, provides an avenue to do so (Fu, 2008). The Olympics are a way to shift negative perceptions and showcase national excellence. Therefore, in China, three questions related to the Olympics are particularly important: When can the Chinese participate in the Olympics? When can Chinese get the first gold medal? And when can China host the Olympics? The first time China participated in the Olympics was in 1928 in Amsterdam. Only one person, identified as Song Ruhai, observed the events and no one actually competed in the events due to insufficient preparation (Ren, 2005). China participated in the subsequent 1932, 1936 and 1948 Summer Olympics[4], but no one got into the finals until the 1984 Los Angeles Olympics when China attained its first gold medal. After that success, the government and the public saw the Olympics as providing an important signal of national rejuvenation (Caffrey, 2013). With such a hope, China bid twice for the Summer Olympics, hosted the 2008 Summer Olympics and 2015 Youth Olympics, and will be hosting the 2022 Winter Olympics.

Thus, the Olympics, as a mega global sporting event, not only showcases the hosting countries, it also occupies an important position in world and national politics in both positive and negative ways[5]. After a slow start China has increasingly sought to take a leading role in the Olympics, in terms of the attention brought with hosting the event and associating with the

[4] China refused to attend the Olympics from 1952 to 1979 because of the two representatives of China: Mainland China and Taiwan (Guttmann, 2002). Until 1979, the International Olympic Committee changed Taiwan's National Olympic Committee name to Chinese Taipei Olympic Committee.

[5] This is not to say that the Olympics is perfect. On the contrary, there are also many critiques around the Olympics. As Hoberman (1986) commented, the critique of the Olympics "is as old as the movement itself" (p. 81), such as issues of doping, cheating and bribery (see Boyes, 2001; Jennings, 1996; Lucas, 1992; Mason et al., 2006; Wenn, & Martyn, 2006).

success of its competitive athletes. It would be fair to say this influence also extends to Olympics-related activities such as Olympic education.

## Why research Olympic education?

The extension of the Olympics into education began with the 1964 Tokyo Olympics (Masumoto, 2012; Ru, 2008). Thereafter, Olympic education occasionally appeared in subsequent Olympics. Since the 2002 Winter Olympics, Olympic education has been formalised to become a requirement for bidding cities (Lenskyj, 2012; Naul, 2014). The 2022 Olympics are no exception (IOC, 2015). To date, Olympic education has been conducted in more than 80 countries worldwide (Georgiadis, 2010), including places which have not hosted the Olympics, such as Poland (Bronikowski& Bronikowska, 2014), Mongolia (Li, 2012), Colombia, Czech Republic (Naul et al., 2017; Rychtecky & Dovalil, 2007), Estonia (Kaibald, 2013), Taiwan (Chen, 2012; Hsu & Kohe, 2015), Lithuania (Motiejunaite, 2016), and New Zealand (Culpan, 2017a). The programme has been conducted in the formal education systems, sporting and social institutions, universities, and camps (Georgiadis, 2010, 2011; Mountakis, 2016).

Schools have always been seen as the place to implement Olympic education. When the Olympics started to connect with education in the 1964 Tokyo Olympics, it was conducted in schools (Ru, 2008). Four versions of the Olympic Readers were published and distributed to all primary and secondary school students in Japan during 1962 to 1964 (Ru, 2008). Thereafter schools became a norm for the implementation of the programme worldwide. The Olympic education programmes for the 1992 Barcelona Olympics (Monnin, 2012), the 2004 Greek Olympics (Makris & Georgiadis, 2017), the 2008 Beijing Olympics (Brownell, 2009; Liu, 2012; Wang & Masumoto, 2009), the 2012 Olympics (Tims, 2017), and the 2016 Brazilian Olympics (Knijnik & Tavares, 2012) were all implemented in schools, though they were not always for the same student level. Georgiadis (2010) further identified the different student levels for the programme. He conducted a questionnaire with 92 officials and directors of Olympic education institutions from 70 countries and areas, and concluded that Olympic education was implemented across all education tiers in some countries, such as New Zealand, while European countries mainly chose primary and secondary education.

In line with past trends, China also conducted its Olympic education in primary and secondary schools. China implemented Olympic education in 2002 in schools to support its bid

for the 2008 Beijing Olympics (Brownell, 2009; Wang & Masumoto, 2009; Wang, 2001). The government delivered numerous plans[6], such as the *Olympic Education Action Plan for Beijing Schools* (Beijing Olympic Education Office, 2005; Brownell, 2009; Wang & Masumoto, 2009). Many schools were involved in these plans and those that put great effort into Olympic education were designated *Olympic education model schools*[7]. There were 200 model schools in Beijing and 356 model schools in other parts of China by 2008 (Wang & Masumoto, 2009). Brownell (2009) noted that the 2008 Beijing Olympic education was "the largest" (p. 44) Olympic education programme ever delivered.

The new Olympic education programme for the 2022 Olympics in China is likely to be another "largest". Indeed, the Chinese government has already issued a series of policies to promote Olympic education for the 2022 Olympics (see Chapter five for the policy announcements). It seems likely that the 2022 Olympic education will be conducted for more schools and students than the 2008 Olympic education. According to *The Olympic Education Plan for Primary and Secondary School Students in Beijing 2022 Winter Olympics and Paralympics,* there will be 700 Olympic education model schools across the country, with 200 in Beijing, 200 in Heibei province, and 10 in other parts of China (MoE et al., 2018). This suggests that Olympic education will exert extensive influence on students in China.

**Problematizing the existing knowledge**

The Olympics have provided vast amount of research opportunities for scholars in fields such as exercise science (e.g., Koning, 2010; Wasserman, 2008), sociology (e.g., Lee, 1992; Markula, 2009; Smith & Westerbeek, 2007; Zhang & Zhao, 2009; Zhao, 2005), sport politics (Grix, 2013; Hoberman, 1986; Horne & Whannel, 2010; Hulme, 1990; Xu, 2007), cultural influences (Mangan & Dyreson, 2013), sports media (e.g., Bruce et al., 2010), and economics (e.g., Baade & Matheson, 2016; Blake, 2005; French & Disher, 1997; Hall, 1987; Hotchkiss et al., 2003; Kasimati, 2003; Madden, 2002, 2007; Preuss et al., 2008; Ritchie & Aitken, 1984; Rose & Spiegel, 2011; Zeng & Liu, 2007). However, *Olympic education*, as a research topic, has received little attention.

[6] These plans include: The 2001-2010 National Health Plan Outline, the 2001-2010 Olympic Movement Promotional Plan, Olympic Education Action Plan of for Beijing Schools, Beijing 2008 Primary and Secondary School Olympic Education Programme, and the 11th 5-year Educational Plan (2006-2010) (Brownell, 2009; Wang & Masumoto, 2009).

[7] China has different types of model schools, such as football model school and basketball model school. The model school means that the school is excellent in the relevant filed.

The first appearance of the concept in academic research was during the 1970s, with the work of the German academic Norbert Muller (Georgiadis, 2010; Monnin, 2012; Muller, 2004). Hwang (2018) reported that prior to 2017, only 27 journal articles (written in English and longer than five pages) on Olympic education have been published. Zhang (2008) specifically examined the number of Olympic education research in China via CNKI[8], including articles, journals, conference papers and theses, and found only two master theses and no doctoral theses. She concluded that Olympic education only caught scholars' attention in China after 2004. Her conclusion resonates with Lenskyj's (2012) comment that "few Olympic scholars examine education, and few education scholars are aware of Olympic education at all" (p. 271).

The Olympic education literature is not only limited in terms of quantity, but also a lack of diverse research topics or foci. A number of scholars have focused on describing the values and debates around Olympism (see Chatziefstathiou & Muller, 2014; Cui et al., 2009; McCone, 2016; Thorn, 2010), while others centre on specific Olympic-related activities, such as Olympic-themed writing or learning Olympic songs (Dou, 2004; Guo, 2009, 2010; Liu, 2012; Mao, 2015; Song, 2008; Zhang, 2008). While this literature provides a valuable description of what constitutes Olympic education in different contexts and moments of time, I became curious to investigate how and why Olympic education is actualised differently in different contexts.

I also came to realise that many different stakeholders are involved in the implementation of Olympic education programmes, including the state government, private companies, corporations, individuals, and Olympic system organisations (Georgiadis, 2010). As Olympic education is an International Olympic Committee (IOC) requirement for the host cities, I did not expect the involvement of such a large variety of stakeholders, and wondered about their motivations. Given the current research gaps, and the state-led socialist context in China, I thought it would be particularly worthwhile to explore how private stakeholders engage in Olympic education in Chinese schools and the interests that drove them to do so.

Moreover, existing research into the application of Olympic education programmes tends to focus primarily on the benefits of Olympic education, such as increasing students' participation in sports (e.g., Georgiadis, 2010; Grammatikopoulos et al., 2005; Hassandra et

[8] A commonly used database in China.

al., 2007; Naul et al., 2017; Sukys et al., 2017), and are mostly surface-level studies that describe how Olympic education is implemented in schools (Chen & Henry, 2017). Indeed, Hwang and Henry (2021) conducted a meta-narrative review of the English language literature on Olympic education and found that one research tradition of the extant research is the analysis of effectiveness of Olympic education. These types of 'strengths-focused' and descriptive, rather than critical research were particularly obvious with studies that examined the 2008 Olympic education programme in China (see Zhou, 2011; Zhang, 2008; Song, 2008). Rather, research that questions and provides critiques of Olympic education appear to be mostly absent (Lenskyj, 2012). This absence of critical scholarship begs the question: What disadvantages and negative consequences might be hidden behind this largely positive veneer, and to what extent do the motives of stakeholders backing them influence the development of these education programmes? These questions are vital to understand the governance of school-based Olympic education, and students' self-governance in Olympic education.

In this thesis, I challenge this well-built, somewhat unquestionably positive, image of Olympic education from the management perspective by revealing the hidden effects of these programmes as well as the exposing the 'real' intentions of the stakeholders backing them. I argue that different stakeholders had different rationalities for their involvement in Olympic education, and these rationalities shaped how schools conducted Olympic education, and how children and adults in the schools understood these activities. Having said that, it is important to also state that, while this thesis is a critical examination of Olympic education in two Chinese primary schools, it is not an attempt to claim that Olympic education is inherently 'good' or 'bad'. Rather, I argue that critical scholarship can contribute to deeper understandings of Olympic education.

Considering that Olympic education is an increasingly pervasive yet relatively unexplored phenomenon, I formulated three interrelated research questions that informed this study:

1) How do different organisations and actors involve themselves in school-based Olympic education, and what motivates them to do so?

2) How do schools conduct Olympic education?

3) How do children and adults in schools understand and experience Olympic education?

## Towards a research approach

To answer these questions, I employed a critical ethnographic approach (see Chapter four for a detailed discussion of the thesis methodology). Critical ethnography helps researchers investigate the intentions of different stakeholders and actors, and the actual translation of those intentions into reality. As Powell (2015) noted, critical ethnography is a way to scrutinise "the rhetoric, rationales and proposed technologies of those with governmental ambitions; and what actually happened when the authorities and their plans to govern met their intended targets" (p. 54). In this respect, such an approach not only enables me to collect evidence from a variety of sources, but also allows me to compare the differences between the intentions and actual execution or implementation of plans at the two schools.

By spending an extensive amount of time in schools, ethnographic methods enabled me to provide rich, in-depth textual descriptions of cultural performances, like Olympic education (Creswell, 2007; Fitzpatrick, 2010; Gratton & Jones, 2010; Jones et al., 2012; Markula & Silk, 2011). I immersed myself in two primary schools in Beijing for one semester (about four months): Spending time in the schools, building relationships with participants, talking to various people (teachers, students, principal and external providers), observing classes, journaling, and collecting documents. By employing a number of traditional ethnographic methods, I was able to collect evidence about everyday practices that occurred in the schools and the lived experiences of students, teachers, principals, and other relevant personnel.

I employ Foucault's notion of governmentality as the analytical framework. As Girginov (2016) argued, Olympic education deserves analysis through governmentality and qualitative research because it would produce richer and more reliable explanation of the mechanisms of the programme. Yet, governmentality as a framework has not been used to research episodic mega-events such as the Olympics, nor for Olympic education (Kromidha et al., 2017). Foucault defined governmentality as "the conduct of conduct ... a form of activity aiming to shape, guide or affect the conduct of some person or persons" (Gordon, 1991, p. 2). In other words, governmentality, as a neologism, combines "the idea of government, or the power to direct conduct, with the idea of a peculiar mentality with which the activity of government as been approached in modern times" (Allen, 1998, p. 179). In this way, it can provide a deeper understanding of how related stakeholders govern Olympic education at the school level, how schools govern themselves, and how teachers' and students' 'conduct is conducted' in order to create certain types of subjects. Additionally, scant attention has been

given to the everyday social lives of people who live in Olympic cities to examine how disciplinary power, biopower, and governmental power are put into practice (Chong, 2012). By employing Foucault's notion of governmentality as the analytical framework for this study, I seek to understand the relationships between Olympic education and a variety of stakeholders and actors, including the Chinese government, private companies, universities, schools, politicians, scholars, teachers, and children.

## Thesis overview

In order to clarify the argument of this thesis, I now briefly outline its structure.

In **Chapter Two**, I provide a review of the academic literature related to my research topic. I begin by introducing the concept of Olympism and its connection with Olympic education, followed by reviewing practices of Olympic education internationally and in China to show the gap between the policy intent of Olympic education and its actual practices. I argue that because these descriptive studies presupposed the value of Olympic education, they tended to focus on its perceived benefits with few studies questioning or taking an opposite position in respect to its value. Through the review, I further contend that Olympic education is a complex, yet unexplored phenomenon that is important to critically and empirically investigate. I end the chapter with a review of the political environment in China and highlight how neoliberalism and authoritarianism may cohere to influence the implementation of Olympic education in China.

**Chapter Three** discusses the theoretical framework that underpinned this research. Specifically, it details key theoretical ideas I drew from Foucault and post-Foucauldian scholars, with a focus on the notion of *governmentality* and its related concepts of rationalities, technologies and subjects. I argue that although there have been a growth in governmentality studies in non-Western contexts and China is one of the most productive sites of this scholarship, the Olympics as well as the implementation of Olympic education programmes in schools have received little attention. Overall, I argue that governmentality provides a useful analytical tool for exploring the implementation of Olympic education because it allows me to investigate both policies (i.e., thought) and practices (i.e., actualised techniques).

**Chapter Four** describes my ethnographic research procedures, where I immersed myself in two schools in Beijing to collect data over one semester. I also discuss my data analysis and writing up process. Overall, I argue that critical ethnography, which exposes

power relationships through in-depth involvement in a research setting, is particularly suited for this study that investigated the different rationales, technologies and subjects involved in Olympic education in two Chinese schools.

**Chapters Five, Six, and Seven** present key findings of the study. Specifically, **Chapter Five** examines the *rationalities and technologies* employed by the Chinese government and equipment companies to govern how schools conducted Olympic education. The findings challenge the stereotype of government-centralised sports management in China, and suggest that a hybrid rationality was employed to govern Olympic education. **Chapter Six** discusses how schools conducted Olympic education to benefit themselves by introducing five *technologies* that schools employed in Olympic education. The findings suggest that what existed in schools is not an educational programme, but a school promotion project. **Chapter Seven** shows how children and adults in the schools felt and understood about these Olympic education activities. In this chapter, Foucault's concept of technology of the self is highlighted through the presentation of students' and teachers' resistances and calculated choices towards these activities. I contend that the actions of school personnel and students were not exclusively determined by the power of outsiders; instead, they played an active role in constructing their subjectivities in Olympic education.

Finally, **Chapter Eight** concludes this thesis with a discussion of the implications and contributions of the empirical findings, as well as my reflections. I highlight new understandings and perspectives that arise from the theoretical application of the governmentality to Olympic education in contemporary China. I also offer a different understanding of Olympic education, and the potential dangers it posed in schools.

# Chapter two: Review of literature

The modern Olympics, as one of the greatest international sports events, are well known to have sporting, political and economic impact, both nationally and globally. However, its educational value, as one distinctive character, has received little attention. This is not surprising since other aspects of the Olympics, such as political agendas, medal counts, and moments of fair play or cheating, are more attractive to audiences than educational and cultural activities (Yu & Ni, 2012). My thesis focuses on these less *attractive* (and less obvious and controversial) educational activities, as manifested in Olympic education. I was curious about how the Olympics are positioned as an educational practice, and how Olympic education programmes are actualised in schools.

In this chapter, I critically examine a range of literature that explores Olympic education, focusing on three questions: What is Olympic education; who is involved in its implementation, and how has it been researched? To address these three questions, this chapter is divided into four inter-linked sections. The first section introduces the nature of Olympism and its key role in the Olympics and Olympic education movements to provide the background context to what Olympic education is 'supposed to be'. The second section presents some practices of Olympic education in schools, which indicates a gap between the official claim of Olympism-based programme and what actually happens in practice. The third section critically examines current empirical research to show the tendency of researchers to focus on the benefits of Olympic education, which points to a need to move towards more critical Olympic education research. In the last section, I pay particular attention to the political environment in China and highlight how neoliberalism and authoritarianism may cohere to influence the implementation of Olympic education in China.

## From Olympism to Olympic education

Inspired by the spectacle and values of the ancient Olympic Games, the Olympics originated in Ancient Greece. French educator and historian Pierre de Coubertin founded the International Olympic Committee (IOC) in 1894 and hosted the first Olympics in 1896. Coubertin had strong beliefs about the relationship between sports and education (Hoberman, 1986; MacAloon, 1981; Naul, 2008). One of his key rationales for reviving the Games was to provide a platform for young people to demonstrate their education through sport, in the spirit of the Olympic ideals (MacAloon, 1981; Girginov & Parry, 2005; Naul, 2008). He dreamed of an educational

movement that he called Olympism (Chatziefstathiou, 2012). For Coubertin, Olympism was "a philosophy of social reform that emphasises the role of sport in world development, international understanding, peaceful co-existence, and social and moral education" (Girginov, 2010, p. 9).

The educational role of Olympism has been re-claimed by the IOC. Reading the 1908 to 2020 Olympic Charters[9] (see Olympic library to retrieve the Charters), I identified two descriptions about Olympism. The Olympic Charters prior to 1991 tended to focus on Olympism as a set of positive and ethical values. Taking the 1978 version as an example, the aim of Olympism was:

> To promote the development of those physical and moral qualities which are the basis of sport; to educate young people through sport in a spirit of better understanding between each other and of **friendship**, thereby helping to build a better and more **peaceful world**; to spread the **Olympic principles** through the world thereby creating **international goodwill**; to bring together the athletes of the world in a great four-yearly festival of sport. (p. 4, bold added)

Indeed, as Parry (2007) argued, "Olympism has been the most coherent systematisation of the ethical and political values underlying the practice of sport so far to have emerged" (p. 214). Although the term's description has changed since the 1991 Olympic Charter, its educational essence has not. The most recent edition of the Olympic Charter (2020) 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 of effort**, the educational value of good example, **social responsibility** and **respect** for universal fundamental ethical principles. (p. 11, bold added)

It is interesting to note that, in contrasting the two editions of the Olympic Charters, the specific principles are different. As shown in the bolded text in each extract above, the prior Charter had four principles: Friendship, peace, Olympic principles, and international good will. While the latter had different principles, such as respect. Even though these principles differ from

[9] Olympic Charter is a set of rules and guidelines for the organisation of the Olympic Games.

each other in the two Charters, one commonality is that they both aimed to highlight the educational essence of Olympism.

A common point of discussion among scholars is the different educational values of Olympism (see Binder, 2005; Muller, 2004; Naul, 2008; Damkjær, 2004; Peneva, 2009; Wassong, 2006). Scholars have argued that Olympism can reinforce moral character (Binder, 2001; Knijnik & Tavares, 2012; Nual, 2008; Parry, 2007; Cui et al., 2007); transcend cultural boundaries (Culpan et al., 2011); improve people's lifestyles (Wang, 2017); increase sports participation; improve internationalism (Cui et al., 2007), cultivate patriotism (Brownell, 2009) increase physical and intellectual ability, develop interpersonal culture, and highlight the importance of human values in society (Abbasova, 2012). Despite the fact that Olympism is "the most coherent educative explanation of sport to have emerged over the last 100 years" (Bennett & Culpan, 2014, p. 10), its reach among the wider population is limited:

> For most people, the word 'Olympic' will conjure up images of the Olympic Games, either ancient or modern. The focus of their interest will be a two-week festival of sport held once every four years among elite athletes representing their countries or city-states in inter-communal competition ... Fewer, however, will have heard of Olympism. (Girginov & Parry, 2005, pp. 1-2)

In addition, scholars have called into question the educational value of Olympism. Pringle (2012) stated that contrary to the peace claims of Olympism, the Olympics have created a highly visible space for acts of protest, political disruption, and violence. Going through historical Olympic facts, such as the American and Soviet boycotts in 1980 and 1984 and the terrorist attacks in Munich 1976, Brown (2012) evidenced the superficial role that Olympism played in the Olympic Games. Clearly, there are tensions between the claims of Olympism and the values reflected through actual practices at the Olympics. In these ways, Olympism is not merely a benign educational philosophy, and Olympism-based values educational programmes maybe be problematic.

Rather, Olympism needs to be understood in the context of the Olympic Games. Various Olympic issues, such as corruption, commercialism, drug use and gender discrimination, seem to play a role in the IOC's entanglement with Olympism. For instance, the commercialisation of the Olympics can be connected to the 1920s, where there was the marked rising consumer demand for sports goods and equipment and companies began to use athletes and sport events to market their products to a global audience. Smart (2018) traced the

growing involvement of commercial corporations in the Olympics since 1896 and contended that the 1984 Olympics Games marked "the first avowedly market-oriented Games" (Smart, 2018, p. 244). This is because Los Angeles Olympics "represented a paradigm change insofar as they were privately organized, with substantial revenue coming from the international sale of television broadening rights and corporate sponsorship, and, run in a business-like manner" (p. 244). The Los Angeles Games reframed the Olympics as a commercial product and prime commodity for the global media, and contributed to the commercialization of the IOC and the Games.

As consumerism and commercialism transformed sport into a global business, the "Olympics have become festivals of consumption" (Smart, 2018, p. 243). Siljak and Djurovic (2017) described the Olympic Games as "the biggest global spectacle" which "have become one of the best sports market products" (p. 45). The commercialization of the Olympic Games has created problems for the IOC in terms of its claims to promote Olympism; some of the ideals of Olympism are incompatible with the financial imperatives, commercial ethos and culture of consumption integral to the Olympic Games (Smart, 2018). Smart further highlighted complaints from critics who lamented that the Olympics are more about money and reproducing wealth and consumption than sports. However, the IOC justifies its embrace of commercialism by claiming that commercial support is not only critical to staging the Games successfully, but also to promoting Olympism (Maguire et al., 2010).

The evolution of Olympism has been in response to diverse challenges (Breukelen, 2018; Chatizefstathiou, 2012). As Breukelen (2018) argued, Olympism is now used as a way to demonstrate the IOC's corporate social responsibility to address a diverse range of economic and social issues. The IOC further reproduces the Olympics as a unique sporting event on the basis that there are no other sport events that promote a particular philosophy or publish manifesto (Toohey & Veal, 2007). Also, promoting a philosophy rather than a product provides the International Olympic Committee with an effective marketing technique to sell their corporate identity, restore the tarnished "mystique of the Olympic movement" (p. 49), and commodify their social conscience (Magdalinski et al., 2005). Indeed, the principles of Olympism have become "key dimensions of brand knowledge" (Keller, 2003, p. 596) and are at the core of the Olympics brand (Kaibald, 2013). These principles and positive values of Olympism have helped the Olympics and IOC to divert attention away from negative, potentially economically-damaging, issues. Maguire et al. (2008) argued that the overriding interest of the IOC in promoting Olympism is to "build markets, construct brand awareness

and create local globalized consumers and identities" for their corporate paymasters (p. 168). Thus, Olympism is better understood as a dual ideology- marketing strategy for the IOC to romanticize (and profit from) the Olympic/Olympism brands.

The commercial values of Olympism again challenges the educational claim of Olympism and its values-based programme. Sandel (1998) argued that extension of markets and market-oriented thinking to different spheres of life, including education, may create injustice "when people buy or sell things under condition of severe inequality or dire economic necessity" (p. 94). Additionally, moral and civic good, such as Olympism, can be corrupted when bought or sold for money. It is in such a context that we must understand Olympism-based programmes (i.e., Olympic education) as more than educational programmes.

**The intent of Olympic education: Olympism?**

Olympic education first appeared in academic research in the 1970s, with the work of the German academic Norbert Muller (Georgiadis, 2010; Monnin, 2012; Muller, 2004). Since the 2002 Winter Olympics, Olympic education has been formalised to become a requirement for bidding cities (Lenskyj, 2012; Naul, 2014). According to the host city contract operational requirements (IOC, 2016), every organising committee for the Olympics should organise and distribute "inspiring Olympic and Paralympic education programmes to schools and colleges throughout the Host Country" (p. 46). However, as stated by Liu (2012), "there is no single, unified definition of Olympic education" (p. 2). Given this, the following section reviews the nature of Olympic education in order to provide some clarity about Olympic education programme.

Officially, the essence of Olympic education is to promote Olympism. Although there are no official documents that clearly define the content of Olympic education, the International Olympic Committee (IOC) has the expectation that Olympism is the focus of Olympic education. To emphasise the desired focus on Olympism-based education, in 2005, the IOC designed a toolkit entitled 'Teaching Values: An Olympic Education Toolkit' to support the implementation of Olympic education (IOC, 2017). The toolkit suggested that Olympic education is targeted at the teaching of Olympism and through sports, students can experience life values, such as excellence, respect, and friendship (IOC, n.d.). In their latest governing document *The Agenda 2020*, IOC offered 40 recommendations to reform the Olympics. The 22$^{nd}$ focused on Olympic values-based education, with three specific points for action. These were:

1. The IOC to strengthen its partnership with UNESCO[10] to include sport and its values in school curricula worldwide.

2. The IOC to devise an electronic platform to share Olympic values-based education programmes of different NOCs and other organisations.

3. The IOC to identify and support initiatives that can help spread the Olympic values.

(IOC, 2014, p. 18)

Many scholars agreed the close connection between Olympic education and Olympism (e.g., Bartle, 2015; Binder, 2001, 2003, 2005, 2012; Chatziefstathiou, 2005, 2012; Chatziefstathiou & Muller, 2014; Culpan, 2008; Damkjær, 2004; Muller, 2000, 2004, 2008; Naul, 2008). In fact, Olympic education is the most commonly used term when talking about activities that aim to promote Olympism and relevant values (Cerezuela, 2011; Rezende, 2008), though scholars differed on the specific aspects of Olympism that Olympic education should promote. Chatziefstathiou (2012) concurred that despite ambiguity surrounding the definition and content of Olympic education, Olympic education is typically assumed to be about Olympism. Regardless of their differences, these scholars all supported the firm connection between Olympism and Olympic education, and agreed that Olympic education is about Olympism-driven values-based education. As shown in the below four claims:

- Olympic education should promote the five educational themes, fair play, equal opportunity, amateurism, international tolerance, and the harmonious development of the whole human being. (Muller, 2004)
- Olympic education should promote mass participation, sport as education, sportsmanship, cultural exchange, international understanding, and excellence. (Kidd, 1996)
- Olympic education should teach body, mind and spirit, fair play, multiculturalism, the pursuit of excellence and the Olympic spirit. (Binder, 2005)
- Olympic education should have three timeless Olympic values of fairness, equality and ethical behaviour. (Damkjær, 2004)

[10] The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization.

In contrast to the assumption that Olympism education and Olympic education denote the same thing, there are some scholars (e.g., Culpan, 2008; McCone, 2016) explicitly used the term Olympism education to signify its focus on values-education. Through the examination of the IOC's official documents and resources, and academic claims, it is clear that in theory, Olympism-based education and Olympic education could denote the same thing.

However, for this study, I use the more conventional term 'Olympic education' for two reasons. Firstly, it is the term used in the official Chinese documents and relevant research. Secondly, it is a term that captures the broad definition of Olympic education in China. In line with other Chinese scholars, this thesis broadly defines Olympic education as any educational activities that are hosted during the Olympic period (see Liu, 2012; Pei, 2008a, 2008b, 2009). I chose to define Olympic education broadly because the different understandings surrounding the content of Olympic education suggest that it is a complex phenomenon not rigidly bounded by a unified definition or mandated curriculum. Therefore, rather than a priori limiting of Olympic education to Olympism-driven values education by defining it as Olympism education, I decided it more inclusive to keep an open mind about what counts as Olympic education in schools and how it is defined in schools. More importantly, a quick review of the actual practices of Olympic education in China also suggests that Olympic education is not just about promoting Olympism, as the next section will reveal.

## The practice of Olympic education in schools: Olympism education or Olympic education?

The first Olympic education programme appeared in the 1964 Tokyo Olympics (Ru, 2008). Thereafter, Olympic education occasionally appeared in subsequent Olympics. Since the 2002 Winter Olympics, Olympic education has been formalised to become a requirement for bidding cities (Lenskyj, 2012; Naul, 2014). This suggests that there should be an accompanying range of literature and information about the implementation of Olympic education. In reality, however, the lack of research on Olympic education programmes means that the knowledge base on its implementation is sporadic[11]. In this section, I review the Olympics education programmes that have been carried out in schools to show the gap between policy (i.e., what Olympic education is supposed to be about) and implementation (i.e., what Olympic education is actually about). Then I introduce the Olympic education programmes in China to highlight

[11] Because of the sporadic research on Olympic education programmes, there are year gaps between the different programmes reviewed in this section.

the gap. This gap indicates the need to explore rationales behind each activity of Olympic education in schools.

In contrast to the assumption that Olympic education is necessarily Olympism-driven values-based education, a review of the Olympic education programmes that had been implemented since 1964 indicates that Olympic education was actualised differently in different national settings and schools. Even in the same country, different Olympic education programmes are sometimes implemented. Thus, there is no stable and fixed Olympic education programme. For example, Canada enacted different Olympic education programmes for the 1976 Montreal Olympics and 1988 Calgary Olympics. In the 1976 Montreal Olympics, an educational programme named *promotion of Olympism in the school system* was launched to teach students Olympic-related knowledge (Geng et al., 2009). In this programme, university teachers and local teachers worked together to put Olympic knowledge and values into texts and pictures (Mao, 2015). In 1988, the Calgary Olympics Organising Committee developed another educational programme—*Come Together: The Olympics and You*, which aimed to spread knowledge of winter sports and foster children with community spirit (Liu, 2012). The education committee, again comprising teachers and university professors, distributed educational materials to all schools in Alberta to support their implementation of Olympic education (Binder, 2012).

Similarly, Japan hosted the Olympics three times (the 1964 Tokyo Olympics, the 1972 Sapporo Olympics, and the 1998 Nagano Olympics) and had different Olympic education programmes for each. In contrast to Canada's focus on community spirit, the Olympic education for the 1964 Olympics focused on the theme of peace (Masumoto, 2012). Instead of teaching knowledge on winter sports, the educational materials from the Japanese *National Olympic Movement* sought to enhance children's international attitudes, etiquette, understanding of the Olympics, and knowledge of Olympians. For the 1998 Nagano Olympics, Olympic knowledge textbooks and Olympic readers were distributed to all schools across Japan to promote internationalism. Students learned the histories and cultures of the assigned countries before the 1998 Olympics, and then visited the village to welcome athletes from the assigned countries (Masumoto, 2012). In contrast, the Olympic education programme for the 2020 Olympics[12] had different values and aims. Introduced in 2017, the Tokyo Olympic Organizing Committee launched a programme, called *Yoi Don!*, aimed to encourage children

[12] The 2020 Tokyo Olympics have been postponed due to the Covid-19.

to learn about the power of sports, understand diversity, develop global awareness, and participate actively all over the world (Kohe et al., 2021; Tokyo 2020, n.d.).

In comparison to values that attached in the above Olympic education programmes in Canada and Japan (e.g., the community spirit, peace, and internationalism, diversity, global awareness), Olympic education programme for the 2016 Rio Olympics—*The Second Half Programme*—aimed to achieve social inclusion and values education via sport, and required schools to provide two team sports and one individual sport for students (Kirakosyan, 2020; Knijnik & Tavares, 2012).

The examples above show that while Olympism often broadly provides the rationale for the Olympic educational programmes, there is considerable variation between programmes which seemed to reflect the national or state government's agenda. Each national setting seemed to choose values and aims relevant to their agenda as the basis of their Olympic Education Programmes.

In addition, these programmes seem to indicate an Olympic-related facts dissemination programme rather than an Olympism-based educational programme. It seems like most programmes would teach factual information around the Olympics (such as words, ideals phrases, mottos, symbols, goals, and aims), which Kohe (2010) called 'Olympic literacy'. Such a literacy teaching orientation also appeared in other countries. For the 2000 Sydney Olympics, the Sydney Olympic Organizing Committee and New South Wales Education Ministry designed an interactive package of learning materials to encourage students and teachers to learn factual information around the Olympics, such as stories of well-known athletes, and preparations for the 2000 Sydney Olympics (Toohey et al., 2000). Similarly, the Olympic education programme for the 2004 Greece Olympics also required students to learn the history of the Olympics (Grammatikopoulos et al., 2005; Kabitsis et al., 2002; Mountaki, 2016; Pittarokoilis, 2012). Although the specific content of the two Olympic education programmes was different, the essence of these programmes was about basic facts around the Olympics.

Naul (2008) called such an orientation a knowledge-oriented approach, which focuses on presenting information about the ancient and modern Games, such as the names and dates of previous Olympics. Despite the policy intent for Olympic education to focus on Olympism, this orientation towards the teaching of Olympic literacy is supported by several scholars (Brownell, 2007; Liu, 2012; Naul, 2008; Nordhagen & Fauske, 2018). Liu (2012) believed that "Olympic-related knowledge should first and foremost be addressed to" (p. 17). Huang (2010)

concurred, but he believed that Olympic literacies should be differentiated for students of different levels; for instance, primary school students should learn inspiring Olympic literacies, secondary school students should know more about negative issues around the Olympics, and university students should have a comprehensive understanding about the Olympics. Brownell (2007) further argued that Olympic knowledge should be the basic task of Olympic education in developing countries (such as China) where people had limited information about the Olympics in comparison to people from developed countries. Based on this situation, she asserted that teaching Olympic literacies could benefit developing countries to a certain degree, and such an approach might even benefit the Olympics. As for developed countries, Brownell (2007) suggested that Olympic education could attend to some of the more controversial and problematic aspects of the Olympics, such as doping and commercialisation.

Other scholars, however, critiqued this focus on Olympic literacies and the absence of Olympism in practice. Teetzel (2012) believed that the lack of Olympism challenged the educative and social values of Olympic education. Culpan and Wigmore (2010) contended that present Olympic education programmes overly focused on simplistic concepts, such as Olympic facts, figures and athlete performance, which are neither educational nor enduring. Instead, they advocated for a focus on Olympism.

The debate among scholars of Olympic education programmes revolves around their content and the changes required to make the programmes more educationally valuable, but few, if any, questioned the value of having them in the first place. It is important to question the worthiness of including such programmes in schools due to the educational possibilities of the Olympics. In the history of the Olympics, there have been a series of controversial issues, such as doping, bribery, corruption, commercialism, boycotts, terrorist attacks, and discrimination. Clearly, some of the actual practices at the Olympics fails to represent the principles of Olympism to a certain degree. Some may argue that Olympians are positive examples for children to learn and their stories inspired children to be hardworking, successful, and even grateful (e.g., Binder, 2012; Mao, 2015), and to have determination and persistence (Liu, 2012). While Lenskyj (2012) claimed that genetic gifts played a key role in athletes' success and "it is dishonest to send this message to impressionable children" (p. 272). Liu (2012) argued that not all Olympians are worthy of learning and she was concerned that the stereotypical Western physical culture (e.g., make dominance) might enhance discriminations among students. Piccolo (2020) advocated that professional athletes as role models are "a double edged sword" (p. 23), athletes are humans and humans make mistakes, which might

occur negative influences among young people who often imitate their role models. Thus, teaching Olympic literacies, including Olympians' stories, are not necessarily educational, or at least, not educational in the intended way.

**Olympic education practice in China**

In comparison to international Olympic education programmes that appear to be focused on promoting Olympic literacies, the Chinese Olympic education programmes seems to be oriented around Olympic-themed activities, which in practice may not be pedagogically oriented to teaching the values of Olympism. I suggest that a programme oriented around Olympic-themed activities highlights a gap between Olympism and how it becomes enacted as an educational practice.

In China, Olympic education for the 2008 Beijing Olympics was delivered by different activities (see Dou, 2004; Guo, 2009, 2010; Liu, 2012; Mao, 2015; Song, 2008; Zhang, 2008; Zhou, 2011; Wang & Masumoto, 2009). For instance, Zhang (2008) interviewed schoolteachers, principals, students and officials to study the Olympic education practices for the 2008 Olympics. These activities included physical activities, cultural activities (learning Olympic songs, making Olympic-related decorations), the Olympian selection activity among students, and mini-Olympics. These activities seemed to relate more with the Olympics rather than Olympism.

Wang and Masumoto (2009) interviewed 10 teachers and reported a group of similar activities in Olympic education model schools [13](one programme of the 2008 Olympic education). These activities were class lessons, workshops, mini Olympic Games, activities in school, and outside of school. One example of a class lesson they discussed was in the subject of mathematics, where students learned counting skills with Olympic medals. Similar practices were also reported in other schools, including the deaf schools (Song, 2008) and other non-model schools (Liu, 2012; Zhou, 2011).

In comparison to international Olympic education programmes that focused on Olympic literacy, Chinese Olympic education is broader. As reported above, Olympic-related activities often provided a context or topical theme for learning tasks. It is unclear how a number counting activity in maths is able to effectively teach values of Olympism. Such

[13] Schools who focus on conducting Olympic education. China also has other types of model schools, such as football and basketball.

activities, on the surface, to be designed to link with current events rather than Olympism. In this respect, the implementation of Olympic education practices in China may highlight contradiction between official claims (i.e., to teach Olympism) and its actual practices (e.g., teaching maths).

Such a contradiction can also be observed in the Olympic education programme for the 2015 Youth Olympics in China. This programme was implemented through similar activities. For instance, Zhou (2011) surveyed students from three different types of schools in Nanjing: Two Olympic education model schools, two common schools in the city, and two schools in the village. Students reported six types of Olympic education activities: Lectures, knowledge competition, speech performance around the Olympics, Olympians' visiting into school, sports competition, and students' debate. A similar observation can be made of the Olympic education for the 2008 Olympics, with many of their activities seemingly not to reflect Olympism.

Considering the similarities between the two Olympic education programmes for the 2008 Beijing Olympics and 2015 Nanjing Youth Olympics in China, I thought it would be valuable to examine the implementation of Olympic education for the 2022 Olympics. Will there be similar activities or different activities?

Interrogating the different practice of Olympic education is important for this thesis. Firstly, the range of lessons and activities involving Olympic education described in the literature informed me to diversify my data collection contexts and teacher participants. I would not only limit my research foci to PE teachers and PE lessons. Instead, I would observe other subjects and extra curriculum activities. Ethnography offered me the flexibility to collect evidence of Olympic education practices that might happen in different subjects.

Secondly, the gap lends further weight to the need to explore the rationale behind the selection of each activity. However, the extant research was too descriptive about the varying practices of Olympic education, the actual implementation and management of these practices and the rationale behind the selection of each activity has not been explored. It is important to analyse the management of certain practices. As Lemke (2007) stated, tactics denote "a complex of practical mechanism, procedures, instruments, and calculations" (p. 50) in which authorities seek to achieve ambitions. In Olympic education, different practices reflect certain ambitions. Liu (2012) confirmed schools' ambitions in the implementation of Olympic education. In her thesis, she wrote, "Students were sometimes mobilized to showcase Olympic education activities with the goal of satisfying the school's agenda, and their gestures had

indispensably contributed to the school's upgraded reputation" (p. 123). In other words, she strongly suspected that schools chose certain activities to 'show themselves off' and their motivations may not have always been related to teaching in the spirit of Olympism. However, this comment was solely based on students' two narratives, Liu did not provide further evidence to back up her argument, such as observations and teachers' comments. Taking this into consideration, my thesis set out to question these practices to explore the related rationales and management of these practices. Critical ethnographies, such as Powell's (2015) account of obesity programmers in schools, are central to unearth the tensions between official plans and unpolished practices of Olympic education in schools (see Chapter four). Although the research literature has not examined the rationales for various Olympic education activities, it has strongly presented a variety of benefits from engaging in Olympic education in schools.

## Towards critical Olympic education research

This section critically examines the current empirical research (see Appendix A for the list of studies) on Olympic education. As I will show, one commonality among these studies was the tendency to focus on mostly the perceived benefits of Olympic education in schools, with few studies questioning or taking an opposite position in respect to its value. This has led to a predominantly positive image of Olympic education and indicates a lack of investigations that weight the potential disadvantages, or even dangers, of Olympic education. I argue that critical Olympic education research has much to contribute to the field.

Previous research has examined many benefits from engaging in Olympic education. One dominant benefit was for students. There are numerous studies which evaluated whether Olympism contributed to students' desired behaviour outcomes (e.g. Kabitsis et al., 2002; Hassandra et al., 2007; Liu et al., 2010; Nanayakkara, 2012; Scofano, 2018; Sukys & Majauskien, 2013, 2014; Sukys et al., 2017). For instance, Kabitsis et al. (2002) examined the effect of a four-month pilot Olympic education programme on the 6$^{th}$-grade school children at 32 primary schools in Greece using a pre and post-test study design. The experimental group students showed largely improved fair play behaviours. Hassandra et al. (2007) conducted a similar intervention and suggested that students' fair play behaviours would last for two years after the programme. Studies like these highlighted the educational values of Olympism, and contributed to a good image of Olympic education in schools, although the values they presented are different.

Aside from presenting benefits among students from engaging in Olympism-based programmes, recent research has also demonstrated more benefits from Olympic education programmes that were aligned with the hosting of the Olympics. These benefits included those for students, teachers, and schools. Take the *Get Set*, the official Olympic education programme for the 2012 London Olympics, as an example. Chen and Henry (2017) conducted seven interviews with school heads and relevant teachers, three with relevant stakeholders and one focus group with students at three primary schools and one secondary school where Olympic education was implemented differently. The results all indicated various benefits: Raising school's profile, promoting different values related not just in sports, but also other areas; improving student's personal and career development, providing useful teaching materials, bringing staff together, creating links with other schools, enabling sharing of other schools' facilities; increasing school personnel's interest towards the Olympics and increasing sports participations. In comparison to studies that presented educational values of Olympism, Chen and Henry (2017) expanded the benefits of Olympic education to a wider level, which even better validates the positive image of Olympic education.

The heavily researched benefits of Olympic education in the current literature is important to understand Olympic education, yet at the same time, there also needs to be research that considers 'the other side of the coin'. However, critiques of Olympic education appear to be mostly absent, particularly in Greece and China[14] (Lenskyj, 2012).

This literature confirms the 'strengths-focused' preference in Olympic education for the 2008 Beijing Olympics. Chinese scholars employed different research methods to present various benefits from participating in Olympic education. I chose three different empirical studies that employed different research methods and chose different timings to conduct their research as examples to present such the preference of presenting various benefits:

Zhang (2008) interviewed school principals who reported that Olympic education helped schools gain recognition from the government, draw attention from media, make curriculum enjoyable, improve school facilities, and increase interactions with communities. Teachers became more confident and proud of the school, students knew knowledge more than before; the teaching quality was also improved. It was the "catalyst" of educational

[14] One reason is because the existing literature had focused on a few contexts, including China, Greece, England, Brazil, Sir Lanka, the Czech Republic, Lithuania and Estonia. Among the 33 studies in the Appendix A, there were 12 ones located in China (Dou, 2004; He & Ru, 2009; Kong & Li, 2004; Law, 2010; Lin et al., 2007; Liu, 2012; Liu & Wang, 2006; Mao, 2015; Song, 2008; Wang & Masumoto, 2009; Zhang, 2008; Zhou, 2011).

development in schools (p. 7). The results also showed that Olympic education provides a platform for schools, families and the social communities to connect closely with each other.

Liu (2012) exposed similar results from students' perspectives. Her research was conducted after the 2008 Olympics were over. She recruited six students to participate in storytelling to elaborate on their views of multiple benefits of Olympic education, such as providing new materials in teaching (i.e., Olympic stories), introducing novel pedagogy, learning spirit from real models (i.e., Olympians), experiencing different physical activities, promoting well-rounded qualities, and providing freedom and empowerment.

Mao (2015) examined benefits for students during the post-Olympics in Beijing. She interviewed 74 students to show that Olympic education helped them feel close to the Olympics, control weight, and increase academic results.

Although these three studies showed different benefits/advantages from engaging in Olympic education, all of them collectively helped shape a positive image of Olympic education. Besides, the different methods and research timings further strengthen such a result.

Moreover, theoretical literature[15] in Chinese Olympic education has also tended to present various benefits from Olympic education (e.g., Cui et al. 2007; Dong & Mangan, 2013; He et al., 2009; Mao, 2012; Pei, 2008a, 2008b, 2009; Ren, 2009; Ru, 2008, 2012; Wang, 2007; Xiong, 2005; Xiong & Liu, 2008; Yu, 2004; Zhao et al., 2016). For example, Ren (2009) thought Olympic education would improve the quality of education in China, open students' horizon, and build school culture. Pei (2008a) argued, Olympic education could make the over-disciplined and stiff Chinese educational system less disciplined. Among these supportive literature, Huang's (2018) article, "Olympic education should be delayed in Post-Olympics in China," seemed to have a different attitude. However, Huang's claim was based on the consideration to implement Olympic education better. So technically, he was supportive of the implementation of Olympic education in China. Hence, the preponderance of the theoretical literature also focuses on the positive benefits of Olympic education in China

The issue that I am highlighting here is that the emphasis on benefits associated with Olympic education promotes an overwhelmingly positive image of Olympic education and underestimates its possible disadvantages. I do not claim that Olympic education is inherently

[15] What I mean by theoretical research is the type of research based on previous literature, rather than empirical data, such as observation and interview.

'bad'. Instead, the prevalence of positive images of Olympic education triggered me to engage in this thesis to challenge the dominant views in research and the media. Foucault argued that critique means the subject himself has "the right to question truth on its effects of power and question power on its discourses of truth" (Foucault, 1997c, p. 32). He also considered critique as "a matter of pointing out on what kinds of assumptions, what kinds of familiar, unchallenged, unconsidered modes of thought the practices that we accept rest" (Foucault, 1988d, p. 154). It is to free ourselves of certain statements about ourselves and our conduct (Masschelein, 2006). In the realm of Olympic education, it is important to challenge this dominant, positive view; these take-for-granted assumptions about the value of Olympic education. To achieve this aim, I will look critically at how school people (e.g., students and teachers) would understand and experience Olympic education, including their perceptions on the 'dangers' of Olympic education.

The 'strengths-focused' preference in Olympic education research might relate to the research focus in China. Most research conducted by Chinese scholars prefers to examine the impact of certain programmes, mostly around advantages/benefits. This might also be a result of a Chinese culture that teaches people to be humble, but not critical. In fact, in the early stages of my doctoral research, I also planned to investigate and promote the advantages of the Olympics and Olympic education, just as many Chinese scholars did before me. However, through my engagement critical scholars in the fields of health and physical education, and the work of Foucault (particularly his notion of technologies of the self), I was challenged, and then inspired to resist descriptive research, but critically challenge the dominant discourses of Olympic education.

In the next section, I review the Olympic education programmes in China to highlight how neoliberalism and authoritarianism cohere to influence its implementation of Olympic education.

## Authoritarianism, neoliberalism and Olympic education in China

Scholars have increasingly identified the duality of political rationalities in China. Over the years, there are several political discourses that indicate such a duality, such as a hybrid socialist-neoliberal (Jeffreys & Sigley, 2009; Sigley, 2006), neoliberalism with Chinese characteristics (Harvey, 2007; Peck & Theodore, 2012), and neoliberal state (Ren, 2010). These terms all acknowledged that China has shifted from essentially coercive administrative

measures to more neoliberal ones. In this study, I prefer to use the term *a hybrid socialist-neoliberal state* (Jeffreys & Sigley, 2009; Sigley, 2006) because it reflects more complex forms of government. Sigley (2006) claimed this hybrid rationality contains "authoritarian in a familiar political and technocratic sense" and neoliberal in the sense of governing certain subjects "through their own autonomy" (p. 504). In this term, the socialist part represents the political rationality of authoritarianism, so I use authoritarianism and socialism interchangeably to represent the highly centralised management system in China.

Authoritarianism is the political rationality characterised by a strong central power and the exclusion of potential challengers (Dukalskis, 2017; Jordan, 2019). An authoritarian public sphere uses both coercive and persuasive strategies to maintain their power, such as: Using weapons of repression or material rewards to compel or induce loyalty, privileging supporters of the government, drawing on legislation (policy and laws), controlling/manipulating media, and blocking viewpoints that might be threatening to the state (Dukalskis, 2017). Although authoritarianism has become prevalent all over the world, this political rationality has many variants, "from overt fascism to belligerent Trumpism, and from Putin's post-Stalinism to the Chinese one-party state" (Jordan, 2019, p. 2). There are several countries that are currently and frequently characterised as authoritarian regimes, such as North Korea, Myanmar[16] and contemporary China[17].

Authoritarianism plays a key role in every aspect in contemporary China, and education is one important area. In the Chinese education system, such a rationality is achieved through school funding, control, and political education (Landry, 2008). In schools, making students more receptive to the state's information is a way to exercise the rationality (Dukalskis, 2017). Schools' political education plays such a role (Perry, 2015). Chinese political education emphasises patriotism and intensifies nationalism by reminding students of the national humiliation caused by Western powers (Wang, 2012). When China hosted the 2008 Olympics, my school friends and I were told that we could change the status of our country and erase our past humiliation via hosting the Olympics, and being successful at the Olympics. This experience indicates that governments are likely to have their own 'need' to promote Olympism or Olympic education to maintain their own engines (Rezende, 2008).

[16] The official English name was changed by the country's government from the "Union of Burma" to the "Union of Myanmar" in 1989.
[17] There are other opinions about China's political rationality, such as capitalism (see Dirlik, 1989; Harvey, 2007; Ma, 2009; Peck & Zhang, 2013).

Given the importance that the authoritarian Chinese government places on the Olympics, it is not surprising that the past Olympic education programmes in China were largely state-led (Brownell, 2009; Mao, 2015; Pei, 2009; Wang & Masumoto, 2009), though other stakeholders from non-public sectors were also involved. Liu (2012) contended that "Olympic education in China would never have reached such an extensive scale without multiple supports from the government" (p. 79). Similarly, Brownell (2009) believed that the appearance of non-public stakeholders such as university teachers and civil efforts (e.g., the September Third Society, the Democratic League and the Association for the Promotion of Democracy) in school-based Olympic education was "an unusual situation" (p. 54) in China.

In contrast, international research on Olympic education has highlighted the strong involvement of private actors in school-based Olympic education. Several studies examined these private stakeholders' ambitions in Olympic education (see Coburn & Mccafferty, 2016; Devitt, 2012; Magdalinski et al., 2005; Rezende, 2008; Wedekind, 2008), especially their profit-making ambitions. The emphasis of these studies tended to be on Olympic sponsors "borrowing" (Rezende, 2008, p. 17) the Olympic values to promote their own brands (Coburn & McCafferty, 2016; Seguin et al., 2008).

In the case of China, the assumed dominance of the Chinese government and its administrative supervision in education seemed to have contributed to the lack of academic research in private stakeholders' initiatives in Olympic education in China (Gao & Zhu, 2010; He et al., 2007; Wang, 2010). The Chinese government does not allow any commercial information to appear in public education (MoE, 2018a). Therefore, scholars might have assumed that corporations could not, and should not, play any role in Chinese schools. In fact, growing up in mainland China, I also did not expect to see private stakeholders get involved in Olympic education and schooling. The appearance of private stakeholders in Chinese public education system is a result of neoliberalism in China.

In addition to authoritarian rationality, neoliberalism, as another rationality, has also become dominant in contemporary China (Harvey, 2007). Neoliberalism emerged firstly in Western Europe and North American after World War I. Although neoliberalism is a "loosely used" term (Ball, 2012, p. 18), the key notions of neoliberalism are generally recognised to include competitiveness, autonomy, freedom of choice, enterprise, privatisation, free market, responsibility (Harvey, 2007). Since the 1970s, neoliberalism has begun to play a dominant role in the global expansion of capitalism (Ren, 2010). As Peck and Tickell (2002) commented,

"Neoliberalism seems to be everywhere" (p. 380). This includes being all aspects of society, from economic rationality to cultural, social, and political spheres (Saunders, 2010).

Although China has not yet publicly acknowledged themselves as a neoliberal state, it has shifted its logics of socio-economic regulation to the global neoliberal hegemony around the late 1970s after the government began its economic reforms (Horesh & Lim, 2017; Ren, 2010). Neoliberalism has influenced many social services in China. The decentralisation of authority, devolution of responsibilities, and marketisation have been adopted in education, healthcare, housing, and other social services (Adams et al., 2006; Mok et al., 2009; Zhang & Bray, 2017; Zhao, 2007).

The neoliberal turn in education has sought to decentralise governmental control, search for private partnerships, and 'release' public education into the free market (Powell, 2015). The neoliberal strategy to increase corporate control and decision-making in schools' management, curriculum and teaching has influenced many reforms worldwide (Gabbard, 2008). Some advocates for neoliberal education argued that it makes public education more effective and economical (Dougherty & Natow, 2019; Green, 2005), while others expressed concerns about neoliberal education. Saltman (2011) stated that neoliberalism in education conflates the corporates' profit-making aim with social good, which further erodes democracy. Kohn (2002) argued that business put their aims firstly and think about how to maximise the profit; consequently, students' best interests are not necessarily the priority for them. Codd (2008) argued that neoliberalism challenges the nature and role of the state in public education provision. In the context of China, the processes of privatisation, competition, and choice have reframed the education system.

**Privatisation, competition, and choices**

Privatisation is a critical element of neoliberal education. It involves private and not-for-profit stakeholders as well as voluntary stakeholders inside the public sector. Ball (2007) argued that it contained a range of processes and forms, so "It is more appropriate perhaps to think about 'privatisations'" (p. 13). Outsourcing is one key form of privatisations (Sockett, 1984). Sperka (2020) described outsourcing as "a practice that involves establishing and maintaining some form of strategic and bilateral relationship with an external entity with the intention for that entity to either extend, substitute, or replace internal capabilities" (p. 275). Outsourcing in health and physical education is now prevalent in many countries (see Evans & Davies, 2015; Powell, 2020; Williams & Macdonald, 2015), and is typically utilised to bring in external

'expertise' (Powell, 2020; Williams et al., 2011) or equipment (Williams et al., 2011; Williams & Macdonald, 2015). For instance, in China during the 2008 Beijing Olympics, there was an external university team that provided Olympic education activities to schools (Liu, 2012; Ren, 2007).

Indeed, media reports also suggested that many private stakeholders were heavily involved in school-based Olympic education during the 2008 Beijing Olympics. For example, Johnson & Johnson partnered with Beijing Organizing Committee for the Olympic Games (BOCOG) to initiate a Band-Aid Olympic education campaign, which worked to teach students about the values that define the Olympic movement as well as health and wound care, and at the same time, distributed 800,000 sets of posters to elementary and secondary schools across China (Sina, 2006). A newspaper article reported that a dairy company Mengniu initiated a programme that claimed to improve people's fitness (Zeng & Liu, 2007). Another newspaper article described an activity where a local fast food restaurant connected itself with Olympism by encouraging people to vote for the street which showed the most Olympic spirit (Sheng, 2007). Fast forward to the 2022 Olympics, some local sponsors have already shown their interest in Olympic education on their official websites. For instance, Yili[18], a local sponsor of the 2020 Olympics, announced their Olympism promotion activities, when they reported that they shot videos to encourage Chinese to fulfil the Olympic spirit of '*faster, stronger and higher'* (Yili, n.d, 2019). The Bank of China (2018) also declared its wish to support the Olympic spirit and values in their official website. Despite these media reports that point to the strong interest of private stakeholders in Olympic education, there is no significant research examining how Olympic education may privatise public education in China and privatisation in school-based Olympic education in China remains a hidden phenomenon.

These developments made me curious about how the private stakeholders made their involvement in school-based Olympic education programme happen and why the state government allowed them to be involved. Since different stakeholders were involved in an educational programme, there might be conflicting interests between them. When this happened, how did these stakeholders interact with each other? Who played the key role? How did they negotiate and compromise when facing conflicting interests? It would be reasonable to assume that the interactions between schools and private stakeholders in China are complex, and the process of legitimisation for private stakeholders in schools, especially profit-making

[18] Yili is a diary company in China.

companies, might be sneaky. These questions are important for the investigation of my first research question: How do different organisations and actors involve themselves in school-based Olympic education, and what motivates them to do so?

Competitiveness is a critical element of neoliberal education (Ball, 1990). The historical development of the Chinese education system contributes to competitiveness between schools. In 1953, Mao pointed out the importance of developing certain schools at a national conference due to the limited budget and resources (Wu, 2014), and later on issued policies to support his claim (e.g., suggesting to run key middle schools and regular schools in 1953). The selected schools were called *key schools*. Then the Cultural Revolution changed everything in China. Later on, the country's lead, Deng Xiaoping, started educational reforms. Deng's ideology of economic development, 'some regions to become wealthy before others', was mirrored in his educational claims. He also recognised the importance of having key schools, saying, "Education should have two ways, we should value the prevalence and quality. There is a need for key schools and key universities" (Deng, 1994, p. 37). Key schools continue to enjoy priorities in the assignment of qualified teachers, good facilities, sufficient funds, and top-performing students (Wu, 2014).

However, the key school system brought many issues that created educational inequalities. For instance, You (2007) argued that key schools were given priority in the assignment of teachers, equipment and funds to ensure teaching quality. Fan and Song (2016) demonstrated the unequal opportunities and competition for 'common' schools and students in those schools, whereby key schools had 10% to 20% more funding than 'common' schools from 1978 to 1995.

These issues contributed to the cancellation of key school system in late 1990s. In 1997, the state government called for the attention for 'common' schools to support all schools equally (MoE, 1997). In 2006, MoE issued a policy requesting equal development among schools, and abandoning the category of schools. However, the categorisation of schools has not completely disappeared in China.

In recent years, another type of schools has emerged: *demonstration/model schools*. Li (2014) claimed that the Chinese government has started to allow schools to freely choose their demonstration items since 2001. In comparison to previous key schools who accepted extra funding and resources for general development, demonstration/model schools focus on developing one item (e.g., football, math, the Olympics). This demonstrated item is then

prioritised by the state government, local authorities and schools (Jin, 2010; Li, 2014). These benefits motivate schools to strive to become demonstration schools, resulting in competitions between different demonstration/model schools. In China, *Olympic education model schools* were developed during the 2008 Beijing Olympics. With the preparation of the 2022 Winter Olympics, schools would pay more attention to their Olympic-themed activities to gain more opportunity to be seen and chosen as an Olympic education demonstration/key school (see Chapter 6).

School choice is another factor that contributes to a competitive Chinese education system. The marketization of public services has become a global trend since the 1980s, and the notion of school choices appeared at the same time (Wu, 2014). This neoliberal education promoted freedom of choice for parents and full autonomy for schools in their management. Various forms of school choices have proliferated around the world, such as school zoning rules in New Zealand (Lauder et al., 1999), voucher system[19] in Chile in 1981 and Sweden in 1992 (Carnoy, 1998), and charter schools in the United States (Ball, 1993; Schirmer & Apple, 2016). These reforms helped create a quasi-market in the field of education. In the Chinese quasi-market, parents play a key role. In the past decades, parents actively adopted a few ways to support their choice of schools: they donated chairs and desks to schools, changed their residential zone, bought houses near the desired schools, or directly contributed to school's funds (Crabb, 2010). All these approaches, therefore, allowed schools to receive additional funding and resources. However, these approaches also established a competitive environment for the state education system. The market-driven reforms have forced schools to compete with one another for pupils in order to increase their income. As Ball (1990) argued that the market was a disciplinary mechanism, "seeking out inefficiency and by rewarding successful schools, the market will eliminate the poor schools" (p. 66). If schools failed to meet the needs of their students and their parents, then students would seek better opportunities.

## Summary

In this chapter, I began by introducing the concept of Olympism as a particular set of values and ideas. Then I outlined how the dominant definition of Olympic education is about the teaching of Olympism. By doing this, I was able to highlight how Olympic education in China

[19] In 1981, Chile adopted an innovative nationwide school voucher system for primary and secondary education that still operates today. School vouchers in Chile are publicly funded, with voucher funds following the child to private schools that agree to accept the voucher as payment of tuition.

is more about any educational and cultural activities that happened during the Olympics period. Through this examination, I decided to broadly define Olympic education, and examine how it is defined in schools.

In the second section, I used previous Olympic education programmes to show how Olympic education was enacted differently in different national settings. The result showed the gap between the official claim (i.e., Olympism) and actual practices in schools and such a gap is particularly obvious in China. This result inspired me to think about different rationales guiding each instance of Olympic education in schools.

In the third section, I presented the tendency of presenting various benefits of Olympic education among school personnel, students, and schools. I argue that such a tendency shaped a positive image of Olympic education and minimised the problems of Olympic education. There is a need to explore how school personnel would understand Olympic education, especially their perceptions on disadvantages of Olympic education.

In the last section, I introduced the duality of rationalities in contemporary China to explain the implementation of Olympic education in schools. I mainly focused on stakeholders invested in the programme. The result showed a lack of investigation about the privatisations in school-based Olympic education.

Hence, I formulated three interrelated questions that inform this study: 1) How do different organisations and actors involve themselves in school-based Olympic education, and what motivates them to do so? 2) How do schools conduct Olympic education? 3) How do children and adults in schools understand and experience Olympic education?

In the next chapter, I will introduce Foucault's notion of governmentality, as well as other related concepts, that allow me to explore these three research questions.

# Chapter three: Theoretical framework

Olympic education is a complex phenomenon. In order to explore and critique this multifaceted phenomenon, I need an appropriate theoretical framework that would help me to answer important questions such as: Who is involved in Olympic education programmes in schools? Why? How these stakeholders and their activities are they legitimatised, and by whom? And how are these activities understood and experienced by school personnel, including principals, teachers and students?

Drawing on Foucault's concept of governmentality, I propose an analytical framework that will enable me to interrogate how Olympic education is governed by diverse organisations, schools, teachers and students in Chinese primary schools. This framework contains a set of concepts that can be used to connect my empirical evidence with notions of government, rationalities, power, technologies, discourse, and the subject. In this chapter, I introduce the applicability of Foucault's theory in contemporary China. Following this, an examination of governmentality studies highlights the theory's lack of employment in the Olympics and Olympic education. I then present three key governmentality concepts—rationalities, technologies and subjects, and I discuss the implications for using these analytical tools for this thesis. I argue that governmentality provides a useful analytical tool for exploring the implementation of Olympic education.

## Introduction to Foucault

Foucault is widely considered as a key influential thinker of the 20$^{th}$ century (MacNaughton, 2005). There are over 50 Foucauldian inspired concepts (O'Farrell, 2005; Rabinow, 1984). Foucault also helped create specific historical methods: Archaeology and genealogy (Peter & Besley, 2007). In academia, his ideas have been adopted in the fields of education, anthropology, history, sociology, English studies, gender, politics, queer studies, indigenous studies, management, economics, pedagogy, psychology, cultural studies and sport sociology (Markula & Pringle, 2007). His understanding of power relations and the process of ethical self-constitution helped researchers challenge dominant discourses and institutions (Peter & Besley, 2007). Although he did not explicitly address sport or physical activity in his work, his work was concerned with the body (Markula & Pringle, 2007). This focus also helped him become one of the most influential theorists used in contemporary physical education research (Wright, 2006).

When beginning to read research that employed Foucault, I was confronted with one crucial question: Is it possible to apply his theory to the Chinese context? His work was focused on Western contexts, and the majority of studies that used his ideas were conducted in Western contexts too. However, as Foucault reflected on his research:

> I would like my books to be a kind of tool-box which others can rummage through to find a tool which they can use however they wish in their own area…I do not write for an audience. I write for users, not readers. (Foucault, 1974, as cited in Nealon, 2008，p. 112)

From this perspective, I have used Foucauldian concepts as an analytical tool, one that can be used in non-Western western contexts, such as China. Among these, Foucault's concept of governmentality is a particularly useful tool for understanding a complex, multi-faceted, and multi-layered phenomenon like Olympic Education.

Much of Foucault' work is focussed on the Western nation state as the primary site of analysis (see Bretherton, 2014; Fullagar, 2002; Green & Houlihan, 2006; Hammond, et al., 2015; Hickey & Kelly, 2008; Jefferson-Buchanan, 2016; Kromidha et al., 2017; Leahy, 2012; Macdonald, Abbott, Knez & Nelson, 2009; Macdonald, Abbott & Jenkins, 2012; Nelson et al.; 2012; Piggott, 2012; Pike, 2010; Thanem, 2009). There have been a few governmentality studies conducted in non-Western countries, such as India (Corbridge et al., 2005), Indonesia (Li, 2007a), South Korea (Cho, 2008), and China (Chong, 2012; Fleischer, 2011). Although governmentality studies in non-Western contexts have increased, and China has been the most productive sites of such scholarship (Sigley, 2006), the Olympics have received little attention from governmentality scholars.

Governmentality has been employed in an extensive range of disciplines, which Dean (2010) has termed as "governmentality studies" (p. 2). These disciplines include geography, poverty (Inda, 2005; Li, 2007), immigrant organisation (Pyykkönen, 2007), law (Hunt & Wickham, 1994), health (Pike, 2010), education (Leahy, 2012), sexuality (Harris, 2005), and obesity (Harwood, 2009; McDermott, 2007; Powell, 2015). Sport, as a powerful technology and disciplining tool of a nation, occupies a particular place in the history of modern governmentality (Miller et al., 2001). In the area of sports, governmentality has been employed to better understand for sports organisations (Cho, 2008; Green & Houlihan, 2006; Park, 2005; Thanem, 2009), coaching (Piggott, 2012; Taylor et al., 2016), disability sport (Hammond et

al., 2015; Wickman, 2011), sport-related programmes (Chong, 2012; Jefferson-Buchanan, 2016), sport policy (Fullagar, 2002; Österlind & Wright, 2014; Piggin et al., 2009), female sports (García & Herraiz, 2013), elite sports athletes (Hickey & Kelly, 2008), school physical education curriculum (Leahy, 2012), sport management (Dortants, 2018; Dortants et al., 2016), and indigenous sports activities (Macdonald, Abbott, Knez & Nelson, 2009; Macdonald, Abbott & Jenkins, 2012; Nelson et al., 2012). However, governmentality as a theoretical framework has not yet been widely applied in episodic mega-events, such as the Olympics (Kromidha et al., 2017). Nor has it been used to critically examine the implementation of Olympic education programmes in schools.

Olympic education studies have been dominated by seven theories (Appendix A): symbolic interactionism (Zhang, 2011), Shulman's (1987) seminal framework of teacher knowledge (Thorn, 2010), social-critical, humanistic theoretical framework (Stevens, 2011), education value (Zhou, 2011), social capital (Defroand, 2012), monitoring and evaluation (Liu, 2012), and Theory of change (Chen & Henry, 2017). However, in this thesis, Foucault's notion of governmentality has been chosen as a particularly fruitful theoretical tool to examine Olympic education in Chinese primary schools, one that will help my analysis of the complex connections and power relations between the state government, private companies, schools, and individuals.

## Foucault on governmentality

### Government and governmentality

Foucault's lecture series given at the College de France in 1977/78 and 1978/79 ('Security, territory and population' and 'The birth of biopolitics') originally presented the concept of governmentality (Foucault, 2008). Foucault (1991a) asked questions around the problematisation of government, such as: "How to govern oneself, how to be governed, how to govern others, by whom the people will accept being governed, how to become the best possible governor" (p. 87).

What did Foucault mean by government? Foucault proposed a general meaning of the term government as "the conduct of conduct ... a form of activity aiming to shape, guide or affect the conduct of some person or persons" (Gordon, 1991, p. 2). Dean (2010) summarised this as:

> Government is any more or less calculated and rational activity, undertaken by a multiplicity of authorities and agencies, employing a variety of techniques and forms of knowledge, that seeks to shape conduct by working through our desires, aspirations, interests and beliefs, for definite but shifting ends and with a diverse set of relatively unpredictable consequences, effects and outcomes. (p. 18)

Unlike a traditional view of government as the exclusive concern of the state, Foucault's use of the term also includes all means of calculation (both qualitative and quantitative), knowledge, techniques that individuals are governed, govern themselves, and govern others to meet certain ends (Dean, 2010). Foucault (2000a) himself mentioned three forms of government: "The art of self-government, connected with morality; the art of properly governing a family, which belongs to economy; and, finally, the science of ruling the state, which concerns politics" (p. 206). In this respect, for Foucault, the word 'government' refers to the administration of a state, of families, of communities, of the sick, of the soul, and so forth (Leahy, 2012; Lemke, 2002). In relation to the administration of Olympic education, there were multiple 'stakeholders', such as Olympic organisations, state organisations, academics, private companies, and others (Georgiadis, 2010). These diverse stakeholders are, therefore, in a Foucauldian sense, all involved in the government of the school-based Olympic education.

Foucault's concept of governmentality is intimately connected with his conceptualisation of power. Power is often positioned alongside negative connotations of domination. However, for Foucault, power is not something that people can possess and is not like a commodity or a position that a person inherits that can be used against others (Fejes, 2008). Power is productive and omnipresent in everyday social practice, working its way in the entire social body through social interactions (Powell, 2015). In this respect, government is not about the strict oppression or repression of populations; rather it involves strategies whereby different authorities and actors play key roles in shaping the 'conduct of conduct' of particular people. As I will explore throughout this thesis, China's state government did not 'force' schools to implement Olympic education, but instead encouraged and guided schools to make this decision through an array of policy, funding, and personnel arrangements.

Foucault was primarily interested in disciplinary power. The focus of disciplinary power is concerned with the control, judgement, and normalisation of subjects, so that these subjects are "destined to a certain mode of living or dying" (Foucault, 1980, p. 94). Foucault did not intend to list all different disciplinary techniques, but he categorised them into three

groups: The art of distributions, the control of activities, and the organisation of geneses (Foucault, 1991b). The first two techniques are related to location control (requiring enclosure) and time organisations (e.g., rigid timetables) to produce docile but productive bodies (Markula & Pringle, 2007). For example, students were arranged to stand by their heights when attending Olympic education, which formed a hierarchical view to help teachers keep all students in their sight. At the same time, students were required to follow the timetable during the activity. If the first two techniques are about space and physical 'norms', the third technique *the organization of geneses* is about time and setting schedules. For example, schools made successive plans about Olympic education which have to end at a certain time and cannot be overlapped.

Bio-power marks a reworking of Foucault's ideas of power and the subject (Pike, 2010). Foucault (1978) explained bio-power as twofold: A biopolitics of the population, and an anatomo-politics of the human body. Biopolitics focuses on the species body, the body imbued with the mechanisms of life: Birth, morbidity, mortality, longevity Anatomo-politics seeks to maximize the force of biopolitics and integrate biopolitics into efficient systems (Dean, 2010; Rabinow & Rose, 2006). Rabinow and Rose (2006) noted that bio-power focuses on the regulation of a population and seeks a productive workforce and an efficient economic system. In China's Olympic education, schools specifically chose students who were good at sports and were competitive bodies, which helped created an efficient *factory* (Chapter six).

Governmentality is a relatively new power over life. It witnesses how two types of power (disciplinary power and bio-power) work together to govern and regulate the population (Chong, 2012). Bio-power that is concerned with the administration of biological life, governmentality includes specific technologies that help shape individual and collective actions for the purpose of the 'proper' management of the population (Guay, 2014). As Allen (1998) stated, governmentality, as a neologism, "is introduced to combine the idea of government, or the power to direct conduct, with the idea of a peculiar mentality with which the activity of government as been approached in modern times" (p. 179). Rationalities of government–ways of thinking about how to govern others–are therefore critical to this governmentality study.

**Rationalities of government**

Rationalities of government are ways of thinking about how to govern others and relate to any modes of amenable thinking that support the aims of government to govern certain populations

(Dean, 2010; Miller & Rose, 2008). These rationalities comprise of a system of thinking to guarantee the specific practical aims in the process of governing populations (Pike, 2010; Powell, 2015; Pyykkönen, 2007). Foucault (1991a) used rationalities of government almost interchangeably with "art of government" (p. 89). Dean (1999) referred it as "mentalities of government" (p. 16). To research the governing of society means critically examining certain mentalities of rule—"the ways in which we think about governing" (Dean, 2007, p. 50).

Rose (1999a) identified three characteristics of rationalities: First, a distinctively moral form that embodies concepts justice, freedom, equality and responsibility; second, an epistemological character that relates to space, problems and objects to be governed; and third, distinctive idiom or language. In short, rationalities are distinctive, epistemological, and idiomatic. Miller and Rose (2008) echoed the language characteristic and expressed this as rationalities being "morally colored, grounded upon knowledge and made thinkable through language" (p. 59). In relation to this study, and as I will demonstrate more clearly in Chpater five, rationalities of authoritarianism framed the Chinese government's policy announcements. These announcements legitimised the implementation of Olympic education with the principle of citizen's responsibility of developing the country; they used scientific epistemology reasons to define the needs for schools to deliver Olympic education; and these announcements also employed the distinctive idiom of 'the great rejuvenation of China' further shaped conducting Olympic education as amenable and moral, which made it difficult for schools to refuse to participate.

Leahy (2012) reminded us to value questions like "how 'problems of government' are imagined, what kind of knowledges are about to bear on such problems and how governmental discourse at the time shape responses" (p. 72). In other words, the analysis of rationalities of government needs to consider both how problems are constructed, and what sort of knowledge, and practices support this construction. For example, China was considered as an undeveloped country that needs rejuvenation, the Olympics are a way to change the situation (Fu, 2008). In order to solve the problem, the state government issued elite sport policy *Ju Guo Ti Zhi* to completely support the Olympics. The main characteristics of this policy are centralised management and administration and guaranteed financial and human resources from the whole country to ensure it maximum support (Fan et al., 2005).

Miller and Rose (2008) suggested, the use of the phrase 'rationalities' instead of 'rationality' to emphasise the varieties of rationalities. Indeed, scholars (Harvey, 2007; Peck &

Tickell, 2002; Jeffreys & Sigley, 2009; Sigley, 2006; Zhang & Bray, 2017) have expressed how China has shifted from coercive administrative measures to more neoliberal ones. This can be considered; a hybrid socialist-neoliberal form of government, or neoliberalism with Chinese characteristics (Jeffreys & Sigley, 2009; Sigley, 2006). This shift signifies the multiple rationalities that now shape the governmentality of contemporary China. This means I need to look at the multiple rationalities rather than singular rationality when examining Olympic education in Chinese primary schools.

This duality of rationalities demonstrates that there is more than one rationality that those who government draw on. Indeed, a criticism of governmentality studies is that they tend to employ a singular rationality for a complex phenomenon of government (Brady, 2011; Li, 2007b). For instance, Chong's (2012) research into the implementation of Olympic education for the 2008 Beijing Olympics only drew on one rationality of government—authoritarianism—to describe how the Chinese state government used a 'top-down' approach controlled the implementation of Olympic education into schools. Although Foucault (1982) did not specifically mention complex or hybrid rationalities, he suggested paying attention to specific, rather than general, rationalities when analysing practices of modern government. Therefore, when examining Olympic education, instead of focusing on one generalised rationality, I will interrogate the multiple rationalities that combined together. Moreover, I will also examine the (in)compatibilities—the tensions and contradictions—between neoliberal and authoritarian rationalities in Olympic education, especially what makes the coexistence (im)possible.

The analysis of discourse is also an important factor to determine rationalities of government. As Walters and Haahr (2005) noted, discourses construct rationalities in certain ways. It provides a way to understand how individuals make sense of the world (Wright, 2004). It is through discourse that power and knowledge are produced together (Foucault, 1978). Therefore, governmentality studies also need to value specific discourses when analysing political rationalities (Cotoi, 2011). In order to examine the rationalities underpinned Olympic education, I would look at how Olympic education is been talked, and I also explore power relation that underpinned certain discourses.

Another way to analysis the rationalities of government is to examine its governors – those authorities that attempt to govern others. As Pike (2010) explained, the rationalities of government require a range of individuals (experts), authorities and programmes to govern

effectively. Rose (1999a) also suggested, scholars must analyse how 'truth' is formed, who has the power to define truths, and what roles different authorities play in the production of truth. In this respect, I need to examine the relevant governors of Olympic education and the interactions between these governors, to explore how diverse governors competed (or at times collaborated) with each other to determine the 'truth' about Olympic education in primary schools.

When examining rationalities of different authorities, I am aware of one criticism of governmentality, that Foucault's explanations of power downplayed the influence of governing institutions and the central role of the state in shaping our daily lives (Kerr, 1999; Jessop, 2007). One possible reason might because of the distance between governors and receivers. As Li (2007a) noted, when power operates at a distance, people are not necessarily aware of how they are being conducted. Taking into consideration this critique, I will examine the role of the state government and their interactions with other stakeholders in Olympic education implementation. A way to develop a deep understanding of this is to investigate *technologies of government* in Olympic education.

**Technologies of government**

Technologies of government refer to pragmatic rationality with certain aims (Foucault, 1984a). Inda (2005) noted that it relates to how government put rationalities into motion. She explained that it includes a "various complex of techniques, instruments, measures, and programs that endeavour to translate thought into practice and thus actualize political reason" (p. 9). It is through technologies of government that political rationalities and the programmes of government they articulate become capable of deployment. Foucault (1998a) distinguished between four different types of technologies:

> 1) Technologies of production, which permit us to produce, transform, or manipulate things; 2) Technologies of sign systems, which permit us to use signs, meanings, symbols, or signification; 3) Technologies of power, which determine the conduct of individuals and submit them to certain ends or domination, an objectivising of the subject; 4) Technologies of the self, which permit individuals to effect by their own means, or with the help of others, a certain number of operations on their own bodies, souls, thoughts, conduct and way of being, so as to transform themselves in order to attain a certain state of happiness, purity, wisdom, perfection, or immortality. (p. 18)

Technologies of power are applicable in this thesis, particularly in regards to discipline. As discussed above, disciplinary power concerns different instruments, techniques, practices, and procedures to control and regulate individuals in the social body. O'Farrell (2005) claimed, Foucault's notion of disciplinary power works through technologies that aim to observe and control people's behaviours, aptitudes, performance, and capacities. Discipline and governmentality are simultaneous and interlinked operationally through different governing techniques (Hutchinson & O'Malley, 2019).

Inda (2005) described technologies of power as techniques of government, suggesting two types of techniques: Programmatic and technical. The programmatic technique of government is how government is conceptualised into existence in programmatic form, and these forms could be designs, proposals, and government report, or professionals that make "the real to be programmed" (p. 10). The technical technique of government is about material implements, such as methods of examination and evaluation, techniques of numeration and calculation, routines for the timing, and architectural forms in which interventions take place. In Olympic education, two schools' Olympic-related decorations can be considered as programmatic technique to deliver Olympic education, and the specific room at the schools for these decorations is technical technique (Chapter six).

Of the four different types of technologies described by Foucault, technologies of power and technologies of the self are often used by governmentality scholars (see Crocket, 2012; Markula, 2003; Pringle, 2003). As Markula and Pringle (2007) claimed, the technologies of power and the technologies of the self always converge together in and through governmentality. However, the technology of sign systems does not appear to have gained the attention of scholars, especially when examining Olympic education in schools. Rooney (1997) described technologies of sign systems as semiotic technologies; signs represent certain meanings and significations in society. In the case of Olympic education, many Olympic-themed signs appear, such as posters and banners (Liu, 2012; Zhang, 2008), yet these types of Olympic education signs have not been examined by Foucauldian scholars. An in-depth analysis of this technology of sign systems in schools will provide a unique perspective.

One frequent criticism of governmentality studies is that scholars tend to focus on the blueprints for government, such as governmental interventions and policies, and ignore the empirical practices and experiences of those who govern and those who are governed (Brady, 2011; McKee, 2009; O'Malley, 2009; O'Malley et al., 1997; Powell, 2015). In response,

Powell (2015) specifically examined the plans of different authorities (e.g. corporations, schools, charities) and how they were translated into practices in three schools. In a similar way, my research encompasses both the governmental plans of Olympic education (i.e., rationalities of government) and how they are actualised—through diverse technologies of government—in two primary schools.

In addition, scholars have also claimed that governmentality studies are often too descriptive (Dean, 2007; Rose et al., 2006), and a lack of investigation into contradictions and tensions between the government blueprints and the experiences of the people who are targeted by governmental programmes. For this reason, in this thesis, I interrogate more than just official Olympic education documents, but how practices are actually employed to govern its population, and how it shapes people in schools—the *subjects* of government.

**Subjects of government**

Foucault used the term subject by rejecting any notion of a predetermined, pre-existing subject, arguing that "there is no sovereign, founding subject, a universal form of subject to be found everywhere" (Foucault, 1988b, p. 50). Foucault (1997b) reminded us, the subject "is not a substance. It is a form, and this form is not primarily or always identical to itself" (p. 290). For Foucault, no individual should be understood to be intrinsically themselves, instead we become subjects as a result of various relationships and discourses where we live (Danaher et al., 2000).

The focus of the analytical theme of subjects of government is how governmentality imagines, but also seeks to cultivate, its subjects. Dean (1999) proposed some key questions that are related to this analytical theme, such as "what forms of person, self and identity are presupposed by different practices of government and what sorts of transformation do these practices seek? What forms of conduct are expected of them? How can certain aspects of conduct problematized?" (p. 32). These questions were used to scaffold important lines of enquiry in this study. Here I am interested in exploring what types of subjects organisations attempt to develop, how different subjects are imagined, what kind of subject does Olympic education wish to cultivate, what kind of subject is actually shaped, and how students interpret the various practices of government.

Foucault (1983) identified "three modes of objectification" in which individuals are made subjects: Scientific classification, dividing practices and subjectivation (p. 208). Scientific classification is concerned with "how the human science construct particular ways

of knowing so that people come to recognize themselves as objects and subjects of scientific knowledge" (Markula & Pringle, 2007, p. 25). The procedures to classify people into different groups could be intelligence or personality tests (Pringle, 2003). Dividing practices explain how the working of science relate to institutions, including jails, schools, and hospitals. For instance, subjects get divided into different categories, such as the healthy and the sick, or the sporty and academic.

The first two modes (scientific classification and dividing practices) are concerned with how people are shaped by social processes from outside (Markula & Pringle, 2007). Foucault (1988a) referred to such social processes as technologies of power. Pringle (2013) stated that these two modes of objectification portray a pessimistic image of over-determined people (Pringle, 2013). Foucault was aware of similar criticisms, and his later work seeks to address the problem by highlighting his third mode of objectification—subjectivation. This is concerned with the process of self-formation (Markula & Pringle, 2007). In Foucault's later work, "individuals are no longer conceived as docile bodies in the grip of an inexorable disciplinary power, but as self-determining agents who are capable of challenging and resisting the structure of domination in modern society" (McNay, 1992, p. 4).

Foucault (1985) divided the process of subjectivation into four stages: "the determination of the ethical substance", "the mode of subjection", "the forms of elaboration, of ethical work" and "the telos of the ethical subject" (pp. 26-27). The ethical substance refers to acts, desires, or feelings, or body shape that one chooses as the prime material of moral conduct (Markula & Pringle, 2007). This constituted moral substance is defined as "that which enables one to get free from oneself" (Foucault, 1985, p. 9). An example of ethical substance is the pain culture in sports (e.g., Liu, 2018). The second stage refers to different ways that one is "invited or incited to recognize their moral obligations" (Foucault, 1997a, p. 264). In Liu's (2018) interpretation of a table tennis player's subjectivation, the player had injured her right arm and started to practice with left arm to continue playing table tennis.

The third stage is the work that "one performs on oneself, not only in order to bring one's conduct into compliance with a given rule, but to attempt to transform oneself into the ethical subject of one's behavior" (Foucault, 1985, p. 27). The table tennis player's new purpose of being good at playing as well as sharing table tennis can be seen as ethical work (see Liu, 2018). The last stage the *telos* refers to the kind of being to "which we aspire when we behave in a moral way. For instance, shall we become pure, or immoral, or free, or masters

of ourselves" (Foucault, 1997a, p. 265). For example, the table tennis player was not forced, but chose to be a person of being a good communicator of table tennis.

In other words, the four stages of subjectivation are: What we seek to act upon, how we govern the substance, who we are in such a manner (e.g., active job seeker) and the goal sought (Dean, 2010). O'Leary (2002) noted that Foucault asks four questions related to the four aspects: "What part of myself should I address? Why should I engage in such work? What tools are available to me? What kind of person do I want to be, or what kind of life do I want to lead? " (p. 13). In this study, I use these four stages to interpret how a schoolteacher Zhu and school principal Xin shaped themselves in Olympic education (see Chapter seven).

In the stage of ethical theorizing in the process of subjectivation, Foucault's notion of problematization plays a critical role (Markula & Pringle, 2007). Foucault (1985) believed, "There are times in life when the question of knowing if one can think differently than one thinks, and perceive differently than one sees is absolutely necessary if one is to go on looking and reflecting at all" (p. 8). Problematization is inseparable from one's "nature, agency, freedom, and therefore, ethics" (Koro-Ljungberg et al., p. 1087). Crocket (2017) analysed the employment of the technologies of the self in sport since 2003 and further argued that problematization should be used in a more reflexive account to see how participants engage in it differently. In other words, when considering how Olympic education is made a problem, I do not assume all participants problematised Olympic education from the same way, but examine how participants perceived and problematised Olympic education differently.

Technology of the self is another important concept to examine subjectivation as it contributes to the process of subjectification (Chapman, 1997). Technology of the self consists of different techniques that individuals use to regulate their bodies, mind and conduct (Foucault, 1985). This is not to imply that technologies of the self are techniques that individuals employ on themselves are totally repressive and opposing; they could be refusal, but also comprise and resistance (Powell, 2015). As O'Farrell (2005) stated that power is not simply oppression and "saying no" (p. 100). In this study, students drew on technologies of the self to govern their own interests in Olympic education and provide some forms of resistance (Chapter seven).

Governmentality studies are often accused of failing to provide a convincing account of how resistance is actually possible (McKee, 2009; Muckelbauer, 2000). Although Foucault's work revealed the processes of subjectification, he did not offer much on the resistance

(McLaren, 2002). However, for Foucault (1990), "Resistance is never in a position of exteriority in relations to power…one is always inside power, there is no escaping it, there is no absolute outside of it" (p. 95). In other words, resistance is an integral part of power, and there is no power without the possibility of resistance. He claimed, "No matter how terrifying a given system may be, there always remain the possibilities of resistance, disobedience, and oppositional groupings" (Foucault, 1984a, p. 245). Considering the lack of presentation of resistance in governmentality studies, in this thesis, I will provide accounts of how resistance is possible and under what conditions a resistance can take place, particularly when it comes to investigating primary school students' experiences of Olympic education programmes.

Aside from exposing the formation of individual human subjects, an important dimension of subject sheds light on the formation of collectivities (Dean, 2010; Powell, 2015; Weidner, 2010). In Powell's (2015) thesis, he considered institutions, organisations, authorities, schools, communities as an important dimension of collectivities. He examined how collective subjectivities of these dimension connected themselves to childhood obesity. In my case, the two participating schools formed collective subjectivities by decorating their campus with Olympic-related symbols, and shaped these decorations as a way to implement Olympic education (Chapter six). Besides, Polletta and Jasper (2001) suggested to pay attention to the collective actors' motivations and strategic choices. Therefore, this study will examine how the schools strategically decorated their campus and further explore the motivations behind such strategic decorations.

**Foucault's discourse**

As discussed in the rationalities of government section, discourse plays a key role in the construction of rationalities and the ways people understand the world. In Foucault's (1972) conceptualisation, discourses are sets of truths that are (re)produced through power relations and social practices operating in institutions, such as schools and prisons. Discourses have multiple layers of meaning. First, discourses are groups of statements define the practices that people engage in everyday life (Markula & Pringle, 2007). For example, in the case of health and physical education programmes, discourses of expertise in sport shapes teachers, students and external providers to believe they need outside 'experts' – sports coaches – to teach students, rather than the classroom teachers (see Powell, 2015). Another example is the learning area of health and physical education, which is constituted with discourses of health, sports, obesity, and risk (see Leahy, 2012; McEvilly et al., 2014).

However, not all discourses carry "equal weight or power" to produce 'truths' in society (Weedon, 1997). Powerful discourses, such as institutional discourses (law, medicine), have "the authority of what is natural or normal" (Weedon, 1997, p. 95). For instance, dominant biomedical discourses of obesity ensure that people think and believe that there is an 'obesity epidemic', one that needs to be solved by shaping children's bodies in schools through various biomedical interventions. In this study, I will examine institutional discourses in school-based Olympic education (e.g., honour, nationalism, and responsibility) and how they carry more weight more than other discourses (e.g., Olympic spirit and knowledge).

Second, Foucault's understanding of discourse is not only about language, but relatively well-bounded ways of thinking and knowing about the social world (McHoul & Grace, 2015; Powell, 2010). As Foucault (1974) claimed, discourses are "practices that systematically form the objects of which they speak" (p. 49). Danaher et al. (2007) also noted that, discourses are "language in action" (p. 31); windows for people to see things in particular ways. Taking this point into consideration, McEvilly (2012) examined discourses in preschool physical education in both curriculum and school practices. In this study, I will also analyse discourses that appear in documents and in Olympic education practices in schools.

Discourses are implicated in our subjectivity production (O'Flynn, 2004). As Wright (2004) claimed, subjects and subjectivities are formed through discourse. This links to power, as Bilton et al. (2002) explained, discourses are the effects of power and they provide individuals with languages to think and know the world. Consequently, we choose certain things that are "natural and obvious" to ourselves (Dahlberg & Moss, 2005, p. 17). For example, discourses of pride and national glory were understood to have helped China win public support for the 2008 Beijing Olympics (Chong, 2012). In this study, it is vital to examine what kind of discourses students, teachers, and other governmental actors draw on and produce in order to govern themselves and others.

Lastly, discourses are not forced onto people, nor are people necessarily passive recipients of discourse. People also resist and make 'choices' based on contradictory discourses. Different and competing discourses can exist in the same place at the same time (Foucault, 1998f). Discourses can be "both an instrument and an effect of power, but also a hindrance, a stumbling-block, a point of resistance and a starting point for an opposing strategy" (Foucault, 1978, p. 101). For example, Liu (2018) identified discourses of caution

and risk co-exist in the context of waka ama paddling[20], where paddlers kept participating in the sport with the awareness of risking their and others' lives. In this example, paddlers negotiated between these two sport-related discourses, and the discourse of caution can be regarded as a counter discourse to the more prevalent discourse of risk-taking in sport. My analysis will involve an examination of competing and contradictory discourses, including how students and teachers negotiate different discourses that shape and are shaped by Olympic education. Chapter four will also explain in more detail my employment of a Foucauldian-style discourse analysis.

## Summary

In this chapter, I first introduced the influence of Foucault and then showed the applicability of his theory in China. Then I provided a critical overview of Foucault's governmentality by describing three key themes of governmentality: Rationalities, technologies, and the subjects. Many of these concepts overlap and flow into one another, and Foucault's work does not represent a coherent theory. However, I have demonstrated that the concept of governmentality allows me to think in new ways about how Olympic education is governed by multiple agencies within school communities and what kinds of subjects that these practices produced. I have highlighted the ways in which Foucault is concerned with not only the *thought*, but with actualised techniques. Therefore, I aim to examine both the blueprints of government and technologies of government, how these two aspects are intermingled with each other to produce a certain type of Olympic education in schools, what kind of subjects they aimed to cultivate, and what types of subjects they actually developed. The use of a critical ethnography was vital in enabling me to examine the governmentality of Olympic education in two Chinese primary schools.

[20] Outrigger canoeing, known as waka ama in New Zealand.

# Chapter four: Critical ethnography

> *This is the first school day after China's National Day. I sit in the PE teachers' office in Railway School, chatting about their new plans for the rest of the semester. On the table, I notice a document from the district education commission, requiring teachers to promote basic facts related to the Winter Olympics, and asked how they planned to implement it. My question is received with sudden silence. I look at Zhu [a schoolteacher] for a response. He shakes his head and explains; he would not teach this content yet, because there had been no corresponding evaluation, but eventually he would 'have' to teach students this content. In my notes, I write: "Schoolteachers' practices contradicted the governmental requirements, and they did it on purpose".*
>
> *[FN 12/10/2018]*

This opening extract from my field notes was not an isolated example. I observed multiple occasions across two schools where the reality of practices employed at schools contradicted governmental requirements and official plans (outlined more comprehensively in the findings chapters). To help understand these contradictions, I applied critical ethnography to examine the governmentality of Olympic education in schools. This approach included site observations, conversations with school personnel and external providers, detailed reflexive field notes, and a survey of the relevant documentation. My aim was to understand the reasons, strategies, and practices behind Olympic education and the embodied influence the programme exerted on students and teachers.

There are five sections in this chapter. The first section explains the rationale behind my choice to employ critical ethnography. The second section introduces the two participating schools and key participants from the two schools. The third section provides a discussion of the methods employed in this research, difficulties encountered, and the strategies I employed to deal with them. In the fourth section, I discuss how I approached potential participants outside of the schools and used ethnographic methods to guide my interactions with them. In the last section, I explain my process of analysis and the method by which I present my key findings and discussion.

## Why critical ethnography?

My research focuses on the rationalities and technologies used by disparate stakeholders to govern the implementation of Olympic education, the results of these implementation technologies, and how the governmentality of Olympic education in China shapes students' and teachers' subjectivities.

To meet these aims, I needed to collect a rich variety of evidence about everyday practices occurring in schools. Ethnography allowed me to collect this evidence through different methods: Spending time in schools, building relationships with participants, interviewing teachers and students, observing classes, writing a reflective journal, and collecting policies and a range of other documentary evidence. Such an approach also helped me to explore the unpolished reality of Olympic education at schools. As Ball (1994) commented, ethnography provides access to engage with "the real" in local settings (p. 4). Collection of data over an extended period of time created opportunities for me to observe school practices, and prevented schools from manipulating the data by arranging pre-planned activities. It allowed me to participate in people's daily school lives and to understand people's behaviour and culture in a 'natural' setting (Creswell, 2007; Gratton & Jones, 2010; Jones et al., 2012; Markula & Silk, 2011).

The ethnography I employed can be viewed as a critical ethnography for two reasons. Firstly, a critical ethnographer exposes power relationships through in-depth involvement in a research setting (Fitzpatrick, 2010). As Thomas (1993) asserted, critical ethnography is "conventional ethnography with a political purpose" (p. 4):

> Critical ethnography is a way of applying a subversive worldview to the conventional logic of cultural inquiry. It does not stand in opposition to conventional ethnography. Rather, it offers a more direct style of thinking about the relationships among knowledge, society and political action. The central premise is that one can be both scientific and critical, and that ethnographic description offers a powerful means of critiquing culture and the role of research within it. (Thomas, 1993, p. vii)

Secondly, a critical ethnography utilises information from multiple sites. As Powell (2015) argued, multiple sites allow researchers to explore and compare the variety of relationships between the government policy and localised interpretations, so it can provide a more "comprehensive interpretation" (p. 63) than in a single-site, traditional ethnography. In this

study, a critical ethnography enabled me to examine an assortment of power relations that are exercised through an array of related institutions. It also helped me identify the different rationales, technologies, and subjects involved in Olympic education implementation in two Chinese primary schools: Railway School and Mountain School.

## Two primary schools in Beijing

For the purposes of this study, it is assumed that Olympic education in Beijing is representative of Olympic education in China. This assumption was supported by the participating teachers. For example, Lee, a PE teacher at Railway School, commented, "All places in China are same. It is just that Beijing as the capital city implements everything earlier than other places." Qin, a PE teacher at Mountain School, made a similar comment; "I believe other schools would be like us. There are little differences between schools. It is just Beijing catered to policy earlier than other places." While it is difficult to determine how accurate this assumption is, it does mean that there was probably a reasonable amount of similarity between schools in terms of how they enacted Olympic Education in their individual context.

My choice to conduct this study at a primary school level was informed by the targets of previous Olympic education programmes. Primary and secondary school students were always the target of Olympic education programmes, including the 1992 Barcelona Olympics (Monnin, 2012), the 2004 Greek Olympics (Makris & Georgiadis, 2017), and the 2008 Beijing Olympics (Brownell, 2009; Liu, 2012; Wang & Masumoto, 2009), the 2012 London Olympics (Tims, 2017), and the 2016 Rio Olympics (Knijnik & Tavares, 2012). I chose to focus on primary schools rather than secondary schools because, as Wang and Masumoto (2009) explained, primary school students had more comprehensive Olympic education activities than secondary school students for the 2008 Beijing Olympics. Therefore, I assumed that primary schools could provide rich data for this thesis.

My choice of schools was guided by my desire to have participating schools that were comparable in size, location, staff-student ratios, socio-economic, and demographic compositions. As this choice allowed me to "assess changes in children depending on the content of Olympic education programme at a certain school" (Sukys & Majauskienė, 2013, p. 91) and collect comprehensive data (Baker, 2012; Falzon, 2009). I chose schools which claimed to promote Olympic education (and intended on implementing Olympic education programmes before the 2022 Olympics), had differing approaches to Olympic education, and

were geographically distant from each other. Through talking with key informants in the field, I identified two schools that potentially had the most comprehensive Olympic education in Beijing, meaning that would be a "data rich" site (Leahy, 2012, p. 94).

Initially, this purposeful selection proved to be problematic. The commuting time between these two schools was four hours, which took a toll on my ability to spend time in both sites. Moreover, in the initial stages of my ethnographic research, I saw little evidence of anything to do with Olympic education. As I wrote in my journal:

> I am so frustrated about my research because I did not see things related to the Olympics except decorations. Teachers focus on their teaching plan and PE teachers do PE exams. Student Nanthy told me that she was only involved in Olympic education two times in the last half year. When can I see their Olympic education? (FN 12/09/2018).

My confusion was increased after a conversation with Qin, a PE teacher at Mountain School. He was curious about how I was going to be able to write a PhD thesis on this topic, commenting that due to the limited Olympic education activities actually offered at his school, the thesis would be "only 700 words".

My concerns, however, were ameliorated after a conversation with Zoe, a teacher at Mountain School. She said: "You can see the process of how schools conducted Olympic education, and if you came near 2022, you only can see the final product. Olympic education implementation is like a tree, which is sprouting now." Her comment bolstered my confidence in my choice of schools, and inspired me to reflect that this research process was exactly what I wanted; it provided me with opportunities to see the complex construction of Olympic education, and an avenue to explore how different rationalities and technologies were deployed by and through diverse activities, sites and organisations. Before I discuss the different ethnographic methods, which I employed in this thesis, it is important to introduce the two primary schools that were the focus of this critical ethnography.

**Railway School**

Railway School was built in 1945 in Beijing, China. The school has approximately 1300 students and 36 classes. As a traditional primary school, the school enrols students from Year 1 to Year 6 (aged 7 to 13). The school has two campuses, with one for Year 1 and 2, and the other for Year 3 to 6. All of the full-time teaching and administrative staff were Chinese. Out of 90 teachers, only seven were male, four of which were PE teachers.

Since 2001, the school began promoting Olympic education as a key characteristic that would separate it from other schools, and was selected as a demonstration school for Olympic education. The school's aim was to cultivate international awareness through Olympic education, and this aim was displayed on a large TV screen in front of the school gates. The school walls were decorated with images of Olympics symbols, athletes, and host countries. The school helped to write textbooks for Olympic education, and one of the first 'mini' Olympic opening ceremonies was held here. School aerobics teams were invited to participate in the 2012 Olympics tour, and the vast majority of the books in the school library was about the Olympics.

During the latter half of 2018, I spent time with six Year 6 classes. Year 6 is the final year of primary school in China and most students in these two classes are aged between 12 and 14. At this level, students had six lessons per day and 30 lessons per week, including six mathematics lessons, six Chinese, three English, three PE (one specifically for basketball), and two hobby lessons (based on students' preferred option) on Friday afternoon. I met each class two times per week, mainly during their health and PE lesson given by Zhu, a PE teacher of 30 years' teaching experience at the school (for more detailed profile of Zhu, see Chapter seven). This meant I aimed to observe Zhu 12 times per week, which would provide me with ample time to observe his PE lessons and become more familiar with students. After two weeks, I realised Zhu would teach the similar content in a similar way to each and every class over one week. So I spent the majority of the mornings observing and conversing with Zhu, and most afternoons talking with students. As Zhu was in charge of the winter sports hobby lesson for Year 6 students, I had an additional two hours each week to observe his teaching and the students' learning.

At the beginning of the research, I did not recruit any other teachers at Railway School other than Zhu, as I was informed that only Zhu taught or had taught Olympic-themed activities. However, as I spent more time in the school, I realised that another teacher, Lee (the head of PE), had strong opinions about the place of Olympic education. After recruiting Lee as a participant, I conducted a number of research conversations with him in his spare time; conversations that were insightful, valuable and contributed to my understanding of the complexity of Olympic education at Railway School.

In addition to formal PE lessons, I also attended numerous public events (e.g., school opening ceremony, a football match), set up exercise sessions during the 40 minutes break[21], and spent time talking with teachers during lunchtime. Overall, the research evidence I drew on in this study comes from the 32 days I spent at Railway School over four months.

**Mountain School**

Built in 1984, and located closely with the Beijing Organizing Committee for the 2022 Olympics and Paralympic Winter Games, Mountain School is a primary school located in a rural community which would traditionally be considered 'undeveloped' in comparison with other areas in Beijing. The school began to participate in Olympic-related activities in early 2018, and the school community was recently named a *Winter Olympic Community*. Perhaps because of its close proximity to the Committee, the school boasts a heavy investment into Olympic education, making it an ideal location for my study.

I selected the participants after a short interview with the school principal Xin. The school roll includes 321 students and 35 teachers. Xin noted that Olympic education at their school did not belong to any subjects, and sometimes all students and teachers would be required to participate in Olympic education. He recommended three teachers and one class who frequently participated in Olympic education activities. I took his advice, but also included the principal himself in the study.

A total of 22 students from one Year 5 class (aged 11 to 12) participated in this study and I attended their classes an average of two days per week. I also attended other classes that were offered during the semester. Students went to six lessons per day up to a maximum of 30 lessons per week. Lessons included six mathematics lessons, six Chinese, three English, three PE (one specifically for martial arts) and one hobby lesson as students' preferred option on Tuesday afternoon. The three teachers who participated were: Ms Tina (class teacher, taught Chinese, with two years' teaching experience); Mr Qin (who taught Year 5 PE, and had nineteen years teaching experience); and Zoe (an outsourced teacher in charge of craftwork whose class included many of the Year 5 students I was observing). Noticing that principal Xin was also heavily involved in the majority of Olympic-themed activities, and being aware that

[21] Primary school students are required to do one-hour exercise, and schools will do this in the morning during the first semester and in the break time during the second break time.

empirical evidence regarding the role of administrators remains sparse in critical ethnographies (Anderson, 1989), I included him in this study.

During my time at Mountain School, I participated in almost all of the Olympic-themed activities. I accompanied and observed students as they were engaged in a variety of activities, including: Listening to the deputy mayor's speech about the Winter Olympics; drawing a design for the Winter Mascot; listening to Winter Olympic radio; and participating in a mish-mash of other extra-curricular winter sports-related activities. In total, I spent twenty-two days with the students and teachers, observing them in various areas (such as the staffroom, dining room, and playground), and six days observing extracurricular activities outside of the school.

## Ethnographic fieldwork at the two schools

In conducting this critical ethnographic study, I immersed myself into the two primary schools throughout the duration of one semester from August 30th 2018 to 30th December 2018 (approximately four months). During this time, I collected diverse empirical evidence through five types of methods, as presented below.

### Research conversations

During the early stages of my research in both schools, I realised that my engagement offered me significant opportunities to have incidental interactions with teachers and students at crucial times. Reflecting on this, I needed to more frequently talk with students and teachers during any available time. I used what Fitzpatrick (2010) and Powell (2015) referred to as *research conversations* mainly to be able to both listen to individuals and attend to issues of power. According to Fitzpatrick (2010), conversations have greater potential for building relationships and trust with participants, and allow a less formal environment to express their ideas. Powell (2015) supported this view and further claimed that the difference between unstructured interviews and research conservations is that the latter empowers students to explore issues of power and equity. Developing trusting and meaningful relationships was key to conducting valuable research conversations with a range of participants.

#### *Building good relationships with school personnel*

Li (2007a) stated that it is not easy to locate the targets of government as they have diverse background and customs. My aim was to overcome this by building trusting relationships with school personnel. Initially, I wished to develop relationships with staff as soon as possible, so

I introduced myself to teachers in the office and answered their questions. Even so I still felt uncomfortable staying in the staff room. I did not know where I should sit, when should I talk, and who should I talk to. In order to break this impasse, I assisted teachers with their administrative tasks, sat down, and ate lunch with them. Over time, they started to accept me as an *insider*, and we regularly talked about education, house prices in Beijing, and life in the school.

One benefit of becoming the *insider* was gaining access to more candid conversations with schoolteachers, allowing me to uncover the actual state of Olympic education, rather than being fed the official, propagandized perspective. For instance, Lee, the PE director at Railway School, suggested that I investigate the Floor X Association (an external provider, see Chapter five) through an online search. Initially, the intention behind his suggestion seemed unclear, but upon following his advice, I soon realised the Floor X Association was not listed as a public or state organisation (like most sports associations in China) as I had previously assumed, but as a privately-owned company. Candid conversations such as these helped me understand the complex backgrounds of both my participants and the different organisations involved in Olympic education in schools.

Another benefit of my status as an *insider* was increased access to research material and resources. For example, Mountain School had an audio recording about the Olympics and they played the recording via their radio to students. I identified this as a potentially valuable piece of data and felt I needed to have a copy of this script of the recording. When I mentioned this in the office, one teacher immediately told me who was in charge of the radios so I could ask directly. Another example was the way that schoolteachers usually told me their future plans for Olympic education, which allowed me to prepare my observation schedules in advance.

I was also able to compare the different responses that schoolteachers provided towards one question. For instance, Xin said that their school planned to focus on developing Winter Olympic education. However, in a later conversation with Qin, he refuted Xin's response and further explained that the school had decided to prioritise football. He assumed, "We [the school] do not have enough teachers for more activities." I was not sure who was right, but it was a reminder that different people had different opinions and knowledge of the Olympic education model. Given I was at the school for one semester, I was fortunate enough to have

time to consider and reconsider the data along my analytical lines and follow up on certain aspects of it if I needed to.

However, my *insider* status also brought complications. As I became more comfortable with the teachers and administrative staff, they began asking for small favours. For example, I was asked by the administrative officer to take Zhu's classes three times on his leave time in October. Zhu himself also asked me to help him with some teaching tasks. Similarly, at Mountain School I was asked to help teacher Tina with students' speech contest and help principal Xin with his paperwork. The high frequency with which I was asked for such little *favours* risked compromising the natural environment of doing ethnography and the integrity of my study, so I was forced to refuse due to methodological considerations. While I was concerned that my refusal might offend them, I explained my reasons for refusal carefully, and asked for their understanding.

Building relationships with students took more time than with adults. Although I explained my research intentions multiple times, played basketball with students after lunch, and joined their lessons on a weekly basis, the students were cautious around me, and suspicious of my intentions. They asked "Who are you?" to make sure I was not from the government to evaluate their school, or helping their teachers to dig into their secrets. Moreover, in the initial stage, students were conservative and somewhat disingenuous when answering my questions. They tended to answer my questions with what they thought I wanted to hear or provide answers that fell in line with what they thought was their official school 'line', rather than providing more genuine opinions.

Upon realising the students' suspicion about my status and intentions, I addressed the problem by changing the way I explained my purpose for being in their school. Following Bogdan and Biklen (2006), I introduced myself as an author rather than a researcher, in the hope that this would make it easier for students to understand my role and intentions, and circumvent any stigma attached to the role of 'researcher'. I told students to consider me as an author, writing a story about their Olympic education, and reiterated and further guaranteed my intention to respect their confidentiality (for example, by assuring them their teacher Zhu would not be told what they said to me). Upon clarifying my role and gaining the students' trust, I noticed an abrupt reversal in many of their statements about their experiences in school. For example, in a group conversation, student Hope provided 'safe' responses at the start, and later retracted what he had said once I had reframed my role:

Hope: I like Zhu more than other teachers because he was funny and awesome. He always participated in many other activities outside of our school.

…..

Hope: What is your purpose asking these questions?

Finn: Are you our schoolteacher or from the Ministry of Education?

Honglu: No. I am like an author to hear people's real thoughts about Olympic education. I would not tell anyone what you said to me.

Hope: I see. Why did not you tell us earlier? I was afraid of sharing my true thoughts before.

Honglu: So, what are your true thoughts about Zhu?

Hope: He is a liar and always beats around the bush.

Hope's abrupt recanting of earlier statements once I had clarified my role and intentions was not an isolated occurrence. In another group conversation about what kind of Olympism or Olympic spirit students learned from Olympic education at their school, student Anny directly said, "I would say yes that I learned it, such as how hard it is for athletes to win gold medals in the Olympics if others asked, but since you were asking me, I honestly tell you that I never learn any values from Zhu [their PE teacher]." I asked him why she answered me differently. She replied, because "you are just an author and I am happy to share my true thoughts." Once I gained students' and teachers' trust in these initial conversations, I started to conduct more research conversations.

### *Conducting research conversations*

I conducted group research conversations with students, and one-to-one conversations with teachers (in order to accommodate their schedules, and the different times they were available). Conversations were conducted in Mandarin, audio-recorded (using two recording devices to ensure against technical issues), transcribed for accuracy, translated and checked for analysis. However, I still faced two main difficulties as discussed below.

### Steering the conversation

During these interactions, I experienced some difficulties steering the conversation towards the topics I wanted to discuss. Despite an extended stay at the schools, these difficulties persisted. Reflecting on my conversations with teacher Zhu, I wrote:

> Why it is always so difficult to talk with Zhu. He never answered my questions, but tried to prove he was right about everything. He even asked me more questions than I did sometimes. He wants to show off, I want data. [FN 27/09/2018]

This excerpt reflects the frustration involved in getting teacher Zhu to answer my questions. This evasiveness was a common barrier, which I encountered during many of my conversations with teachers. Xin and Qin, for example, were also more interested in presenting their achievements than answering my questions.

My conversations with students tended towards the overly informal - for instance, when I asked students "Which continents do the Olympic rings represent?" they answered by giving examples of Chinese soups (this was a play on the words continents (洲) and soup (粥), which are pronounced the same in Mandarin). I encountered similar issues at Mountain School. I asked, "Do you prefer to learn some sports skills or theories related to the Olympics?" and was answered with a word game:

> Nanthy: Skills and gifts
> Brook: Skating
> Joshua: Bingbing Fan
> Nanthy: Stop talking about her. She was arrested because of tax evasion.

Brook's response 'skating' had reminded Joshua of Fan Bingbing (a famous actor recently in the Chinese media because of tax fraud allegations). Skating is a sport played on ice – which is pronounced 'Bing' in Mandarin (the same as the actress's name).

The students seemed more interested in my study and life in New Zealand than they were in answering my questions. Each time we talked, they would ask lots of questions such as: What do New Zealanders look like? What are the differences between them and us? I did my best to reply their questions. As Holloway (2005) reminded, ignoring respondents' questions can reduce their willingness to answer questions. However, this led to conversations which often drifted far away from my intended purpose, and planned questions.

In order to keep the conversations on track, I adopted Powell's (2015) suggestion of conducting a semi-structured approach towards these research conversations. This allowed me to change the topic in a more natural manner, responding naturally and spontaneously while still steering the discussions in the intended direction. My choice of topics was guided by Patton's (1900) theory, and I divided my questions into the six categories; experience, value,

feeling, knowledge, sensory, and background questions. I focused on finding out how often, and in which lessons students heard about the Olympics, I asked whether people visited their schools to talk about the Olympics, and how the students felt about these speeches. I questioned them on what sports they currently played, and which extra-curriculum activities related to the Olympics they had participated. This strategy also worked well with teachers. Each time they avoided my questions or tried to dominate the conservation with other topics, I utilised similar methods and questions to steer the conversations back to my intended topic.

These strategies were not always a total success, especially during conversations with students. During the first two weeks, I asked students "what kind of activities did your school conduct for Olympic education?" The students were confused and had no idea how to answer me. Reflecting on this, I simplified my questions to make them more understandable to younger participants. The modified question "what kind of Olympic related activities have you participated in?" was received with less confusion, and a better response.

Even while informing my practice with theory, I still found some questions difficult to ask. I needed something to trigger greater participation from students. I started telling them how much I enjoyed talking with them about their ideas and encouraged them to come talk to me at any time. This approach proved successful and some students began to take the initiative to speak with me, rather than me questioning them. They often sought after me to discuss the latest Olympic-related activities at their schools, which helped me to arrange my time effectively; and to observe activities I might otherwise have missed.

**Power relationships**

Another issue which was particularly evident in my early group conversations was the importance of power relations among students (Fitzpatrick, 2010; Powell, 2015). Some students preferred to keep silent, or when speaking chose to follow the opinions voiced by more dominant students. Some were reluctant to express their feelings in front of classmates. For instance, in an early group conversation, Finn said many activities (such as basketball and skipping), following contributions made by other members, but contradicted this in a later individual conversation. In the later conversation, he explained their school did not have any activities for Olympic education, but he "did not want his friends to judge him for making bad comments about the school", so he did not want to say this in the group conversations. Upon recognising the existence of these power issues among students, I encouraged them to join me in either one-on-one, or paired conversations if they wished. I also purposefully selected some

students who had in-depth knowledge and ideas that were relevant to my research for one-to-one conversation.

Even though, power issues still existed in individual communications between myself (in my role as a researcher) and the students. A good example of this is student Brook. At first, he agreed that all corporations should sponsor the Olympics and he was excited when answering the question. My questions may have revealed my intentions, as later in the conversation he reversed his earlier statement and said that he thought corporations should not sponsor the Olympics, as they all intended on making profits from their involvement. However, I felt that he might have said this to please me and tell me what I wanted to hear.

Noting this, I intentionally began encouraging students to express their own ideas freely. Before every conversation, I cautioned students to express their real thoughts and expressed that I did not intend on judging them for their responses. This strategy helped, and students provided more consistent ideas and opinions in the latter stages of the project. I believe this indicates participants were responding in a more genuine manner, rather than just saying what they thought I wanted to hear.

The conversation location also seemed to have a bearing on interactions with students and teachers. In classrooms, students hurried to finish the conversation and gave closed answers, hoping to avoid drawing attention from their classmates. Outside, they were eager to share their opinions. Similarly, when I talked to teachers in an office, or near places where other teachers sat together, they were typically conservative with their views. Outside, the views expressed became more radical. The subject matter of the conversations was sensitive, the conversations similar to confessions. I asked questions of participants, and they confessed to me, with a lesser or greater degree of truthfulness. Foucault's notion of technology of the self can be used to explain students' changes. Besley (2002, 2005) explained, conversations are a confession like and truth telling situations, so participants would employ certain strategies in these situations.

In order to free participants to speak freely, a private environment was needed; a place in which these conversations could be held in confidence. Talking outside provided this environment, and enabled participants to feel safe to express their opinions truthfully. Once I began inviting students (who had interests in conversations) to speak with me on the school field, and teachers to talk in the school dining room or on the field, the quality (or perceived truth value) of responses I received improved.

During regular research conversations with students, I observed that some teachers exerted pressure on me to talk to certain students, but not others. For example, Tina (a teacher at Mountain School) often suggested I talk with specific students by mentioning that these students were 'good' at expressing their ideas. I noticed the students she suggested were all 'good' students, in that they were better behaved (or more obedient), than others. Additionally, teachers (including non-participant teachers) were always eager to know what students had reported to me. Teachers Tina and Lee always asked for my thoughts on my conversation with students and sometimes would directly ask me to share details with them. Initially, I reacted to this by smiling and pretending that I had misunderstood their requests, but I soon realised I needed to explicitly refuse their requests to avoid bias in my interactions with students. This caused some dissatisfaction amongst the teachers initially, but the attempts at interference subsided.

These research conversations allowed me to gather useful information on the implementation of Olympic education in schools. It also allowed me to build relationships with schools and the people in them. However, the conversations raised questions about my method of research, and the structures necessary to ensure genuine responses from participants and avoid possible sources of bias. I concluded that more formal interviews with students and teachers would facilitate these aims. In the next section, I introduce the structure of my interviews in more detail and explain the rationale behind this structure.

**Interviews**

Interviews facilitate an insider view into people's experiences and the meanings they assign to these experiences (Jones et al., 2012; Willis et al., 2007). Semi-structured interviews allow researchers to ask planned, open-ended questions according to an interview guide, which they can follow (or adapt) to collect in-depth information (Jones et al., 2012; Markula & Silk, 2011).

For this research, I selected the structure of individual interviews with adults because of the potential to encourage teachers to express deeper, more personal thoughts and opinions (Sparks & Smith, 2013). This enabled teachers to talk freely without worrying about judgement from others. For students, the structure of focus group interviews was selected, as this structure allows researchers to more swiftly survey common experiences and understandings from participants (Jones et al., 2012). Focus group interviews create a more natural environment, which encourages genuine responses.

My question guide was prepared based on my research questions, as well as questions which arose during my early fieldwork (Appendix B). These questions focused on gathering information about perceptions of current activities for Olympic education, the influence of these activities on students and teachers, and the perceptions of intentions held by related organisations. Each interview lasted for approximately one hour.

### *Individual interviews with teachers*

I arranged seven individual interviews with five teacher participants at the end of the semester; one individual interview each with Zoe, Tina and Dina; and two interviews with Xin and Zhu (Table 1). The reason for only interviewing the first three teachers a single time was related to their consistent responses in individual interview and daily research conversations. For instance, they all provided many compliments for their school principal Xin and gave positive comments about their Olympic education implementation. The consistency of their responses spoke to a pre-planned content, so I felt a repeat interview was unnecessary, as it was unlikely to solicit different responses.

**Table 1.**

*The Teacher Participants for Research Conversations and Interviews*

| Methods | Railway School | Mountain School | Total |
|---|---|---|---|
| Research conversation | Zhu<br>Lee | Dina<br>Qin<br>Tina<br>Xin<br>Zoe | Seven teachers in ethnography |
| Interview | Zhu | Dina<br>Tina<br>Xin<br>Zoe | Five teachers in interview |
| Total | Two teacher participants from Railway School | Five teacher participants from Mountain School | |

Prior to commencing my interviews, I had already built strong relationships with each of my participants and informed them of the purpose of my research. Each interview began with an informal discussion, then proceeded with open-ended questions which encouraged participants to speak more openly. Questions were grouped, to avoid abrupt transitions between topics or ideas, and the overlap between topics meant that interviews typically progressed in a non-linear fashion, based around these groups of questions.

Informed by the issues surrounding the choice of interview location (informed by my research conversations), I was cautious when selecting suitable interview sites. As Elwood and Martin (2000) commented, the interview site produces micro-geographies of spatial relations and meaning, and multiple scales of social relations intersect during the interview. In order to select an environment in which genuine interactions could occur, I empowered participants by negotiating with them regarding the choice of interview site. Five of my seven interviews were conducted in the school dining room, and two were at a coffee shop adjacent to the schools.

Bearing in mind the need to allow interviewees agency and voice, rather than dominating the conversation (Markula & Silk, 2011), I prefaced each interview with the request that teachers ask me questions at any time. I encouraged questions during interviews, and found that this prompted teachers to answer my own questions in more detail than initially offered. I also prompted more detailed responses by asking follow-up questions. For instance, when teachers described issues relating to the implementation of Olympic education at school, I asked them to explain further the background of the issue, its different causes, effects, and possible solutions. These strategies allowed me to have active dialogue, build relationships and reciprocity with teacher participants, and thus hear more in-depth and richer responses from teachers.

I practiced summarising and repeating the answers given to participants in order to confirm their accuracy. According to Holloway (2005), researchers need to make sure they correctly understand participants' meanings and experiences, and avoid making assumptions. This strategy was useful for this thesis as most my teacher participants tended to use ambiguous language and frequently changed topics when answering questions. Teacher Zhu, from Railway School, was particularly evident. The responses he provided seemed designed to highlight his own achievements (see a few examples in Appendix C), rather than answer the questions I was asking. To ensure I understood and correctly represented his responses, I summarised his answers and confirmed them with him to avoid transferring my own assumptions.

### *Focus group interviews with students*

I conducted nine focus group interviews with students at the end of the semester: Three were in Mountain School and six in Railway School. The student participants at Mountain School were all taken from one Year 5 class, and the selection of students at Railway School was from six Year 6 classes.

I had learned from my previous conversation experiences that I should converse in simple terms when talking with young students. My questions were designed to be straightforward and easy to understand. My experience told me that students generally thought of Olympic education in vague terms, and had vague understandings of it. I adapted my questions to suit these vague understandings, and changed my group interview question from "can you tell me some Olympic themed activities at your school?" to "what is your first thought when mentioning Olympic education?" This strategy worked well, and students became more active in their responses, providing new perspectives.

However, I still faced difficulties in soliciting student responses. There were difficulties in conveying the meaning of my questions clearly to students, despite the simplicity of those questions. Questions that I thought were clear in meaning sometimes were interpreted in unexpected ways by the interviewees. I asked students "why do people say our school is a traditional Olympic education model school?" They seemed confused and asked who I was asking. I was attempting to ask why they thought their school was a model school, however, students thought I was asking to identify who among the students thought their school was a model school. One girl questioned me, asking why I thought they agreed with the school title, as she did not think their school was an Olympic education model school. The different interpretations between me and students resonates with Pringle's (2003) suggestion that language is not an objective or stable medium of communication.

Bearing this in mind, I began to use simple phrases and sentences on purpose to make sure students understood my questions. If a similar situation happened, or students appeared to go in a different direction to what I intended, or they seemed as though they thought the question was difficult to understand, I elaborated and explained my questions until they were satisfied.

I was also mindful of students' emotions body language as a source of information during the interview. For instance, when I asked students "what they had learned from Olympic

education?" Jasper started to explain, "Olympic education helped him open new horizons and learn new knowledge about Olympic culture." While he was explaining, student Anny in the group rolled her eyes. Noting this, I prompted her by asking whether she agreed with Jasper, and why. She replied that Jasper bragged too much. Following this interaction, I was careful to watch students' body language, and interpret the views these gestures indicated.

I also encountered power imbalances within a group. As Jones et al. (2012) claimed, imbalanced power relationships between each other is one limitation of the group interview. Following the advice of Smithson (2000) who stated that one technique to highlight different voices in group interview is making the group homogeneous by the age, experience, education, and gender. I let students choose their group members freely to make sure they were comfortable talking with and in front each other.

Meanwhile, I purposefully selected two groups of students at Mountain School: One group frequently participated in various Olympic-themed activities, and the other group did not. As Cotton (2012) commented, the selection of students might influence the results because they already had an interest in the Olympics.

One side effect of these group formation strategies was the difficulty of controlling the flow of the conversations in the groups. Having their friends in the group inspired students to express their own feelings freely, but sometimes these free conversations tended to wander off-topic into areas not relevant to my research. At first, I felt annoyed by this, until I realised that these digressions provided valuable information for my thesis, and prompted me to explore angles of inquiry which might not otherwise have occurred to me. Take the following conversation with a group of students from Year 5 students at Mountain School:

> Honglu: What kind of influence Olympic education have on you?
> Joshua: Nothing special, just fun
> Ben: I have no idea
> Joshua: It influenced my study
> Ben: Yeah, sometimes when the school principal asked some popular students out, our teacher would not teach us new content.
> Brook: I agree. And these students would show off when they came back, which further disappointed me. Why the principal never selected me and it is not fair.
> Joshua: Cause you are not pretty

Brook: I remembered that the principal asked us to smile in front of a camera. Students with good smile face would be selected to sing in the Beijing Winter Olympic Organization Committee.

Ben: None of us were selected. Julia is a popular.

The students had digressed from my question about the influence of Olympic education to a discussion of the school's selection criteria for Olympic education. Their responses contributed to my understanding of how schools conduct Olympic education. Similar situations happened in many other student group interviews. When this happened, I did not interrupt them. Instead, I prompted their discussion with follow-up questions to provoke further responses and allow the conversation to flow. My school time also provided me with valuable chances to observe Olympic education and people involved in it.

**Observations**

Observations provide empirical evidence about what people actually do rather than what they say they do, and enable researchers to get a greater contextual understanding of people's actions, interactions and emotions (Sparks & Smith, 2013). Hill (2009) stated that mixing ethnography with Foucault's work assists researchers to better see "what might be done, thought or taught differently" (p. 326). In this study, I focused on capturing teachers' practices towards Olympic education, and students' interactions and behaviours, instead of attempting to see 'everything' in the class or the school. I explored the manner in which teachers talked about Olympic education, particularly what rationalities and technologies they mobilised to develop their programmes and classes.

My initial plan of observing each class regularly, twice a week, quickly became very flexible. I noticed that what happened in one class was very much the same as what occurred in other classes in one week, even by different teachers. Moreover, Olympic education at the two schools I visited was primarily conducted as extra-curricular activities rather than during subject periods.

Considering the actual Olympic education implementation at the two schools, I chose not to focus exclusively on PE as my sole observation subject. Instead, I attended all the Olympic-related activities at the schools, (including activities conducted outside of school hours), to gain insight into these events. As Li (2007a) suggested, attention and time should be focused on specific times, places and sets of relations, so it would be most beneficial to

understand the governmental power. I divided my time with care, and made sure I could stay at school at least one day per week for each of the two schools (see Table 5).

During my observations, I occasionally chose to participate in activities or lessons in a limited fashion. I acted in what Spark and Smith (2013, p. 101) termed the "observer as participant", where, as a researcher, I only joined in situations with a marginal degree of interaction. In other words, I 'naturally' joined in with activities rather than forcing myself or pretending to be a 'real' participant in the setting. This strategy meant I was not a constant participant in lessons, which also provided me with opportunities to take notes. In order to observe the majority of Olympic education related activities (which are primarily physical activities), I was required to exercise in some fashion, which made it difficult for me to take notes (Markula & Silk, 2011). For this reason, I only selected particular activities to participate in, rather than attempting to participate in all.

The participant observer-observed relationship can be presented as a technology of power (Jordan &Yeomans, 1995). As Foucault (1980) noted, power is implicitly present within human relations. I did my best to influence student responses as little as possible, but noted that my implicit bias still tended to direct the focus of the conversations at times. I would pay more attention to active students, those who talked more to me and whom I felt close to. In order to reduce my potential bias – my own workings of power - I made deliberate attempts to broaden my focus to include less vocal students.

During my observations, I was observed in turn by the participants, and my presence at school influenced students and teachers to a certain degree, especially in the initial stages of the study. There were occasions when I felt that the teacher saw me as an expert or students considered me as a teaching assistant. At Railway School, teacher Zhu would ask for my *professional* opinions about teaching methods in New Zealand. Students also confirmed that Zhu behaved differently when I was present. As student Finn reported, Zhu's lessons were more relaxing and easier when I was not in the class. I was sometimes seen as a teaching assistant by teachers as well, and they would ask me to control the class or punish 'naughty' students.

To compensate for this, I made deliberate attempts to clearly state my intentions, and the purpose of my presence at school to reduce my influence on students and teachers. I brought cakes into the staff room to share with the teachers, and used the opportunity to clearly explain

that my intention was not to monitor them. I joined students' daily activities, and played with students after class to ensure they understood that I was not a teacher or figure of authority.

This strategy seemed to work well and I sensed students starting to treat me like one of their peers. However, the acceptance of my presence in lessons and activities changed the dynamics of my interactions with students and teachers, especially in the latter stages of the study. For example, when Mountain School organised students to make moon cake for Mid-Autumn Festival and distributed one cake to each student, each class did not have extra cakes, so a few students insisted on giving me their cake instead. The students felt that they wanted to make sure I was included. I was not an invisible fly-on-the-wall in the school, my presence was felt, noticed, and even appreciated by some students.

My influence on teachers also changed the conversation dynamics. Teachers began to talk with me actively and the topics of choice changed from requests for my *professional* views to more casual topics. These casual talks benefited my research. For instance, Qin offered to recommend me in my application for a job related to the 2022 Olympics, and explained that working in jobs related to Olympic education would be beneficial for my career, because 'China's government had invested a lot on the 2022 Olympics'. From this recommendation, I deduced some of the motivation behind his choice to be involved in conducting Olympic education, and this also helped me interpret the motivations behind some of the school's strategies and choices of involvement in Olympic education.

Once students realised that I did not really have authority on them, some of them attempted to challenge my perceived authority or lack thereof. For example, Ben, from Mountain School, put stuff on my head to see if I would become angry. Some students would try to chat with me in class when their teacher was not looking.

In order to keep my professional distance with students, I eventually decided to avoid unnecessary and non-research related contact with students, particularly during class time. Although I felt guilty about ignoring them on purpose, I did not want my presence in the class distracted them from their lessons or activities.

**Journals**

> I am so lucky that I prepared a journal. Otherwise I might miss today's activity (Winter Sports Show). I originally planned to use the whole Saturday doing some translations. Luckily, my notes reminded me of today's activity. If I did not attend the activity, I

> would never know the company's role in winter sports. Companies probably would be one of my research foci. I should keep recording detailed notes. [FN 25/12/2018]

This vignette is from my journal. I reflected how my notes helped me arrange my plans on a Saturday, further guided me to conduct conversations with students, and inspired me to consider companies as a new angle towards this thesis.

The importance of journals on this thesis was not only demonstrated in this experience. My notes also reminded me of observation foci. Bogdan and Biklen (2006) suggested, regularly reviewing field notes helps pursue specific leads in next data collection. During my field trip, I reviewed my notes frequently. I noted a number of irregular occasions when media visited the schools. My notes helped me reflect on how different the schools looked when journalists attended the schools. Such a reflection further encouraged me to explore the school's rationalities and preparations for media activities.

I was also able to critically monitor my field visiting at schools to allow myself and participants involved in this study in a better way. I wrote in my journal after China's National Day break:

> Teachers and students were happy with my presence at school. They became more active than before. They were eager to share with me new things happened at their school. Likewise, I relighted inner passion for this thesis. I had more inspirations after a break. Does it mean that a break will benefit an ethnography? [FN 09/10/2018].

This experience indicated that a break during an ethnography study can help researchers become more critical and inspired about the research, and at the same time allowed participants to also become more involved and interested in the research. Bogdan and Biklen (2006) also explained similar benefits for researchers about distancing researchers from the field a while after data collection. I believe the participants and my new enthusiasm could be a result of a break. However, how I took notes, and what should I write down are key for this thesis.

At both schools, I often sat down the back of the class, or alongside a school team, when observing their lessons and activities. I took notes about each observation, such as descriptions of settings, practices, and statements made. I also reflected on, re-thought, and recoded my feelings after each research conversation and interview. I noted casual conversations with participants, events I witnessed, artefacts I noticed, and sounds I heard – all of which provided important empirical materials for this thesis (Table 2).

**Table 2.**

*The Amount of Fieldwork at the Two Schools*

| Schools | Field visits | Hours of fieldwork | Volume of field notes (in Chinese) |
|---|---|---|---|
| Railway School | 32 | 160 | 32 entries, 22, 552words |
| Mountain School | 28 | 140 | 28 entries, 24,324 words |
| Total | 60 | 300 | 60 entries, 46,876 words |

*Note.* I stayed at least five hours each day. These hours included the time spent on extra activities outside the school.

At first, I wrote down the class, activity, and conversations word-for-word, or as best I could. For example, I made notes about "what was written on the board, what was being said, who was saying it and what students were doing" (Leahy, 2012, p. 101). I also made detailed notes about observations or conservations, such as portraits of the subjects and descriptions of physical settings. After the school day had finished, I typed up my field notes with additional annotations about moments of doubt and interest, which Carspecken (2013) agreed helps to construct 'thick' field journal notes. However, I became dismayed at the copious amount of field notes that appeared to be unusable, even useless. I needed to focus more on writing reflections that truly and meaningfully related to my topic. Being aware of this issue, I shortened my note-taking and deleted repetitive information. At the same time, I continued to collate reflective field notes, reflections on analysis, methods, ethical dilemmas, my frame of mind, and points for further clarification (Bogdan & Biklen, 2006). The time of take note was key during the data collection.

I planned to make notes about what I experienced, saw and felt immediately after the class. However, most activities I observed were physical and practical activities, often for more than one hour. Moreover, if the activity was delivered outside of classroom, I needed to take time going back to the school firstly. The long-time between the activity and being in a space to write in my journal meant that my recollections about what I wanted to write faded from memory; the accuracy and richness of my reflections were diminished. Noticing this, I structured the notes in my mind immediately after the activity or conversations, then wrote down a few key words quickly, and tidied up when I reached home.

However, I noticed that some students would become nervous when they realised I was writing something on my notebook, and some would try to peek. Teachers were also curious of my notes and told me their interest in reading it. Bogdan and Biklen (2006) warned, holding a pad at any angle would make it look like researchers were recording secrets or uncomplimentary information. In order to prevent distracting school personnel, I only took notes during lunch time when nobody was around, and kept my journals in a desk or in my bag where students could not see.

**Document analysis**

A dominant form of communication is written communication (Markula & Silk, 2011). I collected multiple text-based documents from various sources. Since Olympic education is promoted by different organisations, including the authorities, schools, companies, and others, I spent significant time searching for official documents provided by these institutions in order to be able to interpret their Olympic education aims and programmes – their rationales and technologies. As Piggin et al. (2009) claimed, the use of governmentality for policy provides insight into the management of populations.

Aside from these publicly accessible documents, I also walked into Beijing Sports University to collect more documents. The university is one of the top-level sports universities in China and has comprehensive and exclusive books about Olympic education for the 2008 Olympics. However, as only students and teachers from the university could access to the library, I entered into the library with private help.

I also wanted to investigate different enacted versions of Olympic education curricula, which Leahy (2012) referred to as "school translations" (p. 94), to identify explicit and implicit governmental rationalities, technologies, and subjects of school-based Olympic education. This included considering how curricula were translated into school programmes by teachers and schools. Therefore, I collected two schools' manuals, teaching syllabi, and other materials about Olympic education. I analysed these documents alongside empirical materials gained from other ethnographic methods.

Additionally, I analysed other written texts, such as school reports, school policy documents, and children's workbooks to help me gain an inside view of school culture. These general documents provided useful information for this study. They helped me to find out the contradiction between official records and 'reality'. For example, I noticed that Mountain

School played a Winter Olympics radio programme at least once a week, while only one recording was reported by the school. Such a finding inspired me that it is risky to make statement based solely on official reports or other text documents, and it indicated the importance of ethnographic research; these details would have been missed if I did not stay at school for a long time or only relied on documentary evidence.

Media also constituted another important part of my corpus, especially WeChat[22]. I followed some relevant organisations' official WeChat accounts to collect Olympic-related newsletters. The online information helped me critically view official plans/statement and reality. For instance, Mountain School released news saying that their students taking part in a Winter Olympics video, while I realised that only one student in my class had that chance. Such a discrepancy, an exaggerated expression, inspired to me to think about the intentions of schools. I also used online images as a way to facilitate the textual representation, especially when introducing floor winter sports and Olympic-themed decorations (see finding chapters).

## Participants outside the walls of the school

Ethnography provides researchers with the opportunity to experience a site and its culture for a long time. During my time at the two schools, I realised that the university group and two equipment companies (i.e., Cross-Roller and Swix & ONTO Snow) played a key role in delivering Olympic education (see Chapter five). In fact, their involvement became a key focus for my study. Here I briefly introduce my ethnographic approach with participants from these three stakeholders.

The university team was organised by a university teacher. They were mainly teaching students basic facts around the Olympics to schools, communities, and others. There were six members in the team—all postgraduate students who were majoring in Olympic studies. Two of the students agreed to participate in this study: Cindy and Wendy. Cindy had two years' lecturing experience, and Wendy had eight months of lecturing experience at different schools in Beijing. I conducted two individual interviews with each of them, one was conducted at our first meeting and one was the last meeting (four interviews in total). The conversation topics were around their professional and academic backgrounds, their views, intentions, opinions of activities for the Olympic education in 2020, and their perspectives on schools' intentions.

[22] WeChat is the most commonly used social media site in China, with approximately 1.08 billion people in 2018 (Peng & Ye, 2019).

In addition, I conducted informal research conversations with Cindy and Wendy. In my first interview with Cindy, she kindly suggested to their lectures at a school and thought it would benefit my thesis. She also provided me with their teaching syllabus. However, I could not observe their lectures due to the ethical considerations, instead, I travelled with the team to the school and had group conversations with Cindy and Wendy. Because of heavy transport in Beijing, we had around one hour to talk on the way to the school and one the way back to their university. They would introduce the topic they would teach later on the way to schools where they were going to lecture, and then they would provide reflections following the lecture on the way back. I travelled with them for four lectures, and had a group conversation each time. Although I did not have the chance to observe the lessons, their timely introduction and reflections helped me situate myself in their lectures, understand their points and further ask questions.

As well as the university team, two equipment companies provided coaches for both schools to teach floor winter sports (Chapter five): Cross-Roller (http://www.cross-roller.com/) and Swix & ONTO Snow (http://beijing.lps-china.com/partners/onto-snow/). Because of my frequent appearance at the two schools, I had chances to develop a good relationship with these coaches. Two coaches agreed to participate in this thesis: Wen from Cross-Roller, and Zara from Swix & ONTO Snow. I had conversations with each of them whenever they were at the schools. The topics of conversation were around intentions of their company, activities they conducted so far, and their future plans. The conversation with them provided me with valuable empirical data to understand how they were involved in Olympic education. It also provided useful background information to understand school personnel's views towards these outsourced resources.

## Analysing and 'writing up'

I started my initial analysis when I was in the field. I repeatedly read the research conversations, observations, and notes, then re-focused and re-formulated my analytic questions (Bogdan & Biklen, 2006). I followed Pringle (2003) by making descriptive notes in the margins of the transcripts to explain contexts of some conversations.

Discourse analysis offers a lens to understand Olympic education. As Youdell (2011) asserted, discourses help to understand:

> How education comes to be understood as a particular sort of activity with particular ends, for understanding the way that particular knowledge are propagated and circulated in education policy as well as in the daily activities of educational institutions and for conceiving of how these discourse are unsettled as subjugated discourse are constantly deployed in practices. (p. 26)

In this respect, discourse is a central analytic regarding my research questions. It helped me understand Olympic education in policy and practice. The relevant discourses also helped analyse the impact of Olympic education on students and teachers, and explore the ways in which people construct their subjectivities through discourse.

I employed a Foucauldian discourse analysis for this study because of my engagement with Foucault's work. For Foucault, power is not about privileging certain groups, but oppressing others. It is relational. Foucault's work provides a meaningful way to analyse how discourse and power are intertwined in a collection of texts from the contemporary world (Markula & Silk, 2011; Willig, 2008). This collection of texts is not limited to written language, but also spoken language and visual texts (Markula & Silk 2011; McHoul & Grace, 2015). For these reasons, a Foucauldian discourse analysis is employed for all my ethnographic methods and the empirical materials gained, including interview transcripts, documents, field notes, observations, and research conversations.

In this study, I followed the six steps that Markula and Silk (2011) claimed to detect discourses: Objects, enunciations, concepts, individualised groups of statements, theories, and link to power relations. **Objects** are the specific topics to which the texts refer. It could be textbooks, media, and daily conversations. **Enunciations** are sources where the objects are talked about. **Concepts** are how the objects are talked about. For instance, if the object of one analysis is textbooks, its sources here might be exercise textbooks, and related concepts might be health, illness, and fitness. These concepts then form **individualised groups of statements**. For example, preventing illness is an important way to be healthy or fitness prevents illness. The fifth step is the identification of **theories**. It refers to "how do these individualised statements link with a larger filed of statement" (Markula & Silk, 2011, p. 133). Linking to the previous two statements, the theories here were linked with a large theory of health-related fitness. The last step is to **link to power relations**. In the case of health and illness, medicine and science are powerful sources for such kind of statements. The six steps helped me identify discourses appeared in Olympic education (Table 3).

**Table 3.**

*An Example of Doing Foucauldian Discourse Analysis*

| Data extract | Seven steps |
|---|---|
| Beijing 2022 Winter Olympics is an important history landmark in contemporary China. It provides a critical opportunity to present China's new image, develop China and cheer the national spirit. Olympic education is an important part of the 2022 Olympics. This plan aims at helping China host a splendid, extraordinary and remarkable Olympics, and promote Olympic knowledge and spirit to primary and secondary school students all over China. | **Objects:** Document<br>**Enunciation:** A policy issued by China's government issued<br>**Concepts:** Olympic knowledge, Olympic spirit, winter sports, the 2022 Olympics, developing China, Olympic education, landmark<br>**Statement:** Olympic education promotion is a way to develop China; prompting Olympic knowledge and spirit is a way to promote Olympic education; developing winter sports is also a part of Olympic education.<br>**Theories:** Moral responsible for developing China,<br>**Power relation:** Nationalism, patriotism, pride. |
| Notes: | How would school react to the policy? Whether they would disobey the policy or interpret the policy in their ways. If these divergences happened, how? Why? |

During this process, the seven steps were not linear. I constantly went back to the original transcripts and adjusted the steps to make sure that I did not miss any possible important points. As Carabine (2001) suggested Foucauldian discourse analysis needs to read and re-read data which aids analysis. One particular technique I employed is the Foucault's discourse identification strategy of silent discourses. As Foucault (1978) claimed, "It is this distribution (of discourses) that we must reconstruct, with the things said and those concealed, the enunciations required and those forbidden, that it comprises" (p. 100). Taking this strategy in mind, Pringle (2003) examined, "what the interview participants reported and also attempted to understand what was not being said, as well as what discourses underpinned these silences" (p. 130). Following Foucault and Pringle, I took silent discourses into consideration to the examination of Olympic education. For example, during my fieldwork, I asked a group of students about their views on learning Olympic knowledge that their teacher Zhu taught. They

laughed. One student, Finn, quickly replied: “Are you joking? He is the teacher.” What Finn insinuated was the discourse of teachers’ authority, even if he did not explicitly say it aloud.

**Arranging structure**

After the detection of discourses, I took a break to refresh myself (Bogdan & Biklen, 2006). I then read my analysis several times and made my argument about the study: Olympic education is not an educational programme but a promotional one for state government, schools and corporations. Under the argument, I grouped the relevant responses under different headings, such as authorities, corporations, schools’ translation, teachers’ pedagogy, and students’ reactions. With these headings, I started to structure the thesis to give the reader a logical way of the stories. Then I realised that the structure process actually needs several times to tell an ideological story. At first, I arranged the different organisations in separate sections in Chapter five to present their practices and ambitions in Olympic education. In Chapter six, I categorised Olympic education activities in schools into different types: Resources, schoolteachers’ and outsourcing teachers’ beliefs and practices, extra activities. In Chapter seven, I presented how students felt about these activities, including their learning outcomes, acceptance and critical comments. Based on this roughly structure, I filled up different sections with suitable evidence.

However, in this writing process, I realised that I was being too descriptive and not adequately reflecting the complexities of Olympic education. I noticed that each activity was not delivered by one stakeholder, but involved in multiple stakeholders. Of the way I was presenting the data minimised the complex governance of Olympic education. Considering these issues, I adjusted my analysis, my ‘writing up’, and the structure of this thesis. Chapter five aims to show how China’s government and equipment companies governed schools in Olympic education at school, at the same time, I examine the interactions between the state government and equipment companies. Chapter six focuses on the dynamics of Olympic education translations by schools for self-promotion in the public education system. Chapter seven explores how students and teachers governed themselves in Olympic education. In the process, I deleted some content. The risks that were produced in the outsourcing lessons is an example. Although it is a meaningful topic, it did not consist with the argument.

**Representation**

After the re-structuring, I reflected more on how best to present the data. My first instinct was to tell a type of ‘realist tale; the dominant mode of representation in qualitative research

(Markula & Silk, 2011). However, the realist tale has two key disadvantages. First one relates to the authors' role in research. Markula and Silk (2011) argued that the author's influence on research is eliminated as much as possible in realist writing. This way, a realist tale would minimise my subjectivities in this study and attempt to have a scientific tale. As an ethnographer, I should not "experience life but write in science" (Markula & Silk, 2011, p. 252). My subjectivity had significant influence throughout the research -the selection of sites, the types of data, the way to conduct methods - I decided to account for it, instead of escaping it (Holliday, 2007).

The lack of deep and contextual accounts of participants' voices was the second disadvantage of the realist tale. Sparkes (1995) suggested that researchers should reflect on some key questions before presenting their findings: "Who speaks in the text and whose story is being told, who maintains control over the narrative and, by implication, over the purposes to which the story is put" (p. 166). For my research and writing, this meant paying close consideration and being deeply reflexive of both my own and my participants' voices.

In reflecting on these two disadvantages, I employed what Pringle (2003) called "modified realist tale" (p. 131) to represent my finding. Specifically, instead of using passive voice like most realist tales, I regularly used the pronoun 'I' to position myself as part of the research methods, analysis, and findings. I also reminded readers that this thesis was presented through a collaborative process between me and my participants. When using quotes from participants. I attempted to show my intimate involvement in the process, for instance, I often will lead into a quote with phrases like "a student told me…" or "Qin laughed at my question…"

A vital part of this modified realist tale is the use of thick descriptions that provide rich and detailed accounts of experiences. As Pringle (2003) stated that the original detailed quotes from participants helped create a coherent text for readers. These quotes reveal participants' voices and subjective meanings, which is also a way to empower participants by hearing their own words (McCabe & Holmes, 2009). In this study, I took a similar strategy in terms of my conversations with participants and further used other data sources (e.g., field notes) to provide additional and necessary information. I weaved my field notes with realist tales to show the context in which Olympic education had been governed, especially in Chapter six. These detailed notes supported my discussion with the awareness that "well-constructed, data-rich

realist tales can provide compelling, detailed, and complex depictions of a social world" (Sparkes, 2002, p. 55).

## Summary

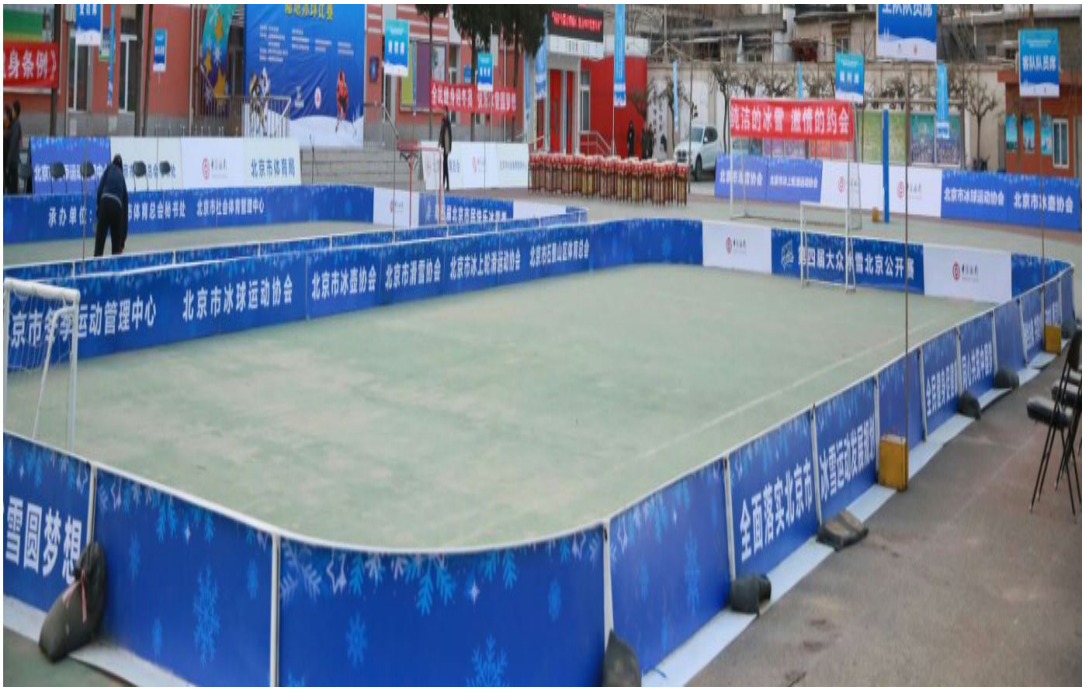
In this chapter, I presented the critical ethnographic approach I encountered to examine how different organisations were involved in Olympic education, what actually happened at schools and how people experienced these Olympic education practices in primary schools. As a critical researcher, I endeavoured to question statements that were problematic and compared the official plans of Olympic education with actual practices in schools. However, this chapter was not meant to be an exhaustive account of how to conduct ethnography, rather, I wanted to illustrate major methodological issues I encountered focusing on accessing the field, my role, moments of interest, and a brief excursion into some of the issues related to data gathering and analysis. The following chapters will discuss my findings and various discursive clusters that constitute the governmental rationalities, technologies and subjects of school-based Olympic education.

# Chapter five: Governing schools in Olympic education

## Setting the scene

On a particularly cold Friday morning in the middle of December, Mountain School hosted an opening ceremony for a winter sports competition. As I walked into the school that morning, I noticed that many decorations had appeared overnight. Hanging on both sides of the street leading to the school were banners with the name of the competition, the organisers' names, and a slogan stating that '*everyone should exercise to welcome the Winter Olympics'*. Once inside the school, even more decorations had been placed. At the entrance to the sports field, there was a large poster with a list of sponsoring organisations' names. These organisations were the Beijing Municipal Bureau of Sport, Beijing Sports Association, Beijing Skiing Association, and Beijing Winter Sports Centre, amongst others. I noted to myself that some of the organisations listed did not seem to have a relationship with the Winter Olympics, such as the Social Sports Management Centre. In the centre of the field, a circle of white boards had been erected, specifically promoting a floor ice hockey competition. More names of the promoting authorities and private sectors were written on these boards (Figure 1). At the back of the field were another set of billboards outlining details of the Olympic-themed activities initiated by the community and introductions of the Social Sports Management Centre. Given that the school principal, Xin, had told me that the competition was promoted by the government, I had not expected that such a bewildering array of actors – many with overlapping and unspecified roles – were involved in the delivery of winter sports (as part of Olympic education), including private sector companies.

**Figure 1.** *The Set-up for the Winter Sport Competitions*




*Note.* This figure is adapted from the official WeChat Account of Mountain School. It shows the various organisations appeared in one winter sports competitions. I have withheld the reference link of this image because it would be easy for people to identify the school through the link. Adapted from Mountain School (2018, December, 16). *Di sijie dazhong bingxue beijing gongkai sai qidong yishi* [The opening ceremony of the 4th winter sports competitions for the public]. WeChat.

Looking at the level of display and invested organisations caused me to pause and think: What attracted these organisations to be involved with winter sports? How did they become involved? What kinds of relationships do they have with each other? And what outcomes did they hope for? I was intrigued to examine the ways in which these seemingly disparate players with the 'will to govern' (Li, 2007a)[23] had been brought together.

By applying Foucault's concept of governmentality, this chapter explores the complex interplay between the diverse stakeholders involved in implementing Olympic education, including the rationalities they drew on and technologies of government employed to make Olympic education 'work' in schools. This chapter introduces two key ideas. First, I analyse two technologies that China's state government used to govern schools "at a distance" (Miller & Rose, 2008, p. 16) to implement Olympic education: Policy announcements and outsourcing.

[23] Foucault takes the term from Nietzsche, refers to the notion that meaning, ideas, rules, discourses, knowledge, and 'truth' do not emerge naturally, but are produced in order to support, advantage or valorise a particular social group.

The second part introduces how corporations, specifically private equipment companies, forged alignments with schools in Olympic education through the provision of floor winter sports equipment and expertise. This examination is important because although previous research has demonstrated there are various organisations involved in the implementation of Olympic education in schools (see Georgiadis, 2010), little research has critically examined the relations of power between schools and 'outside' organisations. This chapter discusses both *why* organisations shared an interest in Olympic education and *how* they convinced each other that their agendas were closely aligned.

## Chinese government and schools

A key starting point is to consider how Olympic education enacts particular rationalities and technologies that serve the interests of the State government. As discussed earlier in Chapter one, the Chinese government and Chinese citizens consider the Olympics a critical platform to present a positive image of the country and promote its international reputation (Luo & Huang, 2013; Xu & Jing, 2000). The 2008 Olympics were supposed to erase the label of the 'patient of east Asia' (Brownell, 2011).

Making a successful bid for the 2022 Winter Olympics became a crucial governmental agenda for China. The political rationale employed by the Chinese authorities at the early bidding stage for the 2022 Olympics was that the Olympics would be an event that would both demonstrate China's ability to successfully host a mega event and be a positive influence on Chinese society. The similar discourse was apparent in many government officials' public statements (see Chinanews, 2014; Sina, 2015). For example, when China hosted the National People's Congress and The Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference[24] in 2014, many officials expressed their support to bid for the 2022 Olympics (Chinanews, 2014). Liu jingmin, former Vice Mayor of Beijing, stated three benefits: "It is good for the social and economic development; it is good to develop winter sports; and it helps Beijing and Heibei[25] to control air pollution" (Chinanews, 2014, para. 2). China's official rationale was, therefore, not just about sport, but the development of the environment and economy.

[24] They are known as the Two Conferences in China. It reviews the past year's work and reports the main work for next year.
[25] Heibei is a province in China. It will co-host the 2022 Olympics with Beijing.

These discourses continued to be drawn upon by the government *after* China was awarded the hosting rights. For instance, at the meeting for the preparation of the 2022 Olympics, President Xi claimed that hosting the 2022 Olympics would cheer the Chinese up, encourage all Chinese to realise the great rejuvenation of the Chinese nation, and also present China to the world in a positive light (Chinanews, 2019; Renmingwang, 2015, 2017; Xinhua News, 2017; Zhongxinwang, 2016). Similar positive statements also appeared in official narratives. According to policy announcement No.1 (Table 4), hosting the 2022 Olympics is "an important landmark at the historical moment, is an important opportunity to present the national image, promote the development within China, and raise the national spirit" (MoE et al., 2018, p. 1). Clearly, hosting the 2022 Winter Olympics is a significant opportunity for China to improve its international profile.

China's State government ensured that the implementation of Olympic education was one significant tactic to realise their governmental ambitions. As policy announcement No. 1 stated: "Olympic education is an important part of the 2022 Olympics" (para.1) and will help the great rejuvenation of China (MoE et al., 2018). Consequently, Olympic education became not just part of a political rationale for changing school curriculum and teaching practices, but a key technology of government to meet particular 'ends'.

**Technology of policy announcements**

One technology that China's government employed to govern schools to implement Olympic education was the 'policy announcement.' In China, all levels of authorities issue official announcements or statements with red headings. These are known colloquially as 'red tape' (Luo, 2018; Zhao, 2011). The significant point here is that although announcements are not laws or regulations, they do have binding effects on people and organisations, and are accepted without resistance or challenge (Xiao, 2018). The red headings in the announcements symbolise the government's status and authority and people in China believe that they do not have the ability to resist such a decree (Xiao, 2018). As Foucault (1988a) noted, technologies of sign systems "permits us to use signs, meanings, symbols, or signification" (p. 18). In this respect, the state government uses the red headings as symbols to govern people's alignment with the government's wishes and plans. As my participants (i.e., Qin, Zhu and Xin) from the two schools contended that governmental announcements were policy for schools. Some Chinese scholars (e.g., Brownell, 2009; Li & Nauright, 2018; Liu et al., 2019) also introduced such governmental announcements as policy in their research.

Indeed, my experiences as I was growing up also taught me the importance of the colour red in Chinese society as a way to convey authority. The colour red was allowed to be used only by teachers and for essential things; and other things needed to be written in black. When I saw the red titles in the governmental announcements, I unconsciously understood that their statements were meant to be followed without question. Such a feeling was enhanced when I realised that not everyone at the two schools can access all these announcements unless they are major announcements. As teacher Lee noted, "Only leaders had rights to see these announcements." In order to highlight the authoritative role of the governmental announcements in China and avoid confusion with the state-sanctioned policy, they are called 'policy announcements' in this study.

During my time in Beijing, there were eight policy announcements encouraging schools to conduct Olympic education (Table 4). The policy announcements shaped schools' subjectivities to deliver Olympic education. For example, teacher Zhu explained to me on one occasion that, "Schools would conduct certain activities because it was government policy." Teacher Qin shared the same view, although he was a little more candid when he commented that, "Most schools would kiss the government ass when there was a clear policy, and few would protest it." As such comments imply, the red heading on each policy announcement is part of the rationality of authoritarianism that conveys the central planning of China's government in respect to Olympic education as well as producing a subjectivity in which the reader of the announcement is compelled to accept and follow with little resistance.

These policy announcements were issued by multiple public institutions rather than a single one, with the majority of these public institutions related to education and sports bureaus. As shown in Table 4, these public institutions include Ministry of Education (MoE), Beijing Municipal Educational Commission (BMEC, branch of MoE in Beijing), district educational departments (branch of MoE in each district), the publicity department of Beijing (local department that enforces media censorship), Beijing Municipal Bureau of Sport (BMBS, state organisation that takes in charge of sports activities in Beijing), the General Administration of Sport (GAS, the government agency responsible for sports in mainland China) and others. Pike (2010) stated that the rationalities of government require a range of individuals, authorities and programmes to govern effectively. In this case, the authoritarianism was achieved via these authorities. As teacher Lee explained, being asked to conduct Olympic education by several

state organisations "clearly shaped Olympic education implementation to be an administrative task for schools." In other words, multiple state organisations' involvement further pressured schools to conduct Olympic education, which in turn bolstered the authoritarian rationality of the state government.

**Table 4.**

*The Related Olympic Education Policy Announcements in 2018*

| Policy announcement | Issued organisations | Title | Target | Date |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| No.1 | MoE , GAS, BOCOG | The Olympic education plan for primary and secondary school students in Beijing 2022 Winter Olympics and Paralympics | All educational commissions and local sports bureaus in all provinces, all autonomous regions, all municipalities, and Xinjiang | 2018.01.30 |
| No.2 | MoE | The evaluation of the excellent PE teaching syllabus | Primary and secondary school teachers in Beijing | 2018.4.16 |
| No. 3 | BMBS, BMEC, BOCOG | The Olympic education plan for primary and secondary school students in Beijing | All education committees, sports bureaus in all district in Beijing | 2018.7.16 |
| No. 4 | MoE, the temporary department for the management of Olympic Education | The call for the Olympic mascot | All educational bureaus and sports bureaus across the country | 2018.8.13 |
| No. 5 | BMEC, Finance Bureau of Beijing | The way to support campus winter sports in Beijing | All district education commission finance bureaus in Beijing | 2018.9.13 |
| No.6 | Haidian district educational commission | The competition of Winter Olympics knowledge | All primary and secondary schools in Haidian district | 2018.10.10 |
| No.7 | Haidian district educational commission | The third winter sports competition for primary and secondary schools in Beijing | All primary and secondary schools in Haidian district | 2018.10.12 |
| No.8 | BMBS | The first winter sports for Beijing residents | sports bureaus in all district in Beijing, Beijing economic-technological development area; Yanshan sports center and others | 2018.10.29 |

China's rationality of authoritarianism shaped, and was shaped by specific discourses in these policy announcements. I adopted Foucault's notion of discourse to identify three dominant discourses in these announcements: The great rejuvenation of China; Olympic spirit and knowledge; and, winter sports development. Such a discursive analysis is crucial, as Rose (1999a, p. 20) argued, that understanding governance "is to start by asking what authorities of various sorts wanted to happen, in relation to problems defined how, in pursuit of what objectives, through what strategies and techniques." The three discourses shaped the objectives and strategies – rationalities and technologies – of the state government to convince schools to implement Olympic education.

The first discourse was the 'great rejuvenation of China'. In reading through the policy announcements, a common theme is the multiple benefits from promoting Olympic education to help China's rise. For example, the No.1 announcement mentioned that promoting Olympic education helps "the promotion of the Olympic spirit, the development of winter sports and school sports, people's quality, students' overall statement, and then realizing the great rejuvenation of China" (MoE et al., 2018, p. 2). In the Chinese context, the last aim usually is the most important one, with all others serving the final. It informed schools that conducting Olympic education helped the rejuvenation of China. Cotoi (2011) reminded us, political rationalities connect specific discourses to related governable objects, such as populations, nations, economies, societies, communities, citizens, individuals, and entrepreneurs. In this study, the discourse 'great rejuvenation of China' links the government's authoritarianism (i.e., national pride) to the conduct of Olympic education.

The second and third discourses were 'Olympic knowledge and spirit' and 'winter sports development'. These two discourses are interlinked with each other in these announcements. These policy announcements shaped these two discourses as a way to guarantee the success of the Olympics. All these announcements claimed the fundamental role of the two discourses in terms of a successful Olympics. As noted in the No. 3: "Olympic education is an important part of the 2022 ... Olympic knowledge and spirit, and winter sports development need to be promoted among primary and secondary school students nationally…for a successfully Olympics, we make this plan" (BMBS et al., 2018, p. 3). In this statement, these two discourses were defined as practices for people to follow to ensure the success of the 2022 Olympics. The lack of Olympic knowledge and spirit, and winter sports

learning are considered as problematic, whereas its promotion is beneficial. Although the focus here was on mobilising schools to conduct Olympic education, other organisations (e.g., the university team, equipment companies) also drew on the two discourses to get involved in Olympic education.

These discourses worked to normalise the political rationalities of China's government. Foucault (1980) claimed that particular discourses constitute the regimes of truth in every society. In the case of this study, the identified discourses become the regimes of truth that validate, prescribe, and govern what can be done in the name of Olympic education. As I will demonstrate more clearly throughout this thesis, schools found it difficult to resist the rationalities normalised by such discourses and, as a result, practices of Olympic education were (re)produced through these discourses. The policy announcements were, therefore, technologies that translated political rationalities into material practices and thus served as mechanisms to govern schools, teachers and students "at a distance" (Miller & Rose, 2008, p. 16).

However, this does not mean that it was solely the government that determined how schools should conduct Olympic education. On the contrary, the concept of governmentality is not about imposing heavy externalized control of individual behaviour. As Foucault (1982) reminded us, modern government depends on the element of freedom, as "power is exercised only over free subjects, and only insofar as they are free" (p. 790). It is impossible to force every individual to think and act in certain ways (Foucault, 1991b). Rather, individuals and organisations become self-disciplined as their actions and beliefs become normalised by political rationalities, technologies, and discourses. Given this, it is important to reflect on what other discourses and rationalities were productive in governing the schools in this study. As discussed previously, China is a hybrid socialist-neoliberal society, a form of political rationality that promotes authoritarianism at the same time as individual autonomy and responsibility (Jeffreys & Sigley, 2009; Sigley, 2006). In other words, China's government draws on both neoliberal and socialist political rationalities to effectively govern schools to 'teach' Olympic education, particularly in respect to providing schools with some autonomy and freedom of choice.

For example, on the first page of all policy announcements, it states "all departments in all places, please implement the policy based on your situation…" (See BMBS et al., 2018, p. 1; MoE et al., 2018, p. 1). The statement, 'based on your situation' provides a sense of freedom,

flexibility and autonomy, where organisations (e.g., schools) may judge how best to adapt the policy to their specific situation. At the same time, however, there is still the expectation that the policy *will* be implemented. In other words, schools could choose, to a certain extent, *how* they would implement Olympic education, but not *if* they could.

Schools understood the way such policies combined an expectation of compliance with some freedom of choice. As principal Xin at Mountain School explained, "The policy did not ask schools to immediately implement certain activities, while we (all schools) eventually have to do it. It is courageous enough to be against them (the government). Based on my experience, most schools would probably do it two years before the 2022 Olympics." Teacher Zhu also provided a similar explanation. I noticed a policy announcement about teaching basic Olympic information about the Winter Olympics was lying on Zhu's table for two weeks. I asked Zhu about his plans for the announcement. He replied that he would not mention it in his class because there was no urgent evaluation, but eventually, he would 'have' to teach students this content. In this way, schools were not obviously forced to conduct Olympic education immediately, but knew the necessity of doing it. The hybrid socialist-neoliberal rationality of China's government was demonstrated through their performance in governing schools in Olympic education.

Another way China's government provided limited freedom for schools to conduct Olympic education was through the ambiguous descriptions in the Olympic Education policy announcements. As Miller and Rose (1990) noted, language serves as a translation mechanism to establish "a kind of identity or mutuality between political rationalities and regulator aspirations" (p. 7). In this study, I argue that the technology of using ambiguous expressions in the Olympic Education policy announcements produces a key neoliberal notion, the sense of individual freedom. Policy announcement No. 1 provides a useful example. Its text outlines some principles for schools to use to promote the Olympics and winter sports knowledge: "Position on local conditions, scientific planning, leadership and coordination, and extensive participation"[26] (坚持因地制宜、科学布局、统筹协调、广泛参与) (p. 3). These terms were rhyming in Chinese, which made it difficult for recipients to understand the point of the announcement. School principal Xin shared the same feelings about the policy announcements by commenting, "These policies are usually vague to avoid offending schools and parents." What Xin implied was that the government did this on purpose to provide certain freedom for

[26] The meaning and essence of these terms were lost after translation.

schools, which made schools willingly align themselves with the government's ambitions in the end. The ambiguous descriptions in these policy announcements allowed for individual interpretation of how each school could implement the policy in accordance with their own norms and values. However, schools were also clear that they would follow the government in their implementation of Olympic education. The limited freedom that could be seen in these policy announcements again reflected China government's hybrid socialist-neoliberal rationality in regulating schools and Olympic education.

**Technology of outsourcing**

Another governance technology observed was outsourcing in winter sports. As mentioned above, Olympic Education policy announcements drew on discourses of winter sports development to justify the implementation of Olympic education in schools. The involvement of winter sports in Olympic education provided a unique example of how this hybrid rationality, was made 'technical' through technologies of outsourcing and limited use of the free market to govern schools and teachers at the same time.

China's government governed schools to work with a variety of private organisations in order to both develop winter sports and ensure schools were taking part in Olympic education. These organisations included private equipment companies, winter sports associations (e.g., Chinese Ice Hockey Association, Beijing Ice Hockey Association), and other related organisations. As stated in policy announcement No. 1 and No.3, schools were encouraged to work with specific private winter sports organisations that would provide students with more chances to participate in winter sports (MoE et al., 2018; BMBS et al., 2018).

One vital technique used by the state to encourage schools to outsource their provision of winter sports was state funding mechanisms. For example, according to policy announcement No. 5, each of the winter sports model schools (schools focused on developing winter sports) would receive 500,000 RMB (equivalent to 110,000 NZD) for the first year, then would be eligible for one of three different levels of financial support, with 250,000 RMB, 500,000 RMB, and 750,000 RMB for each level (equivalent to 55,000 NZD, 110,000 NZD, 160,000 NZD) after that (BMEC & Finance Bureau of Beijing, 2018). The announcement further claimed that the selected model schools could use these funds for various winter sports-related expenses, such as private lessons, facility hire, tickets to winter sports clubs, sports equipment, coaches, and lectures from winter sports and Olympic experts. Qin, a PE teacher at

Mountain School, was surprised about the amount of the funding and checked the policy online again. He commented that, in comparison, a football model school would get only 200,000 RMB (equivalent to 44,000 NZD) at most. Through the heavy financial support, schools were not only allowed, but were motivated to work with related organisations for winter sports, making the technology of outsourcing a more efficient and economic practice for schools.

The practice of outsourcing is underpinned by neoliberalism — where education is positioned as a marketplace in which schools can purchase the services needed to provide Olympic education from a range of competing private providers. This contrasts, to a degree, with the fact that China's education system is primarily a socialist, state-funded public education system, centrally managed by the MoE (He et al., 2007). To ensure schools enact the central planning of the government, government policy even expressly 'forbids' commercial information to appear in schools (MoE, 2018b). This tension, though, between socialist and neoliberal rationalities was resolved by the state through providing special permission for certain private organisations to provide Olympic education to schools, and at the same time 'motivating' schools through funding and policy announcements to employ these organisations. In this way, China's government blended socialist rationalities (authoritarian/centralised) and neoliberal rationalities (i.e., privatisation, market forces, competition, consumption, choice) to enable schools to develop Olympic education and winter sports.

This blended approach can also be observed in the way China's government limited schools' options by including information to show which organisations were approved to be the 'right' private organisations to work with. For instance, policy announcement No. 8 was about a winter sports competition for Beijing residents, and it listed specific criteria for the equipment to be used in the competition, requiring all participants to use the *proper* equipment. At the end of the announcement, it offered a list of the competition sponsors, most of which were mostly equipment companies (BMBS, 2018). Similarly, policy announcement No. 7 focused on a winter sports competition for primary and secondary school students. The policy announcement also mentioned equipment requirements, such as in a note stating that "Sweep Curling Club could provide, rent or sell service [to schools]" (Haidian district educational commission, 2018, p. 4). By limiting options for schools, the government maintained some control over state schools, but opened the door for private companies.

Schools were expected to know who should be the 'right' and 'approved' provider. Xin, the school principal of Mountain School, commented, "I usually did not have much freedom to choose the equipment because district government departments would 'recommend' equipment to schools in the district." In one conversation with PE teacher Qin, he tried to draw a parallel of how their school chose to work with a martial arts school (private school) rather than others to highlight the limited choice of schools in choosing private organisations. At the end of our conversation, he commented, "Otherwise, what do you think about which schools dare to work with NHL[27]." Qin's comment also indicated that these *approved* private organisations did not strictly have to be national and local ones, but could also be international ones (i.e., NHL).

The outsourced winter sports organisations also understood the importance of getting permission from the state government. For instance, Wen, a coach from Cross-Roller (a floor skiing company), noted, "Our company is recognised by sports bureaus and officials, so we could have the chance to promote our equipment to more than 30 primary schools in Beijing." The Floor X Associations[28] also understood the connection with the state government; they deliberately connected with the government through their naming strategy. As teacher Lee explained, "Most public state organisations were named with a prefix China (two Chinese characteristics 中国), while some companies registered themselves with some similar words, such as Republic of China and the World (中国民国 and 世界) with the intention of deliberately concealing their private ownership."

Such a limitation on schools reflected the authoritarian rationality of Chinese state government, where scarce goods and opportunities are provided to individuals who have informal relationships with the government within the communist system (Manion, 1991). By providing funding for schools to contract services while limiting the range of approved providers of those services, China's government maintains its power relations, while also strategically deploying neoliberal logic of privatisation to govern Olympic education in schools. However, I am not suggesting that private organisations (i.e., equipment companies) did not need to do anything but were automatically arranged to work with schools by the state

[27] National Hockey League provides winter sports equipment for schools.
[28] I have withheld the name and reference link of this particular equipment and provided X as a pseudonym in to maintain the anonymity of Zhu because of the working relationship Zhu had with the company. The following sections also hide the full APA reference form to maintain the anonymity of Zhu.

government. Indeed, these equipment companies employed certain technologies to forge alignment with schools, as shown in the next section.

## Equipment companies and schools

Alongside China's government, equipment companies were an important stakeholder for Olympic education implementation in schools. During my time at the two schools, four equipment companies that appeared to provide equipment for winter sports: The NHL; the Floor X Association; and, two floor skiing companies—Cross-Roller, and Swix & ONTO Snow. This observation is important, as previous studies have focused on the Chinese government's implementation of Olympic education (Brownell, 2009; Liu, 2012), while the private organisations' role in Olympic education was almost invisible. The appearance of equipment companies is something new in the phenomenon of Olympic education.

The equipment companies' involvement in Olympic education is, in some ways, not that surprising given the interest of the Chinese government in developing winter sports in the lead up to the 2022 Olympics. Wen, a coach from Cross-Roller, commented, "The winter sports market is 'fat meat' and many companies are staring at it nowadays." In China, the term 'fat meat' is a colloquialism, used to describe highly profitable things. Similarly, the NHL's appearance in China was also driven by a similar desire to expand the Chinese market as China developed its winter sports (Ives, 2018). Most school personnel I worked alongside were cognizant that these companies were in schools to financially profit. For instance, Qin, a PE teacher at Mountain School, commented that the NHL was using the 2022 Winter Olympics as an opportunity to make money. He explained the logic behind the NHL's involvement: "The NHL can cultivate young audience and fans through providing the equipment because more people would become interested in the sport and then watch their competitions. Then they can make more money from the Chinese market." Lee, a PE teacher at Railway School, also provided a similar comment about the Floor X: "The company was kidnapping the Olympics to make profits." Students also recognized the ambitions of these corporations, with phrases such as "make money," "to encourage people to buy their products," to "profit," to "promote themselves," to "make it big," and to "advertise" frequently appearing in their discussions with me. Olympic education, therefore, created a platform for equipment companies to enter the school gates and profit.

**Technology of floor winter sports equipment**

One technology that these four companies employed to govern Olympic education was providing schools with floor winter sports equipment (Figure 2, 3, 4). The equipment used was similar to real winter sports equipment but smaller. It was designed to use on the ground (i.e., on concrete or a gymnasium floor) rather than ice and snow. School people referred to this equipment as 'floor winter sports equipment'[29]. During my time in the two schools, I noticed three types of floor winter sports equipment: Floor X[30], floor ice hockey, and floor skiing.

To support the implementation of their equipment in schools, these companies provided multiple choices for schools. For instance, Cross-Roller offered schools three types of skis and four types of hockey sticks (Cross-Roller, n.d.). Coach Wen also confirmed that their company provided two kinds of equipment for students: One for beginners and one for professional training, so that "schools can have multiple choices to work with them." Wen further noted that their company offered training courses to increase their competitiveness in comparison to similar equipment. Another company Floor X Association also had two different types of equipment for the sport X. I noticed that Railway School had two different sizes of Floor X equipment, one was used on the ground, and one was on the table. These different equipment gave schools more choices to implement winter sports.

These companies further produced and sold their equipment as a solution for schools to develop winter sports. For instance, according to the Floor X Association's official website, the equipment was a response to President Xi's call of '*Three hundred million people playing winter sports*', and their equipment was a simple version of sport X (n.d.). Cross-Roller (2018) also stated their equipment made skiing approachable in China. David, the NHL's executive vice president of media and international strategy, also noted their equipment was a response to Xi's plan of developing winter sports; they assumed that there would be a real push to build necessary facilities for people to play winter sports, and their ball hockey (floor ice hockey) was an efficient way to help China develop ice hockey (Bossons, 2018; Ives, 2018). Zara, a coach from Swix & ONTO Snow, also contended that the use of floor winter sports equipment

[29] The equipment created new types of sports called floor winter sports at two schools. An interesting question appeared in this section. *Are these sports stealing the intellectual property of the Winter Olympics*? Scholars already expressed the concern about the intellectual property of the Olympics in China (see Donatuti, 2007). Yet the floor winter sports as a new phenomenon is unique and deserves more scholarly examination.

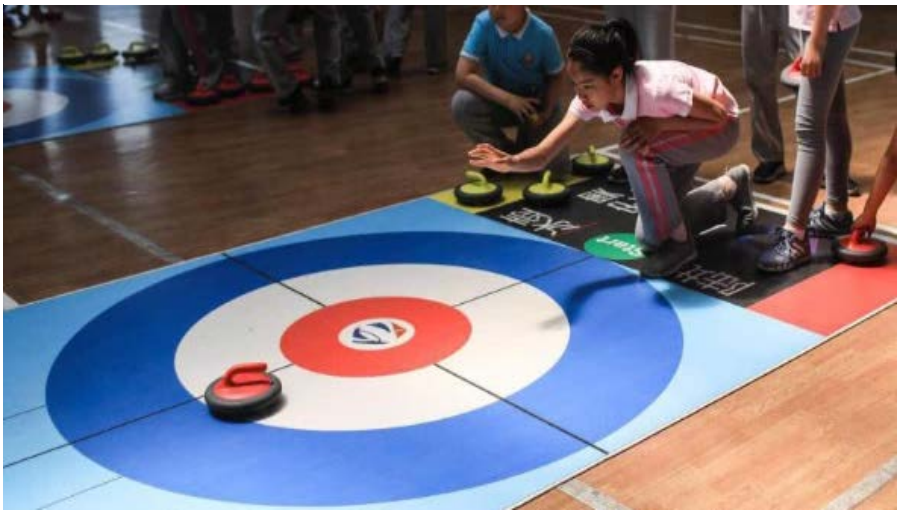
[30] The equipment provided by the Floor X Association. I have withheld the name of the sport to maintain the anonymity of Zhu because of the working relationship Zhu had with the company.

was very much similar to participating in winter sports. She implied that there was little difference between their equipment and winter sports equipment. In this respect, the floor winter sports equipment was shaped to be an alternative teaching device to replace real winter sports equipment in terms of developing winter sports and Olympic education.

However, the opportunity for equipment companies to market their products to schools involved a process of forging alignments, so that the objectives of the various parties worked to serve the interests of each other, all under the umbrella of Olympic education. Li (2007b) noted that forging alignments involves, "The work of linking together the objectives of the various parties to an assemblage, both those who aspire to govern conduct and those whose conduct is to be conducted" (p. 265). Miller and Rose (2008) also discussed that, for modern government to be successful, different organisations have to be convinced that they share a mutual interest. In this ethnography, the state, private companies, and schools were convinced that the privatised provision of winter sports in schools would meet multiple ends: National winter sports development and additional funds.

Firstly, the schools benefited from following the government's request on developing winter sports. Miller and Rose (1997) noted, "Companies did not treat consumers as passive automatons to be manipulated and equipped with false needs, nor did they treat the act of consumption as matter of the sovereign will of the producer to which the consumer must succumb" (p. 30). As observed in this study, sports equipment companies forged an alignment with schools through winter sports discourse. Schools were required to develop winter sports by the state government (see policy announcements). The floor winter sports equipment provided a way for schools to realise the winter sports command. It is interesting to note that the Mountain School principal Xin understood the discursive intent of the forged relationship he had with equipment companies when he commented, "It is impossible to train future athletes with this equipment. Instead, learning these sports is a way to show their support for the country and to respond to the government's goal about *three hundred million people playing winter sports.*" In this respect, school people are what Miller and Rose (2008) called "rational consumers" (p. 130) who make calculated choices rather than acting out of anxiety, emotions, and obsessive tendencies.

**Figure 2.** *Floor Curling*



*Note.* This figure demonstrates what floor curling looks like. Adapted from Ma, J. Q. (2019). *Opening different winter sports curriculum for different age's students at Zhongguancun No. 2 primary school.* [Online image]. Tencent. https://new.qq.com/omn/20190510/20190510A0K96A.html

**Figure 3.** *Floor Ice Hockey*

*Note.* This figure demonstrates what floor ice hockey looks like. Adapted from Ma, J. Q. (2019). *Opening different winter sports curriculum for different age's students at Zhongguancun No. 2 primary school.* [Online image]. Tencent. https://new.qq.com/omn/20190510/20190510A0K96A.html

**Figure 4.** *Floor Skiing*

*Note.* This figure demonstrates what floor skiing looks like. Adapted from Cross-Roller. (2018, June 25). 2018 quanguo zhongxiaoxuesheng yueye hualun jinbiaosai chenggong juban—zhongguo yueye huaxue weilai keqi [The successful hosting of roller-skating competitions among primary and secondary school students—skiing in China is promising]. [Online image]. http://www.cross-roller.com/index.php?m=content&c=index&a=show&catid=26&id=10

Moreover, schools were able to fulfil the request to develop winter sports in a cheap way through employing the floor winter sports equipment. Teacher Qin confessed, "I knew there were differences between floor winter sports and winter sports. However, the floor winter sports equipment's affordable price provided students with ways to know what winter sports look like." Zhu, a PE teacher at Railway School, also admitted the difference between the winter sports and floor winter sports; at the same time, he stated, "Most places in China do not have conditions (e.g., enough snow and ice) to promote winter sports, and building winter sports facilities is too expensive. The floor winter sports equipment at least offered students chances to play winter sports in a cheap way." The low price of floor winter sports equipment also convinced some scholars to support the employment of the equipment (Li, 2019; Sun et al., 2019; Zou & Shao, 2019). This is important because it allowed schools to meet the government's desire to develop winter sports.

Meanwhile, the floor winter sports equipment allowed schools to become competitive in the floor sports area, which helped strengthen the company's desire to profit financially and the school's desire to profit from a renewed public image. Xin, the school principal of Mountain School, summarised their intentions of working with the NHL as, "It is a win-win situation for schools and equipment companies because the school can help the NHL expand the Chinese market and the NHL in turn helps the school become professional in the hockey area." Teacher

Qin stated a similar reason. One day, while Qin was supervising students to play floor ice hockey, I asked about his thoughts towards the floor winter sports equipment. He laughed and stated, “This equipment is new. That means the floor winter sports are also new. If our school employs it early, we have more time to be competitive in the new sports area.” While this was a win-win situation for these companies and schools, it raised the question: How do students benefit from these arrangements, if at all? As I describe in more detail in the next chapter, not all students shared the same interests or beliefs as the principals, teachers, external providers, or the government.

Another benefit for the school was in receiving additional public funds from the government. Mountain School principal Xin reported that their school received about 70,000 or 80,000 RMB (equivalent to 16,000 NZD) from the district educational commission to buy 20 sets of the floor winter sports equipment. He believed, “There will be more financial support later from the MoE and community to support their floor winter sports development.” Lee, the Head of PE at Railway School, also stated that floor winter sports equipment would help schools get more funding as “The government invested a lot on winter sports recently. It is wise to develop winter sports for more financial support.”

Overall, the involvement of floor winter sports equipment in Olympic education was seen as a ‘win-win situation’ for schools and equipment companies alike. It was certainly seen as benefiting the private companies. Teacher Qin quoted a famous Chinese saying to finish the conversation: “天下熙熙皆为利往，天下攘攘皆为利来” (“All the hustle and bustle in the world is only for money”. This saying means that people/organisations involved in the provision of winter sport equipment to schools had profit-making ambition. The ‘hustle and bustle’ also refers to how schools ensured they involved to follow the administrative directives, receive more funding, and be competitive. The mutual benefits forged alignments between schools and equipment companies. The role of experts and expertise was also critical for private companies and schools to believe they shared the same interests in Olympic education.

**Technology of expertise**

Although previous studies into the interactions between organisations and schools have mentioned the role of universities in Olympic education (Liu, 2012; Hwang, 2018), most studies neglect to explore the specific relationships between universities and other Olympic education related organisations. In the next section, I will discuss how two equipment

companies connected to the expertise of a university in order to get into schools and pursue their profit-making endeavours. As Miller and Rose (1990) argued, those who attempt to govern—whether it be politicians, administrators, educators, or companies—seek to achieve their governmental ambition through 'experts'.

**The university team and Cross-Roller**

Cross-Roller (a floor skiing equipment company) utilised a university team, as experts in Olympic education, to establish a presence in schools, develop a greater awareness of their brand, and ultimately sell their products. Organised in 2002 to promote Olympic education for the 2008 Olympics, this university team was based in a public university in Beijing. The team was comprised of two academics whose research interests focused on the Olympics and several of their former students. According to Wendy and Cindy, two team members, the team's role was to teach 'Olympic knowledge' in schools, communities, and other places. During my observations, school people often mentioned 'a group of experts' who had taught them Olympic knowledge. I realised that the experts they were referring to was the university team. Cindy confirmed this role, commenting, "Our team was the first one promoting Olympic education in China, and our teachers were experts in the area." The expert status of the team also made them ideal representatives for Cross-Roller.

By sponsoring a team of experts, the company gained a sense of authority regarding how Olympic education would be enacted, especially in respect to the choice of the ideal equipment to purchase to support the programme. As Rose (1993) explained, "the political rule would not itself set out the norms of individual conduct, but would install and empower a variety of 'professionals' who would do that, investing them with authority to act as experts in the devices of social rule" (p. 285). The company did not need to directly mention that their equipment and services were better than those provided by other companies. Rather, they used their partnership with the university team to promote the idea that it was the equipment used by experts. With the proliferation of alternatives on the market, their brand was sufficient to be recognised in association with experts in the field to become the preferred choice. As teacher Qin noted, "We needed to develop winter sports, but it is difficult to choose due to the variety of similar products out there. Now some sort of experts pointed out a clear direction. Everyone would just go for it because it is guaranteed."

The technology of expertise helped validate and enable the relationship Cross-Roller had with Mountain School and promote its products to students. Miller and Rose (2008) stated,

"The complex of actors, powers, institutions and bodies of knowledge that comprise expertise has come to play a crucial role in establishing the possibility and legitimacy of government" (p. 69). In this case, the university team helped the company to appear in schools *legally*. As one team member Wendy explained, "Schools do not allow people to sell equipment obviously. It would be too commercial to do so in schools. Our team provided a way for equipment companies to promote their equipment and services."

The company was then able to promote their products to students through their association with the expert university team. According to Wendy, Cross-Roller provided them with many short videos and asked them to play them when giving lessons. She called these videos "professional promotion videos" because they contained information about the company, such as logos, coaches, equipment introduction, school lessons, and holiday programmes, which she thought were quite comprehensive. Through these videos, students would know not only their equipment, but also other services from Cross-Roller.

Expertise as a technology worked to govern the teachers' subjectivities to believe that they benefited from the company-university relationship. From the teachers' perspective, the available expertise allowed schools to achieve the state government's intention to promote Olympic knowledge (see policy announcements). Student Brook commented, "My PE teachers never taught us any theory lessons, I guess they did not know much about the Olympics, and these outsourced teachers were more professional." Team member Cindy also noted, schoolteachers can be qualified for teaching practical activities if accepted they have had proper training, but their theory of Olympic education is lacking. Team member Wendy further explained, "Learning Olympic knowledge was difficult for us because there was not much literature, and we had to read English literature. We struggled a lot with understanding English literature. I doubt that primary and secondary schoolteachers could learn the knowledge." These comments indicated that the university team were viewed as experts and the schoolteachers were inexpert (see Powell, 2015) in terms of Olympic knowledge, which helped strengthen the alignment between Mountain School and Cross-Roller.

Expertise as a technology also helped the school extend their limited finances and comfort schoolteachers' anxiety about teaching extra lessons. Schoolteachers did not get paid much for teaching extra lessons, so they were happy for outsourced teachers to do it. As Wendy explained, "Schoolteachers only got 30 RMB per lesson, and outsourced teachers would get paid more because the educational commission has a specific fund for hiring outsourced

teachers. If the school asked a schoolteacher to teach the same lesson, they would not be happy about that." Schoolteachers Dina and Qin also confirmed a specific fund for contracting outsourced teachers in Olympic knowledge promotion. Therefore, the technology of expertise further created mutual benefits for Cross-Roller and schools, and as a result, the alignment between them was enhanced.

In return for the university' expert 'investment' into the company, Cross-Roller reciprocated financially. Cindy, a team member, stated their co-operation with the company started early in 2018 after the company began offering financial support: "Cross-Roller paid for lecture fees and transport. Usually, I received 500 RMB (equivalent to 110 NZD) for each lesson, and others only had 300 RMB (equivalent to 67 NZD)." Wendy (another team member) confirmed this and explained how their transport fees were covered: "Sometimes Cross-Roller would send their car to drive us to the schools where we were to lecture, and sometimes we would take a taxi and then claim the fare from them." Meanwhile, Wendy mentioned that their relationship with Cross-Roller also helped their team attract more sponsors, "There were two companies that talked with our teachers for possible cooperation. I was told that they heard of us from Cross-Roller."

However, it was not a straightforward relationship between the company and the university team. Some group members criticised the involvement of corporations. Wendy noted that she disagreed with their involvement, and she thought their group was, after all, composed of academics who should not be pursuing profit like private companies. In her opinion, it was better not to have these commercial elements. Cindy also commented that corporations liked using schools and academic research as a 'stage' to package and promote themselves, and Cross-Roller was one of these corporations. Cindy further complained about the company not paying well but asking a lot from them. Additionally, she criticised the company for avoiding tax by using other people's ID to get their salary. In this way, the company did not need to pay tax, and she, personally, had no tolerance for such "illegal behaviours".

One practice that the company used to maintain the connection with the university team and schools was what Li (2007b, p. 265) called "managing failures and contradictions". Li explained the term: "Presenting failure as the outcome of rectifiable deficiencies; smoothing out contradictions so that they seem superficial rather than fundamental; devising compromises" (p. 265). In this case, the university team members' complaints and concerns

were smoothed out by negotiating with the university group leader. When I met with Wendy at a coffee shop near their university, she told me about her unpleasant experience with Cross-Roller and her reluctance to work with the company. At the end of our conversation, she shrugged her shoulders and said: “It is not important. I am not a big deal after all.” Another team member, Cindy, also stated that they were not “a big deal” for the team, and Cross-Roller must have had effective discussions with their supervisors. In other words, I perceived there were power imbalances within the expert team, with disempowered team members and empowered team leaders. Under the agreement and authority of the leaders, students’ resistances seemed trivial and their complaints became superficial.

***Teacher Zhu and Floor X Association***

Rather than partnering a university team, the Floor X Association formed a relationship with an individual teacher, Zhu, who was positioned as an expert in Olympic education. Zhu was a PE teacher at Railway School with 30 years of teaching experience. He told me that he became interested in the Olympics and Olympic education in 2002 when China was preparing for the 2008 Beijing Olympics. He initiated many Olympic-themed activities in his school and other schools. He was viewed as an expert by his students and colleagues (such as Lee) who commented that Zhu “is an expert in the Olympics.” He was well known in other schools as an Olympics expert too. As teacher Qin from Mountain School noted, “as far as I know, many teachers at least in Beijing knew Zhu from his Olympic-themed activities. He is the expert in the area [the Olympics and Olympic education].” The expert role of Zhu in Olympic education made him an ideal agent for the Floor X Association.

By associating themselves with Zhu, the Floor X Association gained a means to market their brand in school, and Zhu developed his personal ‘brand’ as an expert in school-based Olympic education. Miller and Rose (2008) noted that experts have the capacity to generate enclosures: “Relatively bounded locals or types of judgement within which their power and authority is concentrated, intensified and defended” (p. 26). The expert role of Zhu made his recommendations compelling. As Lee, the PE head at Railway School, explained, “Zhu was famous in Olympic education and had private connections with other schoolteachers, so it is more likely to sell more equipment to other schools.” Indeed, I noticed several schoolteachers from other schools approached him to purchase or rent the Floor X equipment during my field trip.

Zhu helped the Association build a positive image that was seen to support the 2022 Olympics and care for students. On some occasions, Zhu would tell students that the Association made enormous efforts to support Olympic education in their school by providing suitable equipment for winter sports. He also advertised their brand in more overt ways. Students' first-day welcome ceremony was an example to show all his ways of promotion. Zhu requested that I arrive at school very early, and upon my arrival, he asked that I help set up nine posters about the Floor X Association on the right corner of the campus. These posters were like a giant brochure promoting the company, including a basic introduction, contact numbers, and company intentions. While I put up the posters, Zhu was busy bringing out a set of Floor X equipment, which he set up nearby. As students began to arrive, Zhu suddenly became animated and held up a speaker:

> "Attention!!! All students come here…You all look at these posters that have a brief view about the sport…the company is very good, they are the first company to support the 2022 Olympics and invented this equipment for our ordinary people to participate in the Winter Olympics too" he spoke up. He stopped for a while, and said: "The equipment is also supported by professionals. You all look at her. She is a professor from New Zealand".
>
> [FN 30/08/2018]

I wrote in my notes, "Zhu seemed more like a professional agent of the Floor X Association, and I was a selling point for him." Aside from promoting the Floor X Association among students, Zhu reported that he would also present these posters to communities and other schools in his spare time, so that "Others can know how good the equipment is."

Within Railway School, Zhu prioritised the sport taught to students to better promote the brand. There were three types of floor winter sports at Railway School: Floor X, floor ice hockey, and floor skiing. Students were offered more opportunities to play floor X compared to the other two, and I noticed that the floor ice hockey was taught only when he was preparing for the floor ice hockey competitions. This preference for Floor X sports was summarised by student Finn, who emphasised that Zhu often let them play Floor X outside, and taught them rules of the sport or played the small version of the sport on a table when taking indoor lessons, especially during the last term. Zhu's preference influenced the sports that students played, and became interested in, which made it more likely that those students would later become consumers of the products and services of the Association. This influence was evident in my

daily talks with students, who would always mention Floor X when talking about the floor winter sports equipment in their schools.

Zhu also directly influenced perceptions of equipment sold by the Association, by dismissing other brands as counterfeit, and of lower quality. After a group of students went to the Olympic museum in Beijing, some students reported to me that they saw different equipment for winter sports in the museum. Student Finn commented that they saw 'real' winter sport equipment. I queried what he meant by 'real'. He elaborated that "The equipment over there is bigger, and had better quality than what we used in our PE lessons." When Zhu became aware of these comments, he told the students "The equipment from the Association is official and has the national patent. Other similar equipment is all counterfeit." His reputation as an expert in the subject meant that this statement is very influential (Miller & Rose, 1990, 2008). The effect of this was immediately apparent when student Finn further commented to me that "Zhu should be right because he is the expert in this area."

In relation to associate with Zhu, the company formed certain relationships with him. During my time at Railway School, I noticed that Zhu paid extra attention to matters relating to the Floor X Association. However, when I tried to discover the nature of the relationship between Zhu and the Floor X Association, neither Zhu nor any of the other teachers would tell me. One day, however, during an informal research conversation with Teacher Lee, he explained, "Schoolteachers are not allowed to have part-time jobs, so Zhu would definitely keep it low. I am not sure about the exact mechanism between the Association and Zhu. But I am sure that Zhu benefited from the close relationship with the Association." I prompted Lee to explain further, and he added, "for example, the Association invited him to their promotion activities in other schools and communities, which helped him gain fame. Also, he is able to gain financial benefits from selling products to other schools at a high price." I enquired further about these financial benefits, and Lee reported "The equipment was just plastic and basic materials, but one set of the X was sold for 15,000 RMB (equivalent to 3, 000 NZD), this way, "he (Zhu) can get some extra money." Qin, a PE teacher from Mountain School, also confirmed the equipment price 'trick' by commenting "the price needed to be high enough so that certain people can make a brokerage fee from selling it."[31] These comments indicated that although

[31] One crucial question here is bribe and brokerage. Adams et al. (2006) already noted that corruption is a risk of involving private sectors in China. However, as this is quite hidden, my study did not examine how the profit is related to different stakeholders and individuals.

the precise nature of the relationship between the Association and Zhu was not clear, Zhu was perceived to have received many benefits from his co-operation with the Association.

The extent of Zhu's influence and involvement with the Floor X Association raises the critical question of why Zhu's school would allow such a relationship, considering the evident conflict of interest. My investigations indicated that the reason was most likely because the relationship was also beneficial to Railway School itself. Lee, the Head of PE at the school, stated, "Zhu was a star teacher and he could bring our school attention from media and the government." Zhu himself justified his involvement by telling me that the relationship benefited schools, by providing them with more "first-hand" information about winter sports on the grapevine.

## Summary

Applying Foucault's notion of governmentality, this chapter interpreted how China's government and equipment companies governed schools to conduct a certain 'brand' of Olympic education by employing technologies that enacted and normalised particular rationalities. The Chinese government's official aim to promote a sense of national pride and develop winter sports through Olympic education in schools was achieved, in part, through the technology of policy announcement. Such a technology was underpinned by mixed rationalities of authoritarianism and neoliberalism. On the one hand, the policy announcements enacted an authoritarian logic by requiring and enabling schools to conduct Olympic education. On the other hand, these policy announcements also enacted neoliberalism by providing limited freedom for schools to conduct Olympic education and at the same time be competitive. Another technology that China's government employed was outsourcing. It also blended neoliberal logics (privatisation, competition, consumerism) and central planning logics (limited choices for schools) to secure schools to effectively govern schools in winter sports and Olympic education.

The presentation of the two technologies and the hybrid rationality unpinned the two technologies is significant because it challenges the stereotype of government-centralised sports management in China. Previous studies have concluded that China's government dominated sports (Li et al., 2009; Liu & Wang, 2013; Lv & Shang, 2010), including the 2008 Olympic education, with its extremely powerful organisational orders (Law, 2010; Liu, 2012;

Mao, 2015; Zhang, 2008), while this study provides a more nuanced examination of governmentality by showing how power was exercised in a more diffuse and subtle way.

Equipment companies attempted to make profits through winter sports and Olympic education. They employed two technologies in schools to achieve their ambition. The first one was floor winter sports equipment. The equipment used was similar to real winter sports equipment but smaller. It was designed to use on the ground (i.e., on concrete or a gymnasium floor) rather than on ice and snow. Through the equipment, equipment companies forged alignment with schools by providing benefits for them, such as cheap equipment. The second technology was expertise. Cross-Roller (a floor skiing equipment company) forged a relationship with a university team to further strengthen their alignment with schools. Floor X Association formed a relationship with an individual teacher, Zhu, who was positioned as an expert in Olympic education. Through the expertise, the equipment companies and schools were further benefited, for example, companies gained a sense of authority in the field and schools extended their limited finances and allayed schoolteachers' anxiety about teaching extra lessons.

The alignment between equipment companies and schools indicated that school personnel are what Miller and Rose (2008) called "rational consumers" (p. 130) who make calculated choices rather than acting out of anxiety, emotions, and obsessive tendencies. The calculated choices made by schools in relation to Olympic education were also demonstrated by different technologies they used to conduct their own 'brand' of Olympic education as discussed in the next chapter.

# Chapter six: The performance of Olympic education in schools

A common criticism of governmentality studies is the focus on the blueprints (what governors wanted to happen) at the expense of the empirical practices and experiences of those who govern and are governed (Brady, 2011; Li, 2007c; McKee, 2009; O'Malley, 2009; O'Malley et al., 1997; Powell, 2015). In contemplating how governmentality 'works', Rose (1999a) advised researchers to consider the dynamics of translation and the complexities involved in governance. Following his advice, in this chapter, I examine the ways that Olympic education is actualised at a school level, in and beyond the classroom, and the lived experiences of students and teachers. Here, I illuminate how schools use Olympic education as an opportunity for self-promotion within a broader marketplace of public education.

## "Our school just connected everything with the Olympics and Olympic education": What counts as Olympic education in schools?

There was a multitude of activities that 'counted' as Olympic education in the two primary schools. The below conversation is from my first interview with Tina, a teacher at Mountain School.

> Honglu: What kind of activities has your school conducted for Olympic education so far?
>
> Tina: Decorations in the corridor, winter sports communication forum among teachers, winter sports promotions, visiting the Forbidden City, the opening ceremony at our school, floor ice hockey competitions, making Olympic stamps [stamps with Winter Olympic items or athletes], presenting stamps in the community, writing letters to athletes, students' speeches about the Olympics, visiting Beijing Olympics organising committee, celebrating Winter Olympics during spring festival (a drama the school played), recording videos for ten years Olympics promotion, Olympic mascot design that our school initiated (students were required to talk about their design theories), recording Winter Olympics songs, participating international Olympics day, and hosting Olympics knowledge competitions among teachers.

There was certainly a vast range of activities that Tina understood as being part of their Olympic education programme, although some activities, such as their visit to the Forbidden City, did not appear to have an obvious connection to the Olympics, or even sport in general.

When I talked with other school teachers and students at Mountain School about Olympic education, they also described a similar list. Railway School teachers and students also reported a huge variety of activities when asked about the same question. The responses included: Mini-Olympics, basketball, rope jumping, competitions, athletes, 2008 Olympics, 2022 Olympics, the World Cup, the Bird's Nest[32], Olympic rings, mascot, Olympic torch, competitions, and floor winter sports. Teacher Lee reported that their school prepared a series of Olympic education activities for students to participate in across the entire academic year (Table 5). This table highlights the vast range of activities that Lee considered to be Olympic education. When I first heard the specific activities that he reported, I wrote in my notes: "Anything could be Olympic education in the school" (FN 3/09/2018).

**Table 5.**

*The Series of Activities for Olympic Education at Railway School*

| Month | Activities | Notes |
|---|---|---|
| March | Warm heart activities | Express appreciation to the old, peers, and schools |
| April | Sports activities | Host Mini-Olympic games |
| May | Music festival | Instruments, dance, and chorus |
| June | Reading activities | Perform presentation skills |
| September | Learning etiquette | Behave in schools, such as eating habits |
| October | Thanksgiving activities | Make thanksgiving card, read poem etc. |
| November | Technology-related activities | Make technological products etc. |
| December | Painting and calligraphy presentation | Present different arts, such as calligraphy and painting. |

The majority of students and teachers were also aware of that some of their Olympic education activities had a weak connection with the Olympics. As student Nick commented, "I am Year 6 now. Based on my past six years of study experience here, Olympic education activities are barely connected with the Olympics." Olympic education was frequently commented by students as "empty shell" (Gina) and "slogan" (Li). Similarly, teachers and students at Mountain School also expressed a similar comment. Teacher Qin commented, "Our

[32] It is the Beijing National Stadium designed for the 2008 Summer Olympics.

school just borrowed the name." Student Joshua's comment was more straightforward, "Our school just connected everything with the Olympics and Olympic education." The principal Xin admitted that any activities could be called Olympic education because of schools' educative role. These comments resonate with a teacher's comment about the Olympic education programme for the 2008 Olympics. As teacher Xuxiaoyan reflected that Olympic education for the 2008 Olympics was a box that everything can put inside (Beijing Olympic Education Office, 2005).

Despite the wide range of activities that schools identified as being Olympic education, I categorised four main types of activities that fell under the banner of Olympic education: Olympic theory teaching, floor winter sports, craftworks, and other various extra activities (e.g., activities in table 5). These practices are similar to the 2008 Olympic education practices in previous research (see Dou, 2004; Kong & Li, 2004; Liu, 2012). For example, Liu (2012) described that the 2008 Olympic education as being delivered through activities such as decorations, mini-Olympic games, and other media-related activities. Winter sports-related activities were absent from their research. The disparate nature of activities that counted as Olympic education, identified in my study, added to the complexity of conducting ethnographic research, as many of the activities were *ad hoc*. However, by spending time in the schools and talking with a range of participants, I was able to gain an in-depth understanding of not just *what* happened, but *how* they were conducted. A school-wide focus on teaching 'basic' Olympic facts to students was one means to enact Olympic education—or at least to be seen to be 'doing' Olympic education.

## The technology of visibility: Promoting the schools' teaching outcomes through the visibility of Olympic facts

The curriculum of Olympic education centers around promoting Olympism as a broad set of values and ideals oriented towards blending sport with culture, education and international co-operation (Binder, 2001; Chatziefstathiou, 2012; Culpan, 2008; Muller, 2004, 2008; Horn, 2016; Parry, 2003). This can also include basic facts related to the history and nature of the Olympics as a global sporting event (e.g., Grammatikopoulos et. al., 2005; Wang & Masumoto 2009). As I outlined in Chapter five, China's government intended for schools to promote both Olympic spirit and knowledge. However, both the schools that participated in this research chose to teach basic facts around the Olympics as an event at the expense of teaching Olympism as a set of values. This observation is important because the absence of values teaching in

Olympic education has been well acknowledged in international research worldwide, such as in Rio (Knijnik & Tavares, 2012), Greece (Grammatikopoulos et al., 2005), New Zealand (Kohe, 2010, 2014); Poland (Obayashi, 2015), and Japan (Hwang, 2018). However, these studies failed to consider why Olympic education becomes more about facts than values in some schools and contexts. In this section, I suggest that the technology of visibility shapes a curriculum that serves the interests of the school over the values of Olympics.

The technology of visibility worked in a variety of ways. One strong example was the way both Mountain and Railway Schools used radio broadcasts during their twenty-minute break after lunch to 'teach' facts about the Olympics to students. At Mountain School, the twenty-minute break was the main time to teach basic facts about the Olympics, and most of this time centred on listening to this radio broadcast. There was a Chinese version and an English version radio broadcast, where the school played the Chinese version at least twice a week (usually during the break time, but sometimes before and/or after school), and the English version once a week. Dina, a PE teacher responsible for playing the radio broadcast, noted, "the English radio broadcast is usually on Wednesday." The content of the two versions was similar to each other. As student Tami, the school radio broadcaster, explained, "Our English teacher prepared it [the English version radio broadcast] based on the content of our Chinese version."

One day, I was talking to students from Dina's classroom after lunchtime, then Dina came inside telling everyone:

> "Sit in your place. Tidy up your table and do your homework later. Listen to the radio carefully, and I will ask you questions randomly later," she repeated it twice right before the radio broadcast started. "Welcome to the Winter Olympics channel. Chamonix became famous because of the Winter Olympics, and it gradually became the place for skiers and adventurers. The most famous place in this town is ..." a beautiful female voice conveyed in the class and the school. [FN 21/09.2018]

Radio broadcasts were prioritised over other tasks, such as doing homework, and students were forbidden to work on other tasks during the broadcasts[33]. Robert and Joshua reported that their classroom teacher, Tina, would occasionally ask questions related to the radio, such as where

[33] Most teachers recognised this lunch break time as the time to do extra teaching or tests. Teachers would usually take turns occupying the time.

hosted the first Winter Olympics. Also, during the school's New Year celebrations, every student had to answer a question related to the Olympics. Student Brook was asked: "Who is the Olympic image ambassador for the 2022 Olympics?"

Dina, the teacher-in-charge of the radio broadcast, admitted that "these radio broadcasts were brainwashing students with Olympic information." For example, in one English radio broadcast, two students from the school (broadcasters who reported that they were told to read the material provided by their teacher) conversed with each other using a question-and-answer format in a quiz-like manner:

A: What is the difference between the modern Olympic games and the ancient one?
B: The ancient games had no women participants.
A: Which country hosted the first Olympics?
B: Greece.
A: The ancient Olympic Games started in Greece a long time ago, then they stopped...
B: What a shame!
A: Do you know the motto of the Olympics?
B: Higher, stronger, and faster.
A: Beijing hosted the 2008 Olympics. How many medals did the Chinese athletes win?
B: 51 golden medals, 21 silver, 28 bronze medals. [FN 21/11/2018]

These two vignettes demonstrate how teachers prioritised the factual information around the Olympics. This is representative of the content of all the radio broadcasts. There were 120 audio tapes of the Chinese broadcasts in total, including 21 tapes about the bidding process of the 2022 Olympics, 35 about the brief history of the Winter Olympics, and 64 about the Winter Olympic items. I transcribed three examples under each of these themes as shown in Table 6. Although these themes differed with each other, the ultimate goal of these radio broadcast was the same: Teaching basic facts about the Olympics.

**Table 6.**

*The Three Themes of the Radio Broadcast*

| The bidding process of the 2022 Olympics | Winter Olympic items | The brief history of the Winter Olympics |
|---|---|---|
| The bidding documents of the Olympics are fundamental to evaluate whether the bidding city can host the Olympics or host. Beijing Winter Olympics bidding organisations revised the documents several times. Now let us listen to how they wrote and revised the documents: If we change some data or format, we need to change the whole table… | Speaking of the most expensive winter sport, it must be ice curling. The material to make curling is rare and costs tens of thousands of RMB, and the ice stadium is also surprisingly expensive… | Do you know where hosted the first Winter Olympics? And what interesting stories happened in each Games? The first Winter Olympics was hosted in 1924 in a French town named Chamonix, located in the east part of the country… |

Railway School also played radio broadcasts to promote basic facts about the Olympics, although I was unable to obtain detailed data on these broadcasts, as they were not played during my data collection. However, students told me that their school also had such radio broadcast during their lunchtime, and Zhu had previously been responsible for them. Student Dylan reported that Zhu would broadcast "Olympics stuff" (which Dylan explained were basic facts about famous athletes and Olympics items). He further clarified, "Sometimes Zhu would broadcast, and sometimes he would ask some students to do it."

Aside from the radio broadcasts, the two schools also employed other practices to teach basic facts about the Olympics. For instance, Mountain School attended a lecture given by the Beijing Organizing Committee for the Olympic Games (BOCOG) to teach students factual information around the 2022 Olympics and discipline students to be the representatives of the school (see section regarding technology of discipline). The two schools also decorated their campus with such kinds of information, such as the name of the host cities and introduction of sports items to the Olympics (see section regarding technology of sign system).

While teaching facts about the Olympics was visible in the two schools, learning about Olympism was apparently ignored. Students in both schools reported that their teachers did not teach Olympism. Below is a conversation I had with a group of Year 6 students at Railway School:

Honglu: What kind of spirit or values you learned from Olympic-themed activities at school?

Lyons: He (their PE teacher Zhu) seldom mentioned any values or spirit.

Hope: When has he (their PE teacher) ever mentioned that?

Anny: If someone else asked me the question, I would say yes and talk about how hard it is for athletes to win the gold medal on the Olympics as an example of the Olympic spirit that I learned from the school. In reality, since you were the one asking me, I would honestly tell you that I never learn any values from Zhu [the PE teacher].

While some students did report that they were taught Olympism at school, when asked to explain, they seemed to have conflated the slogans of the Olympics with Olympism. For example, student Jie from Mountain School said, "Teacher Tina has asked us to memorize Olympism before, and I also see the Olympic values and spirit on the posters along the school corridor." Although the school did display posters on the Olympics along the school corridor, these were not focused on concepts of Olympism, such as fair play and excellence, but just promoted advertising slogans for the 2022 Winter Olympics. These slogans included "Joyful Rendezvous Upon Pure Ice and Snow" (纯洁的冰雪，激情的约会), and "Winter Olympics will be excellent with me (冬奥有我更精彩)".

The apparent absence of Olympism in these Olympic education lessons was hardly surprising, given that the schoolteacher themselves were also unfamiliar with the term and what it meant. Teacher Qin stated that he had never heard of the term before. Similar to the students' conflation of Olympism with slogans related to the Olympics, they also associated Olympism with the motto of *faster, higher, and stronger* when asked about Olympic values. Clearly, their responses showed that their understanding of Olympism was this motto of the Olympics, rather than the broad meaning of Olympism.

The concept of visibility was developed when Foucault discussed the panopticion (see Foucault, 1979). For Foucault, visibility was a disciplinary control; a tool for disciplining people and sustaining mechanisms of control. Tazzioli and Walters (2016) argued that, "visibility is at the core of governmentality" (p. 447) as it is conceived as a form of knowledge that makes objects and subjects visible, knowable, and thus governable. In this study, factual information about the Olympics dominated this kind of knowledge. As Zhu, a PE teacher at Railway School, commented that basic facts were "easier to teach", while "Olympism was like

communism, it was too abstract to teach and people needed to feel it by themselves." Qin, a PE teacher at Mountain School, also drew on a similar rationale, commenting that teaching sports and physical activities were more concrete and visible and, thus, 'better' at helping others see their teaching effort. Initially, Qin tried to defend a lack of focus on teaching values of Olympism in Olympic education by saying that "these values and spirit are all mixed in sports teaching naturally." Later, he confessed, "values are too abstract and it is hard for others to see the teaching outcomes. They are not like sports, where people can clearly see that students have got some exercise." Therefore, teachers admitted they deliberately chose to ignore Olympism, and instead teach students factual information about the Olympics.

The overwhelming privileging of basic Olympic facts to the detriment of teaching Olympism was also enacted at a school wide level. The technology of visibility helped schools manage their Olympic education inside schools and outside of their schools. By focusing on basic facts, schools attempted to prevent themselves from being 'embarrassed'. Zoe, a teacher who frequently participated in different Olympics-themed activities, explained that principal Xin thought their school would 'lose face' if students could not say anything when being asked about the Olympics, especially when facing visitors and officials. Zhu also drew on a similar reason by saying, "Our students should know some information on the Olympics to save face to be a model for other schools in Olympic education implementation." In Chinese, the phrase 'lose face' means feeling embarrassed, and 'save face' means doing anything not to 'lose face". Requiring students to memorize basic facts guaranteed that the school would not lose face in front of authorities and visitors.

## The technology of discipline: Fabricating students to perform for the school through Olympic education

The desire of the two schools to perform and make visible the outcomes of their Olympic education was most readily observed in the way the bodies of students' bodies were disciplined. Both discipline and performance are strongly bonded together (Larsson et al., 2010). Foucault noted that, the body, as an object and target of power, is subject to becoming compliant and docile through disciplinary mechanisms such as training (Markula & Pringle, 2007). He used the word 'docility' to refer to the way the body becomes malleable and able to be manipulated, and an effective means for discipline. This disciplining process, according to Foucault (1991b), was done by fabricating individual bodies into useful and docile bodies. In this study, disciplinary mechanisms were deployed on students' docile bodies as a means to ensure that the successful outcomes of the

schools' Olympic education were visibly demonstrated through the students' conduct and bodies. This section discusses three types of disciplinary mechanisms in use by the two schools: Rituals, systems of command, and spatial distribution. These three disciplinary mechanisms fabricated students at both individual and collective levels to become ideal performers for their schools.

In respect to the disciplinary mechanism of rituals, both schools employed a series of delicate symbolic processes and formalised practices in their Olympic education. This is unsurprising as rituals are throughout every classroom interaction (DeMeulenaere, 2019), and occur in students' orientation programme (Magolda, 2000). I use the terms 'ceremonies' and 'rituals' interchangeably to represent these practices. Foucault (1979) described a range of ceremonies and rituals – such as school examinations, military reviews, parades, and even medical rounds, used as a disciplinary means for conduct. The terms ritual and ceremonies have been used in previous studies of the 2008 Olympic education programme (see Liu. 2012; Zhang, 2008). However, in these studies, these terms were used to describe a key practice, but not as a means to govern students towards particular ends. Zhang's (2008) discussed the extensive use of rituals in Olympic education and she further commented that such a practice would benefit the Olympic Movements. However, in the case of this study, the two schools employed rituals as a disciplinary practice governed students, teachers, and others for the benefit of schools' self-promotion.

One strong example in Mountain School was their *mini-Olympic committee.* The activity was organised to imitate the structure of the International Olympic Committee by having a *mini-Olympic committee* in the school with specific positions held by students, such as two vice-presidents, one secretary, two vice-secretaries, and two press secretaries. The school then initiated a ceremony to announce the establishment of a *mini-Olympic committee*. As I recorded in my field notes:

> Students were lined-up in order at the gate of the BOCOG. All of them were wearing their school uniform and red scarves. The sound system was set up in front of all students. Everyone was standing in silence. Teacher Dina held the microphone and said, "Welcome everyone to the opening ceremony of our mini-Olympic committee. Let us first welcome students who will perform a Winter Olympic song." A group of students then moved to the front, each of them wearing a garland similar to the Olympic Olive wreath. They started to sing…

> Following the song, Teacher Dina said, “Let us thank them for their effort.” After everyone clapped, she continued by saying, “Now, let’s welcome three guests who will give us a speech. They are [A] who works for BOCOG, [B] a former Olympian, and [C] a lecturer from the university team. Please give a round of applause.” The three guests then gave their speeches. After their speeches, Teacher Dina continued, “Let us now welcome our student representative Julia to give her speech.”
>
> After all the speeches finally ended, Teacher Dina scanned her MC run sheet and called on four teachers to come to the front to receive a certificate with the title ‘Winter Olympics education expert’. I was also invited to receive the certificate. She then called on selected student members to receive their certificates. To set up the presentations, she said, “Let us now welcome our guests-of-honour, Principal Xin and our experts, to issue these students their certificates.” The certificate turned out to be a card decorated with the Olympic logo and school’s name, stating each student’s name and position in the mini-Olympic committee. Teacher Dina divided these students into three teams to ensure that each student was awarded by a guest, which resembles the Olympic podium. A student helper passed the certificates to the guests-of-honour, which were issued to the selected student member after a handshake. A photograph was taken with each awardee before a group photograph with all the awardees were taken in front of the BOCOG gate. “I announce that today’s opening ceremony has been successfully completed. Thanks everyone for your effort,” Dina made her final statement.
>
> [FN 2/11/2018]

At that time, I felt awkward being labelled a ‘Winter Olympic education expert’ and embarrassed because I had to receive the certificate in front of such a large audience. However, I could not refuse. All eyes were on me. I could not disrupt the opening ceremony, so I played along with the host. I believe that others at the ceremony, including the students, teachers, and guests, would have shared my sentiments but did as I did and remained quiet and behaved well to align with the agenda of their school.

In the process of the ritual, tight control and repression were performed everywhere. In Foucault’s view, rituals involved a hierarchical observation (Foucault, 1979), a disciplinary technique to normalise hierarchies and to manage populations by producing docile and useful types of human selves (McWhorter, 2004). In this respect, these rituals disciplined students,

teachers and related people (e.g., guests) to produce behaviours that met the school's requirements. It reinforced control and may blind people collectively (McCabe, 2019).

Similar tight control also appeared in Railway School. Railway School imitated the opening ceremony of the Olympics and conducted what they called a *mini-Olympic games*. Teacher Zhu reported that the school started the tradition in 2002 and had implemented more than ten *mini-Olympic games* thus far. Such a school tradition, infused with performative elements copied from the Olympics, works to normalise the structuring and messaging of the practices involved. Kulz (2017, p. 47) stated, "Rituals provide a more performative lens that highlights the delicate processes of transformation and movement between spaces." In this case, the ceremony contained performative elements from the Olympics. Viewing the documentary pictures of the past games, I noticed similarities with the opening ceremony of the Olympics: Students who played the role of athlete wore the national costumes of different countries and paraded around the school field, with one student holding the banner leading the team. For the 2018 ceremony, students reported that they shouted the Olympic slogan *'One World, One dream'* twice when their class reached the field's centre. After the parade, they sat amongst the spectators to watch the performances. In the 2017 *mini-Olympic games*, the performances included having students form large Olympic rings with their bodies in a major display performance, holding posters with the slogan of 'faster, stronger, and higher'; and some were reading Pierre de Coubertin's 'Ode to Sport'[34] poem at the front. In the process, schoolteachers sat around the school field, playing the role of security of the Olympic opening ceremony. Parents were all standing at two sides of the field, playing the role of the audience.

Every single body available to the school was deployed in the staging of the major ritualistic performance, but the most important bodies were those of students. Pei (2008a) argued, Olympic education could make the over-disciplined and stiff Chinese educational system less disciplined. However, this thesis presents a contradictory conclusion. Students became more disciplined through Olympic education. To prepare students' bodies as the 'perfect' representatives of Olympic education, the two schools employed two other disciplinary practices: The system of command and spatial distribution. The BOCOG lecture[35] was an example to illustrate these two disciplinary practices.

[34] Coubertin wrote the poem in 1912 to praise the greatness of sports.
[35] The BOCOG organised a team to give lectures to schools, communities and others about the information around the 2022 Winter Olympics.

The system of command refers to signals that mobilise actions and activities (Foucault, 1979). School personnel explicitly and implicitly taught students these signals through Olympic education. On the day of the BOCOG lecture, teacher Tina announced:

> I EMPHASISE [shouted] the need for discipline again. You must remember to stand in line, sit properly, take off your hats, put on your uniform, be quiet, no laughing, no phones…Do not make any noises unless you were told to clap your hands…Remember that you perform for the school. This is important…you do not want to be embarrassed in public. [FN 28/10/2018, my emphasis]

These commands were often reported to stress the importance of compliance and were often repeated a few times. A day before the lecture, Tina repeated her commands three times: Once during the morning exercise, once right before the students left for the BOCOG lecture, and the last time just before the start of the BOCOG lecture. Teachers Tina and Zoe both explained that repeating these commands ensured that students knew exactly how to behave.

These commands were also brief and to-the-point. As Foucault (1979) pointed out, commands must be concise and clear, such that people can understand them without explanation. In this way, students can respond quickly to commands. Calling out was an example. When teachers called on the students to prepare for BOCOG lectures, hundreds of students assembled and ordered themselves quickly and silently into straight lines according to their year level and class. This process only took a couple of minutes. The clapping of hands was another example to show students' quick reaction. During the BOCOG lecture, I noticed that students would quickly clap their hands once Principal Xin started clapping. Their quick reaction supports Foucault's statement that the system of command demands quick reactions from the recipients (Foucault, 1979).

In addition, the commands had strong disciplining undertones. It suggested to students that non-compliance came with consequences, not least punishment. For example, Tina's announcement of "this is important…you do not want to be embarrassed in public", which suggests that there could be consequences for students if they did not follow these commands. Foucault (1991b) explained that the disciplinary power is "not to punish less but to punish better" (p. 82). Therefore, students had to behave well to avoid unpleasant repercussions. Students Brook and Joshua complained, "We almost died from being silent throughout the whole lecture!" Despite the urge to chat with their classmates, they did not do so because they

"do not want to be punished later." This system of command came in particularly useful in media-related activities as shown in the media section of this chapter.

Another disciplinary technique used was spatial distribution. This refers to the identification and control of geographical locations and arrangements of school people within these spaces. Foucault (1979) described spatial distribution as a process of knowing, "…where and how to locate individuals … to be able at each moment to supervise the conduct of each individual, to assess it, to judge it, to calculate its qualities or merits" (p. 143). An example of spatial distribution could be seen when teachers and students from Mountain School had to walk to attend the BOCOG lecture:

> Students from the same class were formed in a straight line, with taller students standing at the back and the shorter ones in front. Each class line was marked by a teacher standing at the front of the student line and another teacher at the end. [FN 29/10/2018]

Teacher Tina explained the rationale behind such spatial distribution of teachers and students: the teacher at the front was responsible for leading the team, while the one at the back ensured that all students follow the main squad. Students lined up not in a hierarchy of importance but based on their height to make it easy for teachers to survey l their classes. Each student was thus exposed to the visibility of two teachers. As Foucault (1991b) noted, discipline requires an enclosure for the operation. In this respect, the distribution constitutes a visible and secure enclosure that allowed the school to quickly identify their targets and further mobilise them. Such visibility, whether real or imagined, is vital to discipline citizens to become the deal conduct (Chong, 2012). As noted by Foucault (1991b), the use of spatial distribution then enables a continuous hierarchical gaze, which provides invisible power over the individuals to perform in a normalised way. Within the panopticon, power becomes less individualized and more functional (Markula & Pringle, 2007). Danaher et al. (2000) noted that the power of the gaze helped to reduce resistance, which Foucault (1979) called "descending individualism" (p. 193). Indeed, during my fieldwork, I was also affected by this panoptic gaze. I kept quiet and pretended to listen to the BOCOG lectures when I sat among the students because I was conscious of the possibility of being watched by the school teachers and wanted to avoid any form of actions that might draw attention to myself. I believed students also felt the same way as I noticed that they were usually very quiet and would check their teachers' locations before making any moves.

## The technology of filtering: Increasing the schools' competitiveness through an elitist Olympic education

Another technology employed by the two schools, underpinned by the rationality of self-promotion through Olympic education, is what I refer to as the technology of filtering. This technology involved the section of students based on certain criteria (e.g., looks) to participate in Olympic education. Student participation in Olympic education was similar to the actual Olympics, in that only the 'elite' are welcomed to 'compete'. This technology does not appear to have been noted by previous studies, although Zhou (2011) noticed the limited student participants in Olympic education for the 2008 Beijing Olympics, she does not examine how these students were selected, and why schools did so. However, in my study, I observed how the two schools chose students who can present their competitiveness via Olympic education.

One example how the technology of filtering was employed was seen in the selective recruitment of a limited number of students for the floor-based winter sports. For instance, at Railway School, teacher Zhu stood in front of all students on the platform testing the microphone and then said:

> "Attention attention!!! I am going to announce something important for everyone". He then raised voice and said, "Year 3 and 4 students are lucky this time. I will organise a winter sports team from these two groups of students. Anyone who has learned related skills before, such as skating, please come to me afterwards. Students who were good at sports are also welcomed to join the team". [FN 10/12/2018]

I made a similar observation when I observed how Mountain School organised its floor-based winter sports team. I wrote the following in my journal:

> Obstacles (the equipment to test students' skiing skills) for floor skiing were set up in the middle of the school field. Principal Xin and the coach Zara (from the company engaged in teaching floor skiing) stood next to these obstacles. There were 34 students from Year 4 and 5 lining up behind these obstacles. Xin directed them to go through these obstacles one by one. Zara was standing a little bit far way observing students. Only students who were passing all these obstacles were selected in the end to learn floor skiing. [FN 26/11/2018]

The description above indicated that the two schools selected younger students who were good at sports through different approaches. I noticed that the team members were nearly always constituted by almost the same students from other sports teams. Student Brook confirmed this and mentioned that all school sports teams usually have the same members. For instance, he was both a basketball and a football player. The selection process for floor winter sports was not unique in selecting *suitable* student participations. The majority of Olympic-themed activities at the two schools also had specific criteria to choose students to participate, as the following examples demonstrate.

Three interesting moments occurred at Mountain School which illuminated the hidden (and not so hidden) criteria and processes for selecting students to be involved in Olympic education. The first was the craftwork lesson: A hobby lesson[36] that students can 'choose' to do. I noticed that the lesson comprised largely of girls and only one boy. The teacher Zoe reported that principal Xin chose students who were good at handcraft to make the lesson more productive. By only selecting skilled students, the lesson became an efficient craftwork factory for effective student workers.

Second was the 'smiling story'. Students told me that their principal Xin required them to smile in front of the blackboard one by one to take photos, then select those with a good smile to perform a Winter Olympics song for the government. Julia further reported that there were two Year group students were asked to do it and only some students from Year 5 were selected in the end because "our smile is better". Ben, a student who failed to be selected by his smile, commented that people were only selected because "they are good looking." This case indicated that the school did not even hide their ambition of selecting attractive students to present themselves to officials.

The third event was the *mini-Olympic committee*, which claimed to offer chances for all students who applied, yet also turned out to only be an activity for specially selected students. I noticed that selected students were all 'popular' students who consistently represented schools in extracurricular activities, such as winter sports-related activities and Olympic-themed arts activities. Robert was one of these popular students. Notably, Robert did not even apply to be part of the *mini-Olympic committee*, but he was *still* selected for the

[36] In Beijing, schools usually open hobby lessons for all students. Such kind of lesson is taught once a week, and each lesson lasts two hours. Students choose the lesson according to their preference, and usually outsourcing teachers are in charge of the lesson.

activity. He claimed that teacher Tina wanted him to join the activity, and he knew nothing about it. On the other hand, students Joshua and Brook were failed to be selected even though they submitted their applications. As student Julia commented, "Joshua and Brook were too talkative and not following teachers' instructions." Clearly, the school selected students for the activity based on particular 'hidden' criteria, rather than giving all students the same chances to participate. Students were certainly aware of the filtered student participation in Olympic education. For instance, Brook complained that Julia and Robert were provided more opportunities for Olympic education because "Julia is principal Xin's favourite, and student Robert is teacher Tina's favourite." Another student, Joshua, also noted that principal Xin provided more chances for girls for Olympic-related activities than boys as "girls are more obedient than us [boys]."

The limited student participation for Olympic education represents a conflict with the principles of fair play and equality promoted by Olympism. These principles were further undervalued by the two schools, certainly compared to their ambitions of portraying themselves as excellent schools through the selection of suitable student representatives. Teacher Qin believed that a selection process is necessary to filter "decent students" from the rest because "they represented the school." Teacher Tina concurred and explained, "The frequently selected students are excellent in many aspects and are suitable representatives of the school." Perhaps due to the frequency by which the same group of students was selected, even the students themselves noticed that school personnel deliberately selected outstanding students whom they deemed could present a better image of the school. For instance, student Tami noted that principal Xin always chose students who *performed* better and *looked* better to participate in Olympic education because "they help the school win glory."

This idea of enabling the school to "win glory" was often employed by teachers and principals to justify the selection process they had put in practice. Both schools consciously selected 'suitable' students for these Olympic-related activities and saw their decisions in line with the schools' neoliberal rationality of becoming competitive in relation to Olympic education. Regarding the selection of younger students who were good at sports to participate in floor winter sports, teacher Zhu explained that having the selection process helps the school build a more competitive team. He further mentioned that younger students have got more time to get trained to become competitive. Teacher Qin agreed and explained that selecting the younger children for floor winter sports was necessary because "they are easy to be trained and can receive good training for a longer time than Year 6 students. Thus, they are more likely to

win more glory for the school." The idea of building a competitive team to win glory for the school is precisely why teacher Qin also wanted experienced athletes for the winter sports, "people who are good at one sport are likely to be good at other sports, so almost all our school's floor ice hockey players are chosen from the school's football team. In this way, they constitute a competitive team that can represent the school in related competitions." In other words, both schools were less interested in student participation in Olympic education or students' learning, and more interested in increasing schools' competitiveness and the 'glory' of winning.

In regard to student participants in Olympic education, they were filtered through a process of selection, which considered factors such as students' sporting ability and physical attractiveness. This may be considered an example of what Foucault (1984a) described as, bio-power. This power is the focus on citizen's biological existence, such as birth, morbidity, and longevity. Bio-power seeks a productive workforce and an efficient economic system through healthy, skilled, educated populations (Dean, 2010; Markula & Pringle, 2007; Rabinow & Rose, 2006). The criteria of such selection are arguably incompatible with principles of Olympism, such as fairness and equality (Teetzel, 2012). The selection of students most likely to contribute to the productive bodies for the schools, increased the schools' competitiveness in Olympic education, which increased the chance for the schools' self-promotion through Olympic education. This competitiveness was also seen in the Olympic-themed decorations used by the two schools.

## The technology of sign system: Presenting schools' competitiveness through Olympic-themed decorations

Schools involved in Olympic education claimed to promote Olympic 'culture', often achieved by displaying Olympic symbols in the school environment through decorations, posters, and banners. During the 2008 Olympic education programme, scholars also noted the appearance of Olympic symbols (posters, drawings, and projects displaying work) in schools (Zhou, 2011; Wang & Masumoto, 2009), as well as before the 2010 Olympics in Canada (Devitt, 2012). However, previous studies failed to consider why schools displayed these decorations and to what effect. This section employs Foucault's technology of sign system to analyse the governmentality of these symbolic devices. I argue that such visual displays are another technology of government the two schools used to construct a distinctive school identity and perform their competitiveness to school people, government officials, visitors, and the public.

Railway School placed decorations with Olympic symbols in all public areas. Posters with information about basic aspects of the Olympics, such as previous host cities, the motto of the Olympics, Coubertin's Ode to Sport, mascots, and the school's Olympic-themed activities, were plastered on the perimeter walls and frontage areas. Moving to the staffroom, I noticed the image of the Olympic rings on the corner of the A4 paper introducing the teachers' subject areas on each teacher's table. The school even started an 'exhibition room', which presented the school's history of conducting Olympic education, as well as related certificates, products, and media reports. Touring the exhibition room, I had the sense that the school devoted enormous energy to the Olympics and Olympic education in comparison to other schools. It felt as though the school decorated almost everywhere with Olympic symbols to tell people that their competitive status compared to other schools. As Pereira (2019) stated, schools used visual arts, such as banners with schools' achievements, to reinforce their competitiveness. The two participating schools also employed a similar logic via Olympic-related decorations.

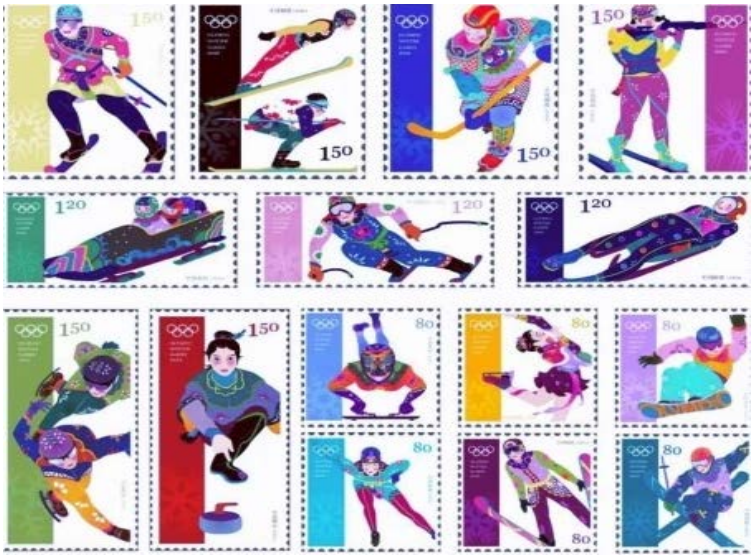
Mountain School also decorated their campus extensively with Olympic displays. Many big posters providing basic information about the 15 major Winter Olympic sports items, such as its rules, equipment requirement and brief history were displayed on the walls in the areas near the school field. As I walked towards the staircase of the main school building, I could not help feeling impressed by the photographs that various school personnel had taken with famous Olympians and officials. At the same time, I had the impression that the school seemed to be more interested in presenting themselves in a favourable light, alongside famous people, and less about students' learning about the Olympics in a meaningful, educational sense. As a student Cathy commented, "Our schools used these displays to show off our school's achievements." Walking up the staircase and along the corridors of the first two floors of the main school building, I was greeted by various students' paintings and writings about the Olympics mascot. Given the extensive emphasis on student drawings of the Olympic mascot on the first two storeys of the school building, I was puzzled by why none of these decorations was displayed on the third floor. Teacher Qin, however, explained: "The third floor is too high for visitors to come by, so there is no need to decorate it." Olympic decorations – in the name of Olympic education – were intentionally used to promote the school to outsiders, rather than to educate their students.

Similar to Railway School, Mountain School also prepared an exhibition room. However, instead of the history of the Olympics in the school, Mountain School's exhibition

room was focused on students' craftworks: Paper cut, making knots, bean pictures, stamps and plastic sculpture (Figures 5 and 6). Principal Xin was keen to have me view some of the students' intricate craftworks. I was surprised by the ornate craftwork and exclaimed as I pointed to a skier made by paper cut, "Wow! How can primary school students make such complicated and amazing craftworks?" He explained that the parents and teachers helped students with these craftworks, with teacher Zoe then 'polishing' these products before they could be publicly displayed. In other words, these supposedly "student-made" craftworks - meant as part of the school's Olympic decorations - were in fact, a form of visual cheating, a marketing strategy that attempted to present the school as able to produce *better* products (or better products than the children could have made by themselves).

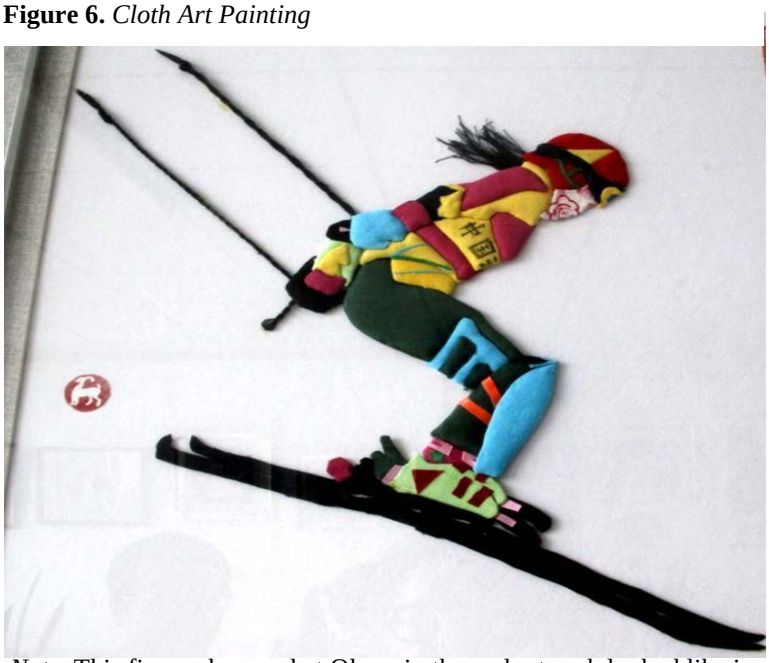
The feeling of using Olympic-themed decorations to market schools was enhanced when I realised that Mountain School put more effort into these decorations by updating their decorations. For example, inside teacher Tina's classroom, I could see the images of several Olympic stadiums pinned on the class notice board. A month later, when I revisited Tina's classroom, their decorations had been changed to highlight the differences between the Winter Olympics and the Summer Olympics. The update of these decorations seems to indicate that the school had a higher passion for performing themselves towards these decorations. Cindy, a member of the university team (Chapter five) commented, "The 2008 Olympic education saved Railway School, and now Mountain School was copying their old ways to develop themselves." She further clarified, "Railway School already got their name out through these decorations, and the school already became a demonstration school when mentioning Olympic education. So Mountain School was working hard to do the same." In her view, these decorations could help schools to stand out in the public education system, and Mountain School attempted to do so.

**Figure 5.** *Paper Cut of Winter Sports*




*Note.* This figure shows what Olympic-themed artwork looked like in schools. Adapted from Weixian paper cut. (2018). *Wenn Weixian paper cut met the 2022 Winter Olympics.* [Online image]. Nuanquan. https://nuanquan.net/jianzhi/2526.html

**Figure 6.** *Cloth Art Painting*



*Note.* This figure shows what Olympic-themed artwork looked like in schools. Adapted from Qianlong. (2016). *Walking into Zhangjiakou art associations to witness the combination between arts and winter Olympics*. [Online images]. Qianlong. http://sports.qianlong.com/2016/0804/794198_3.shtml

Even though previous research has noted how Olympic education contributes to the creation of school identities, this has been attributed to the use of traditional sports and games, rather than the use of decorations and displays (Voolaid, 2013). However, what my study illuminates is how school personnel believed that Olympic-related decorations created a unique identity for a school and for promotional purposes. As teacher Zoe explained, "These decorations are novel and not many schools have them, so they helped set our school apart from other schools." For teacher Dina, "These decorations are like school's identity card: They make our campus prettier than before. Visitors would feel that our school is unique." Dina further clarified, "Based on her experience, not many schools have these decorations. It made our school unique."

Foucault's notion of technologies of sign system can be used to interpret the two schools' employment of decorations. The technologies of sign system refer to the use of signs, meanings, symbols, or signification shape the conduct of individuals to certain ends (Foucault, 1988a). In other words, signs would help realise certain ambitions through governing individuals. In this case, these visual displays crafted a unique and visible identity for schools to achieve their ambition of presenting their competitive status to students and parents. As Foucault (1984a) noted, space stimulates certain actions, although "the architect has no power over me" (p. 247). In this respect, these decorations constructed a space to attract students. As teacher Zhu pointed out, "When students and their parents see these decorations, they will assume our school is good and thus choose us." Student Nanthy also thought that students would be attracted to their school because people in their neighbourhood would notice these decorations and consider their school as "better" than others.

What struck me was that the two schools presented their unique identity not only to school people and visitors, but to others, including the public and passer-by. The two schools extended these Olympic-related symbols outside of their schools. At the top of Mountain School gate, there was a giant digital screen displaying the slogan of the 2022 Winter Olympics, "*Winter Olympics will be more fascinating with my participation*" (冬奥有我，更加精彩), played over and over again. Similarly, at the gate of Railway School, a digital screen displayed, "Building an international and excellent Olympic education school." Billboards and the glass advertisement panels along the streets outside the school displayed various media and the government reports on the school's Olympic education implementation. Through these

displays outside of their schools, the two schools presented their unique identity and competitive status to more people.

## The technology of media: Promoting the schools to a wider society through Olympic education

The ambition of promoting the school's relationship with Olympic education to a wider society was achieved through both schools' use of media. Olympic-themed decorations helped to achieve such an ambition to a certain degree, where media promoted both schools nationally, even internationally. Although Foucault did not specifically write about media and technology in his work, I believe that the role of media and technology in governing strategies should not be understated. In this section, I draw on evidence from Mountain School to show how the employment of media helped the school promote themselves to a wider society, and achieve their self-promotion within the public education system.

Mountain School frequently employed media when implemented their Olympic education. During my data collection, there were at least six media-related activities, including: A Beijing TV channel interested in promoting how the school conducted Olympic education; a recorded lesson on the etiquette of watching ice hockey; over 100 journalists visiting the school; and, three separate instances when local media interviewed students about floor winter sports.

The employment of media in Olympic education was not surprising, given principal Xin saying, "It [media] was a great chance to promote the school." Qin, a PE teacher, clarified further, "when media from different organisations reported our Olympic education, our school name would come up, and then many people would know us." Student Joshua also confirmed the role of media in helping their school to get famous by saying, "Xin was always on TV to tell people our Olympic education. More people will know us from the media." In this respect, media provided schools with chances to increase schools' profile.

To further construct a good image in media, the school waved the technology of discipline into media-related Olympic education activities. In the first media activity, principal Xin reported that he specifically dressed up for the activity. He also prepared a classroom with students' craftworks on the Olympics to be the backdrop for the media shoot. On that day, I noticed that all students were in their classrooms after lunch. I felt strange because students usually used this time to get out of their classrooms for some outdoor activities. Then student

Julia explained, “Our teachers specifically disciplined us to stay inside to keep a good image of our school for the media coming today.” Through these strategies, the school was able to present a better image with respectful principal, productive craftworks, and more importantly, with behaved students.

On the second media activity—the lesson shoot, student Brook reported that Xin taught them a lesson on the etiquette of watching ice hockey, and it was the first time that Xin had given them a lesson in the last five years. According to Brook, the lesson was carefully staged, and students were told to behave ‘appropriately’. Xin followed the camera operator’s specific instructions, from the timing and the way he walked towards the students, to the ways he raised his hands. Xin explained that these practices guaranteed the media captured a good image of their students, himself, and interactions between himself and students, so he was willing to be directed by the media. Clearly, the point of this lesson shoot had less to do with educating students and was more about projecting the best public image of the school to a wider society.

The third media activity also involved disciplinary practices to regulate students. As I recorded in my field notes:

> At the school gate, there was a LED screen playing all Olympic-themed activities the school had attended. I immediately knew something special would happen today. Once I entered the school, everything seemed to be different. Principal Xin looked different today. He had dressed up in a formal suit. “Put these two posters in the middle, that two together…,” said Xin as he instructed two PE teachers to set up posters at the back of the school field. Those posters were all about activities that the school and their community conducted for Olympic education. At the front of the school field, Zoe was busy putting students’ craftworks for display on the tables. Two students followed behind her and I heard that she was teaching the two students how to introduce these craftworks when asked. In the middle of the field, 16 students were practising passing skills, and ten other students were playing Floor X repeatedly. Two teachers stood guard at the two entrances of the field to stop students coming out from their classes from entering the field. [FN 27/11/2018]

These events illustrate how much effort the school devoted to the media visiting and how they employed disciplinary practices to regulate the students during these visits. At that time, I was concerned that students were being subjected to harsh disciplinary actions for the process of the media. In this case, these students were required to train in very cold weather for

hours and Xin mentioned that they started to do rehearsals two hours before their visiting time Students even reported that they had been trained for two days before the media visit. However, as Ball (2003) noted, "Performance has no room for caring" (p. 224), it seems that the school cared more about their perfect performance rather than students' health and there was no space for empathetic understandings of students' feelings.

However, teacher Zoe clearly articulated the point and the purpose of these preparations and performance: "Xin just wanted to grasp the opportunity [media] to show more people how good our school is." She also noted that the school aimed to "take their school's name overseas" through my thesis, which she guessed was the reason why principal Xin allowed to collect data at the school.

The school's intention to promote themselves via media was particularly obvious when they relegated students' expressions of their real thoughts to "rubbish speech" and the school's words to "proper" public speech. Julia is a good example. She prepared her speech for a *mini-Olympic committee* (see excerpt below) held in school, but teacher Tina rewrote her speech because it was "rubbish and could not be used in public" (student Brook). I recorded the two versions in my field notes:

> Julia's original speech: The mini-Olympic committee is the first one around the world. We will help our school and all students to enjoy the Olympics. We will hope that South Africa could host the Olympics one day. Beijing is the home for all people who love winter sports.
>
> Tina's adjustment of Julia's speech: I will guide students to learn Winter Olympics knowledge, play winter sports, and support Olympic education at our school. The mini-Olympic committee will promote Olympic knowledge, the Olympics sports and Olympic spirits at our school.

In contrast to Julia's more emotional and rousing speech, Tina's adjusted speech was more nationalistic and aligned with the government's agenda for Olympic education (see policy announcements in Chapter five), and thus, deemed as more suitable as a public statement than Julia's.

Such experiences might have affected the way Julia conducted her speeches in public. Media provides schools strategies to intensify and normalise students to the most desirable ends (Manolev et al., 2019; Stauff, 2010). In this case, Julia was managed to align with the

school's agenda. She was selected as one of the student representatives to be interviewed at the Winter Sports Show. I noticed that she gave different responses about floor winter sports when she spoke to me privately and when she was interviewed at the Winter Sports Show. She told the media that there was not much difference between floor winter sports and (real) winter sports. However, in an earlier conversation with me, she had said that the two activities were totally different. When I asked her why she provided different responses, she laughed and said, "I am standing for all students, I have to perform better." Ball (2012) noted that performativity is not about oppressions, but offers satisfaction and rewards at least to some. In this case, Julia knew what to say in public, therefore, was rewarded with chances to represent their school to make speech in public.

Aside from these external media, the school also made use of internal media such as the school WeChat[37] official account to post their Olympic education implementation. These newsletters included the *mini-Olympic committee*, and mascot-drawing activity. As student Julia explained, "our teacher required us and all parents to follow it when we first registered in the school'. Therefore, by using internal media, the school could present themselves to a wider population, including parents and other officials. To help achieve the aim, the school also carefully planned their newsletters. I noticed that there were always two teachers in charge of taking photos of Olympic education: Zoe and one other PE teacher. Dina, a PE teacher, would write the media release and select some photos to post online. If the school performed well on the activity, principal Xin would specifically ask teachers who were more familiar with the activity to write a detailed post. For example, Zoe, a teacher, led students to participate in the Winter Sports Show. On that day, the school won several competitions. Xin had Zoe write the media release.

## Summary

This chapter demonstrated how schools deployed multiple technologies of government to promote their use of Olympic education and their 'performance' as a school. I first presented a vast of practices for Olympic education in the two schools, and categorised four main types of activities that fell under the banner of Olympic education: Olympic theory teaching, floor winter sports, craftworks, and other various extra activities. These practices are similar to

[37] WeChat is a Chinese multi-purpose messaging, social media and mobile payment app developed by Tencent.

Olympic education programmes for the 2008 Beijing Summer Olympics (see Dou, 2004; Kong & Li, 2004; Liu, 2012). Winter sports-related activities were absent from their research.

There were five technologies the two schools employed in Olympic education for self-promotion: The technology of visibility that highlighted teaching outcomes; the technology of discipline that fabricated students to be the ideal representatives for the schools; the technology of filtering that selected suitable students to attain glory for the schools; the technology of sign system to create a unique and visual identity for the two schools in order for them to be competitive; and the technology of media which promoted the two schools to a wider society via Olympic education. It is worthwhile mentioning that these technologies were not used solely in one activity but interplayed with each other to govern students effectively. Therefore, I argue that together these five technologies all played an essential role in achieving the schools' ambition of self-promotion via Olympic education.

The translations of Olympic education at the school level offered a way to rethink Olympic education in China; a move from official accounts of education programmes that focused on Olympism or Olympic values, and towards a performance that acts as a marketing strategy for schools.

However, I am not suggesting that all students and teachers dutifully or mindlessly strove to achieve the goals of their schools or state government. On the contrary, as I will explore in the next chapter, although some students and teachers were governed successfully, others were far more critical of – even resistant to – Olympic education practices.

# Chapter seven: Shaping Olympic education principals, teachers and students

The last two chapters presented some of the rationalities and technologies employed by schools, equipment companies, and China's government, to govern Olympic education in primary schools. However, one integral element of governmentality is the self. As described in my earlier discussion of governmentality (Chapter three), governmentality is also determined by technologies of the self, in which individuals use strategies that may challenge or resist dominant forms of power and power relations. Foucault described the technologies of the self as tactics which determine conduct by allowing "individuals to effect by their own means or with the help of others a certain number of operations on their own bodies and souls, thoughts, conduct, and way of being" (Foucault, 1988a, p. 18). In this chapter, I critically examine how school personnel—teachers and students—employed technologies of the self to govern themselves in and through Olympic education. In particular, I analyse how they exercised power through discursive practices and technologies of Olympic education. This includes an examination of how some individuals reinforced or subverted dominant Olympic education discourse.

In this chapter I argue that students' and teachers' actions are not exclusively or predictably determined by powerful organisations (such as schools, or the state government); individuals take an active role in the relationship with and conduct in Olympic education. To demonstrate this, I provide two useful 'cases' of people in schools whose subjectivities were shaped in and through Olympic education: schoolteacher Zhu, and principal Xin. Following this analysis, I introduce two technologies of the self and two forms of resistance that students drew on to govern themselves in Olympic education.

My choice to examine students' and teachers' subjectivities in Olympic education is important because previous research on Olympic education has focused on analysing many benefits of Olympic education (see Dou, 2004; Kabitsis et al., 2002; Hassandra et al., 2007, Nanayakkara, 2012). This type of 'strengths-focused' research seemed to underestimate students' and teachers' active involvement in Olympic education, and implied that individuals were somewhat simply 'governed' by Olympic education. The active role of students and teachers in negotiating, appropriating, and resisting these practices deserve to be closely examined and understood. This thesis adds to the literature by demonstrating students' and

teachers' ability to govern themselves in Olympic education. Moreover, previous research has heavily researched Olympic education 'learning' outcomes for students, but not the impact on other school people, such as teachers and principals. This study considers how Olympic education has influenced teachers and principals, as well as students.

## Zhu: Shaping the 'Olympic education teacher'

My participating teachers all expressed some type of desire to develop themselves through Olympic education. In this section, I focus on Zhu to describe how he used Olympic education as an opportunity to re-invent himself as a particular sort of teacher—an Olympic education expert—in order to advance his own career.

Zhu was a primary school PE teacher with 30 years' experience. However, he questioned the accepted way of being a PE teacher in primary schools. He confessed,

> The ideology of China's sports was utilitarianism and aiming to get a gold medal was the first thought in my time. I also wanted to win a gold medal for a very long time. However, there was no chance for primary school students to get golden medals. If you keep doing this, you would get nothing back. It was like Arabian Nights to get promoted through getting gold medals. Most PE teachers are chasing gold medals and do not do what they should do. [FN 12/11/2018]

Zhu's comments could indicate a notion of what Foucault described as problematization, an effort to re-orientate one's self in relation to a specific circumstance or scenario in order to disclose the contingencies that created the situation (Crocket, 2012). Foucault (1985) believed, "There are times in life when the question of knowing if one can think differently than one thinks, and perceive differently than one sees, is absolutely necessary if one is to go on looking and reflecting at all" (p. 8). In this respect, Zhu problematised the traditional ways of pursuing gold medals as a mission for PE teachers in primary schools.

Such critical self-reflection helps result in a change of one's condition. In this study, Zhu's problematization of being a traditional PE teacher encouraged him to take action to achieve his ambition of getting promoted as a PE teacher. One technology Zhu employed was dressing in clothes, hats and badges with Olympic logos. Below is an account of what I noted about my first impression of Zhu:

> Zhu was walking towards me. He stood out in the crowd because of his unique style of dressing. He was wearing a top with a logo of the Olympic rings and pants produced by a local Olympic sponsor. I looked through the whole school field and he was the only one dressed like that. I wondered what kind of feelings he had about the Olympics, and how he would transfer such beliefs to students. [FN 30/08/2018]

My later observations also witnessed Zhu's passion for incorporating Olympic elements into his clothing. Such a style of dressing was also reported by his students, as Finn explained: "We have seen him wearing Olympic logos for six years since I have been studying here." In addition, Zhu would talk about Olympic-related topics to his students, especially his promotion of Floor X. In certain situations, particularly in the early part of the semester, Zhu shared his experiences of giving lectures outside of school. Through these stories, Zhu seemed to shape an image of himself as a person dedicated to the Olympics.

He drew on the ideology of Olympism to rationalise his dedication:

> The Olympics is different from other sporting competitions because the Olympics have a spirit and an ideology, while others do not. The ideology is Olympism, which brings biological and social life together. It has six dimensions: physics, mind, wisdom, morality, beauty, and thought. The combination of these helps people grow scientifically. [FN 15/10/2018]

Because of the ideology of Olympism, Zhu commented that Olympic education could benefit young people; he therefore described the Olympics as beautiful, holy, and divine. As Weedon (1997) stated, discourses produce "ways of being a subject" or "modes of subjectivity" (p. 94). In this case, the discourse of Olympism mobilised Zhu to become a subject who dressed with Olympic elements, and believed Olympism. He once used the spring festival as an example, to support the advantage of Olympic education for students. He said, "Everyone knows the spring festival, but not many know about Olympic education, so there is a need to promote it." In defending his ideology, he stated that his thought was *true* and said that the truth was usually in the hands of the minority. Zhu appeared to use a system of noble statements to locate himself within something that he thought was true. In doing so, he appeared to reflect Foucault's (2000b) definition of subjectivity as "the way in which the subject experiences himself in a game of truth where he relates to himself" (p. 461). As Dean (1999) put it, we govern ourselves and others on the basis of what we take to be true and how we should behave to achieve

appropriate ends. In Zhu's case, he governed his practices of promoting Olympic education as a form of truth.

The second technology that Zhu drew on was what he called 'Olympic games'. Like other teachers, Zhu dedicated class time to national PE assessment and encouraged students to work towards specific tasks to get good scores. But unlike other teachers who continually asked students to practise these test items, Zhu's typical PE lesson was occupied by games which he named 'Olympic games'. However, these games had nothing to do with the Olympics. As student Maze commented, "These games barely have connection with the Olympics, except its name." An example of this can be seen in the activity that Zhu named *Olympic action*:

> "We are going to record Olympic action today," he told students in Room 1. The students were required to do three moves: One was to hit tables with their hands; one was to speak slogans about the Olympics and raise their hands; the other was to move their arms to both sides. Zhu explained: "The first one is a simple version of a performance at the opening ceremony of the 2008 Olympics, it is called hitting hands and exercising the brain; the second one shows their support for the 2022 Olympics; and the last one is imitating skiing." The lesson ended with 13 short videos and a lot of photos. [FN 15/10/2018]

In framing every activity as an Olympic game, in this way, Zhu drew on the discourses of fitness, health, and physical education to help validate his actions. As he commented,

> These games achieved the same amount of exercise as other common sports such as rope jumping, and even worked better. Most teachers would treat children like slaves and deprive them of their rights to enjoy PE. I thought students should play fun physical activities, and games that accorded with students' body development more than common practices, allowed students to do sports easily, inspired students' interest in winter sports, and avoided injuries that always happen in competitive sports. My lessons were international PE lessons and others were Chinese lessons[38]. [FN 15/10/2018]

The third technology Zhu employed was encouraging students to make equipment for winter sports, such as ice hockey. For example, Zhu showed students a stick he had made from an

[38] Many teachers thought international curriculum is superior to Chinese lessons.

abandoned hiking stick, and then required students to make one for ice hockey. On another day, Zhu asked students to make a platform for a ski jump using 20 Yuan to buy things needed to build it.

He rationalised that such a technique made the Olympics approachable and sustainable for children. He implied that, without this approach, Olympic education in China would have disappeared after the closing of the 2008 Olympics. He drew on a traditional Chinese saying: The rain soaked the ground, then the land is wet after rain, then the water would dry, and then disappear (雨过地皮湿。雨过了就湿了，湿了就干了，干了就没了). In other words, the Olympics and its related activities, including Olympic education were like the rain; and China was the land. However, making equipment, as Zhu stated, "Provided children with chances to experience winter sports and to enjoy Olympic education since children do not usually have opportunities to play winter sports. Also, children can use the equipment they made for a long term." Besides, he thought such a practice pleased parents and school officials because "they are happy to see some products they could use to show off." Although it seems that everyone was happy with the equipment, some students reported tensions and resistance to this kind of equipment. This will be discussed later.

In summary, the ways in which Zhu enacted Olympic education can be seen as performing "technologies of the self" or "arts of existence" (Foucault, 1985, p. 11). The way Zhu performed as a PE teacher in a primary school represented a particular *ethical stance*, which is the first aspect of subjectivation. The *mode of subjection*, the second aspect, means that one establishes a relation with rules and carries that relation into practice (Foucault, 1985). In Zhu's case, he governed his ambition to get promoted through performative technologies. These technologies included dressing up with Olympic logos, bringing in Olympic-related topics, promoting 'Olympic games', and encouraging students to make equipment for winter sports.

The next aspect in the process of subjectivation is *ethical work*, which emphasises the creation of a new self rather than the compliance with rules (Markula & Pringle, 2007). Zhu rationalised his practices with ethical reasons (e.g., teaching international PE lessons) and reasonable discourses (e.g., Olympism). His purpose and inspiration can be seen as "the tools or techniques that one has at one's disposal to engage in self-transformation" (Markula & Pringle, 2007, p. 142). The final aspect is *telos*, which is a certain mode of being that the ethical subject commits to. This aspect can be witnessed in Zhu's aspiration to be an ethical self, as

well as a successful PE teacher in primary schools. These observations can be seen that in addition to Olympic education contributing to the reform of PE in China (Liu, 2012), it may also have led to redefining what it means to be a PE teacher.

## Xin: Shaping the 'Olympic education principal'

Zhu was not alone in considering Olympic education as an opportunity to pursue a career. Xin, the principal at Mountain School, also engaged in Olympic education to meet his ambitions to be a successful principal. In the following comment he shared how he saw Olympic education being able to help him address the difficulties of being a principal at the school:

> Our school is very far away from the city. People who live in our area are not rich and most of them came from a labour[ing] background. That means our students were less competitive compared to students in Haidian or Dongcheng areas [two traditional wealthy areas in Beijing]. We would never get academically developed. The related authorities also did not value us. It is impossible to make the school successful. I always felt disqualified to be the principal. Luckily, Olympic education provided me with a chance [to be a qualified school principal]. [FN 06/09/2018]

In this response, Xin highlighted several issues for developing their school, which was located in a remote area. Xin's comment appears to suggest that after analysing the situation of his school, he denied that the inevitability of his identity was based on his school achieving academic success. Instead, he decided that conducting Olympic education provided a way for his school to be successful, which in turn created a new identity to help make him a qualified principal. In this way, he reflected the critical self-awareness noted by Markula (2003). This requires that an individual constantly reflects on things that seem "natural" and "inevitable" in one's identity, and then creates a new identity (p. 102). His actions on Olympic education also reflects what Foucault (1985) called "the determination of the ethical substance" (p. 26).

In order to support his stance, Xin changed the school's characteristic activity from diabolo[39] to Olympic education by conducting various Olympic-themed activities. He further noted that he would dedicate himself to conducting various other types of Olympic education. Based on this plan, he organised as many Olympic-themed activities for students as possible certainly in comparison to other schools. These included the floor winter sports competitions,

[39] A traditional sport in China.

and his *mini-Olympic committee* (Chapter six). Within the school, Xin also initiated activities such as school culture lectures, radio broadcasts, decorations, and a display room for Olympic-themed drafts. He also organised activities for teachers. During the time of my data collection, he organised Floor X competitions among teachers, with each participating teacher receiving an Olympic logo key ring as a gift. One teacher, Tina, further noted that they also had received Olympic souvenirs, such as pens and mugs, as a gift. Another teacher, Qin, commented that their school had the most Olympic-themed activities. Cindy, a lecturer from the university team, also confirmed Xin's passion for conducting Olympic education by commenting, "From my lecturing experience in Beijing, comparing to other schools, Olympic education at Mountain School is flowering (with more activities)." These actions can be seen collectively viewed as a "mode of subjection" (Foucault, 1985, p. 26) that governed Xin's endeavour to develop his school.

The discourse of Socialist Core Value [40] governed Xin's devotion to Olympic education. As he commented, "Olympic education implementation helps promote the Socialist Core Values in our country, because there were similarities between the Socialist Core Values and the Olympic values". He highlighted one key value of the Socialist Core Values—prosperity. He stated that floor winter sports helped China develop winter sports in a sustainable way, and students' craftworks left an important legacy for the country. He also stated that conducting Olympic education helped their community become prosperous because it brought more attention and financial support from the government. One result of attention highlighted by Xin was the many ongoing constructions of new school buildings. Their school would also become prosperous, as Xin stated, "Olympic education is unique. And compared to other features, such as football, it could easily trigger students' interest and get their attention. It would in turn help the school's development."

In addition, Xin explained in a conversation how there were some 'real' benefits for teachers and students:

> It would be good for their [teachers'] career development, especially young teachers. For example, some schoolteachers could receive certificates from district educational commissions because their teaching plans were unique. Compared to other common

[40] China's government firstly stated the values in 2012. It is the first time that China's government clearly expressing the main contents of their socialism. There are 12 key values, prosperity, democracy, civility, harmony, freedom, equality, justice, rule of law, patriotism, dedication, integrity, and friendship.

> topics, their teaching plans were focused on the theme of Olympic education and the Olympics. These certifications were at the highest level for primary schoolteachers, which would in turn improve their title [career]. I knew a few people who got promoted because of their work on the 2008 Olympic education. [FN 20/12/2018]

In his view, Olympic education provided an opportunity for teachers to develop their careers. In relation to students, he commented that, "Students would benefit from Olympic education for their whole life, from their career development to relationship issues." I thought this was a very bold claim and asked him to explain. He then clarified, "Students would know how to deal with different situations in their job and life. They might have difficulties finding a girlfriend if they do not do sport." In Xin's view, the implementation of Olympic education benefited the country, the community, the school, himself, the teachers, and the students. In this respect, Xin shaped the implementation of Olympic education to be ethical, which was considered by Foucault (1985) as "the forms of elaboration, of ethical work" (p. 27). In return, Xin became the "Telos of the ethical subject" (Foucault, 1985, p. 27) as an ethical school principal.

## The technology of othering: Gaining pride from participating in Olympic education

Students also had their own ambitions for governing themselves in relation to Olympic education. Foucault (1988a) stated, technologies of the self consist of different techniques that individuals use to govern their bodies, mind and conduct to "attain a certain state of happiness, purity, wisdom, perfection, or immortality" (p. 18). In short, the technology of the self are practices that are employed by an individual to transform himself (Markula & Pringle, 2007). In this study, one technologies of the self that students used for self-formation in Olympic education was *othering*; a technology that provided students with both pride and happiness.

O' Flynn (2004) stated that *othering* is a useful technology of the self that helped people to classify some activities, such as eating chocolate as being "indulgent and disgusting" (p. 80) and then adjust themselves to be 'normal'. Lemke (2010) stated, "It is exactly the interplay between these technologies, between the guidance of others and the forms of self-guidance that is at the heart of an analytics of government" (p. 37). In other words, technologies of the self interact with the technologies of power to shape conduct. As mentioned in the last chapter, two schools employed the technology of filtering to select certain students for Olympic education. The limitation of the number of student participants encouraged students to view attending

Olympic education as 'good' and not attending as 'bad'. From this perspective, *othering* not only referred to some activities that were 'bad' as in the thesis of O' Flynn (2004), but was also extended to something that was 'good'. I categorised students into three types to analyse how they all employed the technology of *othering* to normalise and privilege themselves through their participation in Olympic education.

One type of students were those who were 'always' selected for Olympic education activities. This group of students considered attending Olympic education as a way to show their superiority over others. Julia, a popular student in Mountain School, commented, "I felt proud of myself being selected by our school to attend these activities because I stood for our school and Beijing children." I further asked her why. She explained, "Only a few students were selected, we are better than others." Another student, Robert, directly criticised students who had failed to be selected for Olympic education as "noisy and bad", and categorised these unselected students as "inferior" than himself and other selected ones. Similar responses also appeared in Railway School. For instance, Gina, a Year six student, was selected by teacher Zhu to record a Winter Olympics song during the summer holidays. She was very proud of being selected for Winter Olympics activities and, importantly, said, "I was more proud of myself being selected from among all Year six students, because it means I am better than others."

Such a feeling extended from the individual level to the whole class level. When the teacher Zhu, at Railway School announced the intention to select one class for floor winter sports media recording, all of his six classes suddenly became active in fighting for the opportunity. Students directly recommended themselves and their classes, promising "we are the best in Year six." In the end, Zhu reported that he just selected one class which was available on the morning of the recording rather than based upon ability. However, students considered it as an opportunity to compete with other classes, and one student, Sun, from the selected class, believed that, "Our class is better than others. So Zhu chose us."

At a wider level, Olympic education acts as a technology for students to *other* whole schools. Teachers in Zhang's thesis (2008) also expressed the same feeling at having Olympic education at their school. In her study, teachers stated that their Olympic education promotion made them feel proud of their school and they could brag about it to other people. In this case, students expressed a similar feeling. Most students directly reported their feeling of superiority at having Olympic-themed activities at their schools. For instance, Sun commented, "Our

school has this floor winter sports equipment. It is unique. I do not think other schools have it." Julia also noted, "No one visited our school before, now many visitors came for our Olympic education, I am proud to study here." As a researcher, I could sense students' pride through how students talked about how having Olympic education was a privilege for their school.

Another type of student I identified in this study, were those who were excluded from Olympic education. These children appeared to try other ways to get involved in similar activities in order to normalise themselves. For example, River, a student from Railway School, failed to be selected for the floor ice hockey competition and he cried in public afterwards. He came to teacher Zhu and expressed his willingness to participate in the competition as a volunteer. As River himself reported, "I was one of the only three students who failed to be chosen. I need to be there." Similarly, when students Brook and Joshua both failed to be selected for an Olympic song recording activity, they spent 3,000 RMB (equivalent to 630 NZD) to record the same song because they felt as though failing to be selected shamed them in front of their peers. In comparison to the selected students who did not pay for the recording, Brook and Joshua were willing to do a similar activity to gain their pride. Joshua reported that he even recorded the song twice with 6, 000 RMB (equivalent to 1, 260 NZD) to prove that he had the same ability with others, maybe even better.

The third type of student that I identified in this research project were those who expressed no initial interest in Olympic education, and then 'changed their mind' later. For example, Joshua was a student who was most critical of the implementation of Olympic education at Mountain School. The first few days I was at the School, Joshua always criticised all Olympic-themed activities; he thought that these activities were full of bureaucratic aims to get their support for the 2022 Olympics or to make their school famous. He said, "I will never participate in these activities." Later on, I noticed that he applied for several Olympic-themed activities, such as the *mini-Olympic committee* and the Olympic museum visiting. His classmate Brook also confirmed his supportive attitudes towards Olympic education in the later semester. I wondered about the reason for his changes, and Joshua explained, "Everyone else joins these activities, and I do not want to be isolated by others." For Joshua, refusing to attend Olympic education made him abnormal, so he normalised himself by 'going with the flow'. This was a good example, to show how Joshua employed the technology of *othering* to not be *othered* (discriminated) in Olympic education.

The technology of othering did not free students from the governmentality of Olympic education, but enforced the domination of Olympic education. It seemed that students were successfully subjectificated by omnipresent, capillary-like power relations that permeated their lived experiences in school and beyond. However, the technology also reflected the productive power of students in Olympic education. As Markula and Pringle (2007) noted, the technology of the self does not necessarily free an individual from the dominating discourses and result in changes, but technologies of the self act as "practices of freedom" (p. 153). This exercise of freedom allows people to "make conscious choices about how to understand and relate to themselves" (Chapman, 1997, p. 208). In this study, students exercised their power by making conscious choices on Olympic education.

## The technology of making conscious choices: Calculating gains and losses

The technology of *othering* indicated that Olympic education had little to no disadvantage for students. Indeed, many students reported issues with participating in Olympic education activities, such as its influence on their academic study. However, they negotiated their appearance in Olympic education through the technology of making conscious choices. Foucault (1996) claimed that individuals draw upon cultural "models" (p. 441) or forms of individuality and ways of being, to constitute themselves. Modern forms of individuality are linked to neoliberal ideas that highlight entrepreneurial notions of the self and a self which is free and active in decision making (Burchell, 1993; Rose, 1993, 1999b). In this study, students made calculated choices to regulate their interest in attending Olympic education.

In a group conversation with students Julia, Brook and Joshua, all three expressed the view that Olympic education influenced their academic study in a negative way, but at the same time, they convinced themselves to prioritise Olympic education. In the beginning, Julia reported that she attended the vice-mayor's speech (an extra activity), and arrived home at 7.30pm, then did written homework until 10pm and was very tired and sleepy the next day. I further asked her "do you want to attend more activities of this kind?" She replied, "Of course, it is more difficult to see the vice-mayor." Her comment implied that she was willing to sacrifice herself (sleep and homework) to participate in Olympic education. Brook and Joshua both echoed this. Joshua further noted, "Others would show off in front of us when they came back from extra activities, which made it hard for me to concentrate on study." When I asked Joshua more about his willingness to do Olympic education, he explained, "These activities were usually hosted during the weekend, so it was ok. We can open our horizon." Brook added,

"Plus, our teachers would not mention new content when we were outside for extra activities, so it does not influence our other work too much." Foucault (1988c) noted that the care for self is "the key for everything" (p. 14). Chapman (1997) suggested that technologies of the self involved "practices of taking care of the self" (p. 208). While in this case, these three students realised the benefits from attending Olympic education to themselves. This is an example that demonstrated students' active involvement in Olympic education.

The technology of making conscious choice in relation to Olympic education was also employed on floor winter sports training. On a particularly cold afternoon in Mountain School, the school was preparing to demonstrate activities for over 100 visiting journalists (Chapter six). There was a group of students practising floor skiing in the school field. I was outside observing them even I really wanted to come back inside because of the cold weather. Despite the cold conditions, the students kept training for almost three hours. When the students came back, Tami complained, "It was so cold. I can barely feel my feet." Julia also echoed this. Then I asked them if they would do this sport next time. Both of them said it was worth it because they wanted to be skilled. Julia further reported that participating in winter sports training helped her avoid "boring" common lessons. Tami added that being skilled could allow them to attend winter sports competitions, and then they would receive extra benefits. A number of students confessed that her biggest motivation to train was to see Wudajing[41] (e.g., Tami and Julia). The desire to encounter celebrities was demonstrated at the Winter Sports Show. The show was hosted in a cold day. I had noticed the host wanted to finish the show as soon as possible. One hour after the competition ended, some students were still outside and seemed to be waiting for something. I was confused at the beginning and then when Wudajing showed up, the students became excited and ran after him for photos. Only then I understood the situation; it seemed like the students' intention was to see him, rather than attending the sport competition.

Not only were children motivated to meet celebrities but they also appeared to be motivated by the pursuit of their own fame. This was noted at the recorded lesson on the etiquette of watching ice hockey in Mountain School (Chapter six). A student, Brook, reported that their school principal Xin took over their time in a math class to conduct a media activity. Brook further confessed that he and the whole class had to make sacrifices to "play the show with Xin". I wondered what kind of sacrifices. He replied, "Do some silly actions, and pretend

[41] A famous skiing athlete in China.

to be active." Joshua heard our conversation and added, "We have to sacrifice our break time to take one more math lesson that Xin occupied." Even though, Brook said he enjoyed the lesson because "I will be on TV and so I am willing to make sacrifices to look good," he noted that other students were also particularly active, including Joshua, who did not usually answer questions in class. Joshua himself explained, "I answer more questions, so I have more opportunity to be on TV. Plus, others would think I am a good student who knows a lot."

The discourse of nationalism appeared to influence the technology of making conscious choices and was one key reason that motivated students to winter sports training. Discourses are intricately linked to power and are, in turn, implicated in our subjectivity production (O'Flynn, 2004). In this respect, nationalism as a discourse encouraged students to ignore the loss of the chance to join winter sports training. The discourse of honour, nationalism, and responsibility were frequently reported by students (such as Brook, Jie, Joshua, Oscar). For example, Julia, reported, "Supporting these winter sports activities is a way to show our patriotism and support for the 2022 Olympics." This strongly suggested that the discourses played a role in people's technology of the self.

Students' preferences for teacher Zhu's lessons also indicated their calculated choices in relation to Olympic education. As mentioned before, Zhu would ask students to play 'Olympic games'. After the Olympic action lesson, one student, Jasper, came to me and complained, "These games suck. The only result was hurt hands." Dylan echoed this and added, "And my feet. Zhu asked us to kick the floor hard." Even though they complained about Zhu's 'Olympic games', the majority of students expressed their interest in having these games rather than common PE lessons. The common responses they provided were that his games were fun, easier, more creative, and safer than PE lessons. Even Finn and Dylan, who were usually critical about Zhu, commented that these games were fun.

The presentation of the technology of making conscious choice in Olympic education is important because the extant research has unduly focused on advantages for students from Olympic education, such as improved fair play behaviour (e.g. Dou, 2004; Kabitsis et.al, 2002), conflict resolution ability (Nanayakkara, 2012); prosocial behaviours (e.g., public, anonymous, dire, emotional, compliant, and altruistic) (Sukys & Majauskiene, 2013, 2014; Sukys et al., 2017); and sports participation (Kohe & Bowen-Jones, 2016). These studies did not explore what motivated students to attend Olympic education or what advantages of Olympic education that the students themselves perceived. My research has demonstrated that students made

conscious choices in relation to Olympic education and governed their interests in Olympic education after calculating potential gains and losses.

## Students' resistance to Olympic education

Although students used technologies to govern themselves in Olympic education, it did not mean that they were completely supportive of Olympic education. As Foucault (1984a) noted, there is no power without the possibility of resistance. Resistance is much more common than most people expect (Muckelbauer, 2000). In this case, students were not docile, dupes, and easily coerced into being loyal supporters of Olympic education. Instead, they demonstrated resistance in their actions and their thoughts in relation to Olympic education. Sometimes this resistance was obvious and sometimes it was covert.

I noticed obvious resistance to Olympic education during floor winter sports when some students refused to play them. In certain situations, I observed students' absences from floor winter sports lessons. For instance, when the teacher Zhu organised students to play floor ice hockey competitions, students were required to take turns in the competitions, I noticed the students Maze, Hope and Lyons were standing far away from Zhu and the competitions. They refused to take their turns and reported their reasons for this: "I would rather do skip jumping" (Maze); "these sports were babyish" (Hope); "I felt bored after frequent playing of these floor winter sports" (Lyons). This is an example of how the only real power a student can exercise in PE to resist its discursive nature is regard to their participation. They can choose to participate or not, usually their choice to not participate is very covert.

Similarly, some students at Railway School displayed obvious resistance by refusing their teacher Zhu's requirement to make equipment for winter sports. For example, when Zhu asked the students to collect 30 Coke caps to make a stick for ice hockey, I heard students say, "It was not worth it," "do not make things complicated," "bullshit," "impossible," Zhang, a student who sat close to me, commented, "I only bought things I liked, and I could not believe a beverage company [Coke] would care about my safety to make safe stick." In the end, nobody finished this task, as reported by the student Finn.

Likewise, some students showed their obvious resistance to learning basic facts around the Olympics. In Mountain School's radio section (Chapter six), I noticed that some students (Ben and Hen) were writing in their notebooks when the radio was on. Later, they reported that they were using the time to finish their homework, so that they would have time to play after

school. Railway School students also expressed their refusal to learning factual information around the Olympics. In a group conversation, they reported, “the Olympic knowledge is useless. I prefer something practical” (June); “these contents had no relationship with me. I prefer to learn Chinese history” (Dylan). Such a result does not accord with the comment in Liu’s (2012) thesis. Liu reported that students would want to learn Olympic knowledge because this type of knowledge was “attractive and inspiring to the student body” (p. 98).

However, not all resistance is the same. In some cases, students performed their resistance in a covert way. For instance, when I asked students about their views on floor winter sports, Finn reported, “I was interested at first and then got bored later.” I further asked what they would do if they did not like it. Finn loudly replied, “Are you kidding. We have to do what teachers asked.” Other students in the class also laughed. At that time, I felt embarrassed to even have asked the question. I was supposed to know the answer since I was raised in an authoritarian school environment. However, these students knew the boundaries within their school system. Fine whispered, “You cannot tell teacher Zhu this. We would run slowly to play less.” The student Dylan added, “Or I pretend I was sick, so I do not have to do sports.” In this respect, I argue that resistance does not have to be obvious refusals or reversals.

A similar kind of covert resistance through deception also appeared in radio playing time in Mountain School. During each radio playing time, I observed that students were silent and it seemed that they were listening to the radio. Students pretended to be concentrated on the radio, while their empty eyes and little tricks (such as finger playing) all indicated the absence of attention. The student Brook bluntly noted, “Our classroom teacher Tina was there to watch us, so we needed to pretend to be listening.” Silence, as Foucault asserted, is “a shelter for power” (Foucault, 1978, p. 101). In this respect, students carried their shelter of power in this silence.

Likewise, some students also resisted Olympic education in a covert way when being disciplined in Olympic education. As introduced in Chapter six, schools employed the technology of discipline to persuade students to perform for the school through Olympic education. The dominance of discipline, therefore, provided “a point of resistance and a starting point for an opposing strategy” (Foucault, 1978, p. 101), as resistance is to particular technologies of power (Mukelbauer, 2000). In this study, students are not passive recipients and displayed levels of resistance. As Markula and Pringle (2007) noted, instead of bending all

its subjects, disciplinary power separates and differentiates people, and "discipline makes individuals" (p. 102).

For example, in the situation of the BOCOG lecture (Chapter six), discipline produced both subjects who were disciplined *and* those who did not follow rules. Brook was an example of a student who failed to be governed. He found a way to extract a few minutes of free time from the planned activity by talking secretly with others and laughing with his mouth covered while everybody was being disciplined. Muckelbauer (2000) stated, resistance is "the convergence of multiple and conflicting powers" (p. 79). In this case, Brook's wishes of talking and laughing were conflicted with the intention of the technology of disciplines. It was such kind of conflicting powers stimulated Brook's resistance.

It seems that students' resistance to Olympic education competed with their acceptance of Olympic education. For example, I introduced that students considered Olympic education as a way to normalise and privilege themselves (e.g., Brook's wish of being on TV). It would be reasonable to assume that Brook would not resist Olympic education. However, in reality, Brook performed both acceptance and resistance in Olympic education. The conflict between acceptance and resistance does not mean that students could not make up their mind for Olympic education. Instead, students appeared to accept certain aspects of Olympic education, and resist others. It is their contradictory performance indicates students' power in Olympic education in a comprehensive way.

## Summary

This chapter focused on one key concept of governmentality—technologies of the self—to examine how teachers' and students' subjectivities were shaped through Olympic education. Compared to technologies of power that focus on examining how people are shaped by 'external' power relations (Markula & Pringle, 2007), technologies of the self aim at exposing how individuals use different techniques to regulate their bodies, minds and conduct (Foucault, 1985). In this chapter, I first demonstrated how a schoolteacher Zhu formed himself as an ethical subject through conducting his version of Olympic education to get promoted as a primary PE teacher. Likewise, I showed how a school principal Xin constructed himself as a qualified principal who was keen to develop their school via conducting Olympic education. Then I focused on two technologies of the self that students drew on to govern themselves in relation to Olympic education: The technology of othering, and the technology of making

conscious choice. Lastly, I presented two types of resistance (obvious ones and covert ones) that students used in relation to Olympic education. I argue that students and teachers were not exclusively determined by the influence of outside power; instead they showed their own agency in relation to Olympic education.

In the final chapter, I conclude with a review of key findings and contributions to knowledge. I also offer insights to understand governmentality in contemporary China, to re-think the conduct of Olympic education in schools, and to reveal the potential dangers of implementing Olympic education in schools for teachers, students, and public education.

# Chapter eight: Conclusion

> *This is my last day in Beijing. I am alone in the teachers' office room at Mountain School, thinking about the question that has lingered in my mind since my first school day: How would this ethnographic experience challenge my thinking about Olympic education? Memories from both schools are popping up: Olympic education was not implemented as officially claimed. Many factors and actors shaped the way it was enacted in schools. Equipment companies and schools were exploiting students. Teachers and students were not as docile as I thought… These thoughts and experiences fundamentally changed my understanding of Olympic education in schools. The management of Olympic education is key. [FN 30/12/2018]*

On 30th December 2018, I completed my data collection with a reflective journal note about the question I had raised on my first day at Mountain School. At that time, I was still unsure about what findings would emerge from my extended time in the schools trying to understand how and why they implemented Olympic education. My experiences and vast set of data helped refine and re-focus the aim and research questions of this thesis:

> 1) How do different organisations and actors involve themselves in school-based Olympic education, and what motivates them to do so?
>
> 2) How do schools conduct Olympic education?
>
> 3) How do children and adults in schools understand and experience Olympic education?

By employing a critical ethnographic approach in two primary schools in Beijing, and drawing on Foucauldian theoretical concepts, I critically examined how Olympic education operated as a site of governmentality. My investigation involved collecting and analysing a wide-range of evidence gathered from numerous sources and using an array of ethnographic methods. This included research conversations with various people (teachers, students, principals, and external providers) to understand their lived experiences and rationales, discourse analysis of policy documents (e.g., official curriculum, government policy announcements), observations of school-based practices, and my own reflective journal notes. The combination of these methods and materials enabled me to develop a rich, in-depth and nuanced understanding of how Olympic education, framed by particular governmental

rationalities and actualised by specific technologies, attempted to shape the subjectivities of personnel in schools for particular, albeit unpredictable, ends.

This concluding chapter is organised into four sections. In the first section, I provide a summary of my analysis of the key findings in this thesis. The second section discusses three main contributions of my research with respect to the hybrid rationalities in contemporary China, the new understanding of Olympic education in schools, and practical considerations of delivering Olympic education in schools. In the third section, I discuss my three implications for policy-makers, teaching and future research. To finish, I offer some reflections about conducting this critical ethnographic research project.

## A summary of key findings

### The organisations and actors involved in school-based Olympic education

There were two influential stakeholders who govern Olympic education in schools in Beijing: China's state government and private equipment companies. Both employed numerous rationalities and technologies to govern schools "at a distance" (Miller & Rose, 2008, p. 16) to implement Olympic education, or at least, a certain type of Olympic education. Based on the findings, I argue that Olympic education acted as technology for the state government and equipment companies to achieve both their shared and disparate governmental ambitions.

For the state government, Olympic education was a significant tactic to realise their ambition of "the great rejuvenation of China" (MoE et al., 2018). Consequently, the government employed two technologies to meet this particular end: The technology of policy announcements and the technology of outsourcing. The two technologies reflected China's hybrid socialist-neoliberal rationality, which contains the "authoritarian in a familiar political and technocratic sense" and the neoliberal in the sense of governing certain subjects "through their own autonomy" (Sigley, 2006, p. 504).

For instance, the first technology referred to governmental announcements from the state government in relation to the implementation of Olympic education in schools. These announcements all had red headings, and were known colloquially as 'red tape' (Luo, 2018; Zhao, 2011). They were not legislation, nor regulations, but did have binding effects on people and organisations. I collected and analysed eight Olympic education policy announcements in this research. Collectively, these eight policy announcements encouraged schools to 'choose'

to conduct Olympic education. There were three dominant discourses that underpinned these announcements: The desire for the 'great rejuvenation of China', Olympic knowledge and spirit, and winter sports development. Foucault (1980) claimed that particular discourses constitute regimes of truth in every society. In the case of this study, the three discourses constituted regimes of truth in Olympic education that validated, prescribed, and governed what could be done in the name of Olympic education. Such a truth made it difficult for schools to resist Olympic education. As a form of governmentality, these policy announcements meant that schools had limited freedom to 'choose' to implement Olympic education (or not). Despite the accommodations made for schools to implement Olympic education at a time of their choice and in accordance with their own norms and values, there is the expectation that the policy *will* be implemented. In other words, schools could choose, to a certain extent, *how* they would implement Olympic education, but not *if* they could.

The second technology, outsourcing, also reflected the Chinese government's hybrid socialist-neoliberal rationality. Although the state government allowed schools to work with private organisations, including equipment companies and winter sports associations, to develop winter sports and Olympic education, schools faced limited options when choosing private organisations for winter sports. I am not suggesting that the state government automatically assigned schools to particular private organisations (i.e., equipment companies) and that the private organisations did not put in any effort to meet the schools' needs. Rather, schools had to prioritise individuals who had informal relationships with the government within the communist system (Manion, 1991), while the private organisations also forged alignment with the schools.

The equipment companies employed two technologies to align themselves with schools and to commodify Olympic education so as to create a marketplace in which they could meet their profit-making ambition. The first technology was the production and provision of floor winter sports equipment (i.e., the equipment is similar to real winter sports equipment, but smaller and used on the ground), and the second technology was expertise. Regarding the latter, the equipment companies purchased the 'expert' status of a university team and teacher Zhu to gain credibility for their products. As a result, despite alternatives on the market, the equipment company's association with experts in the field meant that the company's brand of winter sports equipment was understood to be the 'best' choice.

These two technologies helped equipment companies forge an alignment with schools who 'chose' to implement Olympic education, by selling schools the idea that their product and their Olympic education activities would benefit the school (and at the same time be profitable for the private companies and their various stakeholders). For instance, the technology of floor winter sports equipment was not only financially profitable for the companies, but also supported schools in obtaining state funding and achieving the governmental directive of developing winter sports participation. In these ways, school personnel were positioned as what Miller and Rose (1997; 2008) called "rational consumers" (p. 130) who made calculated choices rather than choices solely based on anxiety, emotions, or obsessive tendencies.

**The conduct of Olympic education in schools**

In contemplating how governmentality works in schools, this study presents a summary of the Olympic education practices at the two primary schools, followed by an analysis of the technologies and rationalities that underpinned these practices. I argue that schools used Olympic education primarily as a way to enhance their school image within a broader marketplace of public education.

There was a range of activities that were perceived by teachers and students as 'counting' as Olympic education at the two schools. Student Joshua boldly commented, "Our school just connected everything with the Olympics and Olympic education." I identified four types of activities that fell under the rubric of Olympic education: Olympic theory teaching, floor winter sports, craftworks, and other miscellaneous extra activities. While these activities are relatively similar to activities that reported in previous research about Olympic education in China (e.g., Dou, 2004; Kong & Li, 2004; Zhou, 2011), this is the first time winter sports-related activities have been discussed. By examining the technologies and rationalities that underpinned these four practices of Olympic education, I found that the two participating schools employed five key technologies to achieve their ambition of promoting themselves to the government, students, parents and the public:

1) **Visibility**: Teaching students basic facts around the Olympics rather than abstract Olympism. This enables learning outcomes and achievement to not only be easily assessed, but also allowed the schools to visibly display their teaching outcomes and efforts as successful.

2) **Discipline**: Disciplining students' bodies through various rituals, systems of command, and spatial distribution associated with Olympic education to shape the students into ideal representatives for the schools.
3) **Filtering**: Selecting certain students based on (in)discernable criteria (e.g., sporting skills and physical appearance) to participate in particular Olympic education activities, so as to "win glory" for the school.
4) **Sign system**: Decorating their facilities with Olympic-related ornaments, such as posters and banners, to showcase their unique identity to crucial stakeholders and to attract parents of potential students to enrol with the school.
5) **Media**: Employing external and internal media (WeChat) to publicise the schools' relationship with Olympic education to wider society.

These five technologies all played an essential role in achieving the schools' ambition of self-promotion in the Chinese public education system. They made their governmental ambitions both thinkable and doable. However, I am not suggesting that school personnel and students were mere puppets manipulated to satisfy the goal of their schools; they also exercised their own power in and through Olympic education.

**Children's and adults' experiences of Olympic education**

In contrast to previous studies which had assumed students and teachers to be passive and powerless victims of the socialising effects of Olympic education (see Dou, 2004; Kabitsis et al., 2002; Hassandra et al., 2007, Nanayakkara, 2012), adults and children in schools actively governed themselves and others. Here I used Foucault's four stages of subjectivation to demonstrate how a schoolteacher, Zhu, positioned himself as an ethical and successful PE teacher by leading the development of Olympic education in schools, while Mountain School principal Xin drew on Olympic education to demonstrate his qualifications as the principal of a school of similar status to schools in Haidian or Dongcheng areas (two traditional wealthy areas in Beijing).

Similar to the adults, students in the two schools also drew on Olympic education for their self-formation. Drawing on Foucault's notion of technologies of the self, I found two key practices that the selected students employed to govern their mind, bodies and conduct to achieve their interests (Foucault, 1988a): The technology of othering and the technology of making conscious choices. Complementing the technology of filtering, the schools selected specific students for certain activities, and the chosen students used the technology of othering

to shape participation in Olympic education as something that only the 'privileged' and 'superior' students had access to. As Lemke (2010) stated, "It is exactly the interplay between these technologies, between the guidance of others and the forms of self-guidance that is at the heart of an analytics of government" (p. 37). The second technology of the self—making conscious choices in relation to Olympic education—indicated that students purposefully weighed the trade-offs involved in participating in Olympic education and that the motivations of these students often differed from the officially-stated benefits of Olympic education.

While these students used technologies of the self to govern themselves in relation to Olympic education, there were also important moments of student resistance, especially when they did not deem participation to be worthwhile. Some resistances were more obvious and overt (e.g., students' resistance to teachers' knowledge), while others were subtler and more covert (e.g., students pretended to learn on Olympic knowledge). Indeed, power is not simply "saying no" and can manifest in different behaviours in diverse contexts (O'Farrell, 2005, p. 100).

The simultaneous presence of students' both acceptance and resistance to Olympic education may seem contradictory, but my point is that students accepted certain aspects of Olympic education that they deemed beneficial to themselves, and at the same time, they would resist other aspects. It is precisely this contradictory performance that highlights the students' production of power. Using critical ethnography, I was able to build trusting relationships with students and to have a more nuanced and in-depth understanding of students' self-governance in Olympic education. This relationship reveals students' complex process of acceptance and resistance to Olympic education, as well as illustrating the unpredictable outcomes of governmentality as it contradicts the official endeavours of the government, equipment companies, and schools.

## Contributions to scholarship

### Modern governmentality in contemporary China

My research on governmentality in contemporary China contributes to the theory of governmentality in non-Western contexts. Much of Foucault's work draws on the Western nation state as the primary site of analysis, while few governmentality studies are conducted in non-Western countries (Kipnis, 2008; Sigley, 2006). Thus, this thesis provides a useful starting

point for those applying governmentality to a range of Chinese contexts. Specifically, my findings illustrate two noteworthy transformations in contemporary governance in China.

Firstly, this study demonstrates the successful rise of neoliberalism in school-based Olympic education in contemporary China. Previous studies have examined the adoption of neoliberalism in sectors such as education, healthcare, housing and other social services in China (Adams et al., 2006; Mok et al., 2009; Zhang & Bray, 2017; Zhao, 2007). This study adds to the literature by illustrating how the Chinese government drew on the neoliberal notions of freedom and the processes of privatisation (e.g., outsourcing) to govern schools and the people within them. In contrast to common assumptions about the authoritarian Chinese socialist state that dominated the 2008 Olympic education with its extremely powerful organisational orders (Law, 2010; Liu, 2012; Mao, 2015; Zhang, 2008), this study provides a more nuanced examination of governmentality by showing how power was exercised in more diffuse and subtle ways. For instance, Chapter five shows that the state government did not 'force' schools to implement Olympic education, but instead strongly encouraged and guided schools to make this decision through an array of policy statements, funding, and personnel arrangements. In other words, the Chinese government promotes authoritarianism at the same time as individual autonomy and responsibility to govern schools conducting Olympic education (Jeffreys & Sigley, 2009; Sigley, 2006). In this respect, China is a hybrid socialist-neoliberal society, based on a form of political rationality that employed both neoliberalism and authoritarianism.

This duality of rationalities is an important development in contemporary Chinese politics. Modern governments maintain compliance from their citizens by drawing on a variety of rationalities, rather than a singular one, because it is impossible to force every individual to think and act in certain ways (Foucault, 1991b). The socialist Chinese government is no different. In the case of China, both neoliberalism and authoritarianism converged to effectively govern schools conducting Olympic education. As observed in this study, the supposed freedom to choose motivated schools to implement Olympic education and own the decision, thus preventing possible resistance. Thus, different forms of government are not clear-cut. As Sigley (2006) stated: "There is no single hand, invisible or otherwise, projecting its will upon the population, on the contrary, as the governmentality literature knows well, government is a much more decentred, ad hoc and contingent affair" (p. 489). Just as the liberal government contains some forms of authoritarian governmentality (Dean, 1997; Hindess, 2001), this thesis demonstrates that non-liberal governmentality may also utilise liberal

strategies. It would be fair to argue that liberal and authoritarian forms of rules are not always clearly distinguishable in modern government. This result raises the importance of understanding modern governmentality from the perspective of a variety of rationalities that assemble together (see also Powell, 2020).

Secondly, this study also exemplifies the mechanism of privatisation in Chinese public education. A number of scholars have demonstrated the involvement of various organisations in school-based Olympic education; however, private organisations have received less examination in comparison to the government-led Olympic education programmes. There is currently little research, if any, which explores the interactions between the Chinese government and private 'education' organisations. The privatisation of Olympic education was mostly hidden in the Chinese context. This might relate to China's administrative supervision in education, which prohibits commercial information from appearing in public education (MoE, 2018a). Because of this, Chinese scholars might have assumed that private organisations should not and could not play any role in Chinese public schools. This study challenges such an assumption and provides an example of how the Chinese socialist government enabled, approved and supported the participation of the 'right' for-profit commercial organisations in Olympic education in Chinese primary schools. It also makes visible the hidden privatisations of Olympic education in China and demonstrates that privatisations in Chinese public education need to have some types of approval from the state government.

**Re-thinking Olympic education**

This study contributes to understandings of school-based Olympic education, especially how the different organisations involved shaped Olympic education. Previous studies mainly listed organisations that participated in Olympic education (e.g., Binder, 2012; Geng et al., 2009; Masumoto, 2012; Toohey et al., 2000), but this study drew on governmentality to explore how these organisations' ambitions and strategies shaped the implementation of Olympic education in primary schools. While most research about Olympic education had assumed that Olympism education and Olympic education denoted the same thing, this critical ethnography demonstrated the gap between rhetoric and practice and challenged this taken-for-granted assumptions about school-based Olympic education. Specifically, the state government considered school-based Olympic education as crucial to lifting its international profile, while the equipment companies exploited winter Olympic education to create new markets for their products. These ambitions show the tensions between the promoted 'essence' of Olympic

education and what it actually means in practice for stakeholders. My findings show that Olympic education—one that is ideally and supposed to be based on Olympism and Olympic values—was more based on the goals for disparate stakeholders within and beyond the schools.

Schools also re-purposed Olympic education. While previous studies only examined the types of school-based Olympic education practices implemented (e.g., Liu, 2012; Mao, 2015; Wang & Masumoto, 2009; Zhang, 2008), this study employed critical ethnography to understand the rationalities and technologies that produced dominant Olympic education practices. The findings showed that schools, generally assumed to be places that dutifully followed the government directions, had their own 'unofficial' ambitions, in particular self-promotion within a broader education marketplace. This aim further shaped the way they implemented Olympic education, with the schools labelling almost everything under the umbrella of 'Olympic education'. Olympic education activities included teaching students Olympic-related facts, making Olympic-themed decorations, teaching (floor) winter sports, and organising miscellaneous extra activities.

However, one key element of Olympic education was clearly invisible in these activities: Olympism. In this study, Olympism was undervalued by both schools, certainly compared to their drive to portray themselves as excellent schools through their idea of Olympic education. In fact, some of their Olympic education activities did not just ignore Olympism, but contradicted it. For example, the practice of selecting particular students to perform Olympic education (often based on attractiveness and docility of students) while excluding others, clearly acts in tension with the Olympism principle of equality. Thus, the two significant stakeholders and schools re-purposed and re-invented Olympic education to serve different ends. This result might answer the two doubts Muller (2008) raised:

> It is surprising to see how this educational programme has survived over so many years despite widespread incomprehension of its fundamental ideas. It is surprising, too, to see the various ways and forms in which this commitment finds expression today in so many countries and continents, in line with the Olympic tradition and the current status of sports education. (p. 311)

While Thorn (2010) believed that the longevity of Olympic education reflects the strong life of the philosophy of Olympism, my study demonstrates that stakeholders' and schools' self-interests may better explain their commitment to Olympic education. Overall, the translations of Olympic education at the school level offered a way to rethink Olympic education in China;

a move from official accounts of education programmes that focused on Olympism or Olympic values, and towards a performance that acts as a marketing strategy for schools. Although the pursuit of self-interest is not inherently harmful, that does not mean it is unproblematic.

**The dangers of Olympic education**

> My point is not that everything is bad, but that everything is dangerous, which is not exactly the same as bad. If everything is dangerous, then we always have something to do. So my position leads not to apathy but to a hyper- and pessimistic activism. (Foucault, 1997a, p. 256)

Foucault's notion of danger reminds us that attempts to govern others, such as school-based Olympic education, cannot be simplistically reduced into binaries of good and bad. The implementation of Olympic education in schools could be dangerous in several ways. One danger is that stakeholders and schools get credit for taking part in Olympic education, while at the same time, the Olympics get credit by being associated with education. Indeed, other scholars (Coburn & McCafferty, 2016; Kaibald, 2013; Keller, 2003; Magdalinski et al., 2005) have previously argued the IOC treats Olympism and Olympic education as a marketing strategy. Olympism has become "key dimensions of brand knowledge" (Keller, 2003, p. 596) and are at the core of the Olympics brand (Kaibald, 2013). There might be potential conflicts of interest between these stakeholders, and with the Olympics, when attempting to benefit from implementing Olympic education in schools. Lenskyj (2012) suggested, we need to challenge the Olympic industry by asking, "Who pays?" and "Who benefits?" (p. 272). In this thesis, one of the main intentions of these stakeholders (the state government, equipment companies, and schools) was to benefit themselves. But it turned out that their efforts in Olympic education was just reinforcing the Olympics. For instance, teacher Zhu named his PE game as the 'Olympic game'. Although he wanted to make himself distinct from other teachers, the name of 'Olympic game' increased students' information of the Olympics. As a result, the Olympics also benefited and the benefits for Zhu were taken. In other words, instead of receiving the whole credit for himself, he shared the credit with the Olympics.

The other danger is the distortion of the educational nature of schooling and the lack of educative value of Olympic education in schools. As Chapter six showed, the two schools employed different technologies in Olympic education to achieve their self-promoting ambition in the public education system. In the processes, students were disciplined and sometimes forced to perform certain actions for the media. These activities hardly reflect the

educational focus for schools, nor the desired educational message of Olympism. In the pursuit of their personal ambitions, school personnel were less focused on their fundamental role in schools as educator. Instead, they appeared to use Olympic education and their students to actualise personal ambitions. Some students appeared to be motivated by vanity and discriminated against students who were not in Olympic education. In the end, students learned multiple ways to 'play the games' within the school system, rather than engaging in meaningful learning experiences.

Moreover, while the outsourced providers of Olympic education/winter sports may have benefited financially from these arrangements, it brought risks for students and teachers. A number of scholars have expressed concerns around teachers being seen as deficient through outsourcing (Macdonald, 2015; Powell, 2020), and this study supports this concern. Specifically, there were risks associated with outsourcing in terms of teaching content and the role of teachers. As shown in Chapter five, equipment companies occupied students' class time to publicise their commercial information. Consequently, instead of learning the PE curriculum, students were informed about the Olympics and winter sports by the very companies that had the most to gain. The influences on teachers' role could be seen from Zhu's cases. He prioritised one equipment company in his class time, which in the view of some students, distracted him from his primary role of teaching in school.

Besides, there is also danger in terms of social (in)justice in school education. Fraser (2007) stated two distinct items of social justice—recognition (e.g., respect and dignity for marginalized groups) and redistribution (e.g., sharing wealth and power). In relation to Olympic education, these two items failed to be valued. There were unfair distribution of goods and services, non-material benefits, such as access and opportunities. Specifically, the Chinese government created an unfair market by only allowing certain approved private organisations to play roles in public schools. The government also made public education unfair by categorizing schools into different levels, and then providing unequal support and resources to each level of schools. Schools themselves then became a place full of unfair treatments and injustice, and therefore students were the main victim. For instance, schools drew on the hidden (and not so hidden) criteria and processes (appearance and sports skills) for selecting students to be involved in sports. This means that students did not have equal opportunities. Moreover, these non-selected students would be misrecognized by their peers, and become the marginalized groups. You (2007) argued that students in key schools had higher achievement, looking down to students who studied in non-key schools. This study shows that even in the

same school, the selected students would feel superior to their peers who 'failed' to be selected, and would then discriminate against them.

Thus, the implementation of Olympic education can have certain pitfalls. As observed, the schools were distracted from their fundamental role of teaching the curriculum, teachers changed how and what they taught, and students competed for status and studies for questionable learning outcomes. Consequently, inequalities and inequities occurred between external providers, schools, teachers, and students. Having said that, my aim is not to demonise all Olympic education or to suggest that Olympism education is inherently good or bad. Rather, because Olympic education can be *dangerous*, closer consideration needs to be made for future Olympic Games and Olympic education programmes.

## Implications: Policy, practice, and research

### Monitoring the privatisation of Olympic education

The evidence from this study points to the need to monitor the impact—– both intended and otherwise—of private companies who are involved in the funding, planning, and implementation of Olympic education programmes in schools. Although private sector 'partners' may have alleviated some financial pressure in schools and provided other benefits (e.g. access to 'experts'), these external, outsourced private providers also contributed to the de-professionalization of schoolteachers (see also Powell, 2015) and took up precious curriculum time to promote their particular commercial interests. Since neoliberal processes of outsourcing and privatisation have become increasingly entrenched in education systems across the globe (Ball, 2007) and are unlikely to disappear in the near future, there is a need to monitor the involvement of the private providers to ensure that the public value of Olympic education is upheld. This monitoring could manifest in an independent programme evaluation that IOC requires from hosting countries, as well as further critical scholarship. The outcomes of evaluations and other forms of critical research could inform the development of subsequent Olympic education programmes and prevent 'creeping privatisation' (Sockett, 1984, p. 17) and erosion of Olympic education.

### Employing critical pedagogy

Additionally, the study reveals that Olympic education in schools often results in a disparate mix of programmes that often have little to do with Olympism. These Olympic education

programmes often involve segregation and exploitation of students, which aggravates the pre-existing unequal power relations and inequalities in schools. The philosophy of critical pedagogy in Olympic education may be helpful in this regard (Culpan, 2018). Critical pedagogy questions assumptions, challenges power relations and inequalities, and strives for social justice (McLaren, 2003). Its broad aim is to critique the socially constructed nature of activities like the Olympics, and take action to ensure it is socially just, equitable, and inclusive. As Lynch and Ovens (2020) argued, a critical pedagogy is about:

> Enacting a process of helping students become more aware by going beyond surface meanings and understand the basic causes, ideologies and myths that underpin social conventions and discriminatory practices. Through this awareness, students then become empowered to critique and challenge the status quo. Empowerment leads to social change in the quest for justice, equity, democracy, and human freedom. (p. 1).

For example, when teaching the history of the Olympics, teachers could help students understand diverse social, cultural, economic, and political elements that shape the Olympics, encourage students to understand and express different views in ways that can lead to advocacy, community action, and the opportunity to become 'critical consumers of the Olympics—and Olympic education itself.

However, critical pedagogy is not easy to enact in the Chinese context since the preferred approach of teaching 'facts' uncritically is perceived to be effective in shaping students to become compliant with the official curriculum messaging. However, as D'Astous and Chartier (2000) argued, exposing information around certain brands helps increase consumer awareness and sales, influence attitudes towards bands, and can have a positive impact on consumer preference and attract more consumers. Teaching Olympism—either critically or uncritically—might also have this side effect for some students. Liu (2012) believed that Olympism is Western philosophy, and she was concerned that the stereotypical Western physical culture (e.g., male dominance) might enhance discriminations among students. Besides, considering the heavy teaching loads in China, it is almost impossible to teach Olympism that is a philosophy, but not specific content.

Instead of teaching Olympism (e.g., Culpan, 2008) or teaching Olympic-related facts (e.g., Brownell, 2007), I suggest there is a need for a hybrid approach to the Chinese Olympic education. This would include teaching some factual information as well as covering some of the controversial issues related to the history of the Olympics. Encouraging students to question

and examine this information would help them to think critically about the Olympics. Similarly, when teaching Olympism, instead of adopting all Western values, there is a need to balance the traditional Chinese values and Western values. Critical pedagogy is vital in such teaching and learning, since it enables students and teachers to think, discuss, or analyse questions like 'whose interests are served by the Olympics, Olympism, and Olympic education?'. This way, Olympic education would be conducted "a morally appropriate manner" (Marshall, 2005, p. 34) where has no "coercion or brainwashing" (Bartlett & Burton, 2007, p. 12).

**Future directions for Olympic education research**

***Further examination of governmental Olympic education programmes.*** As one key aim of my thesis was to examine the governance of Olympic education in schools, I chose to collect data in late 2018 when the Chinese government had just released their Olympic education policy. Such timing provided me with a perfect opportunity to observe the implementation process of Olympic education, rather than only the final product. As teacher Zoe commented: "You can see the process of how schools conducted Olympic education, and if you came near 2022, you only can see the final product. Olympic education implementation is like a tree, which is sprouting now." However, this early timing means that I might also miss some Olympic education programmes that emerge closer to the event. According to the 2008 Olympic education, the state government would issue many guidelines to supervise Olympic education conduction two years before the Games. In other words, it is highly possible that China's government would implement more activities for Olympic education near the 2022 Winter Olympics. Future researchers (myself included) may need to undertake further follow-up research to examine additional technologies that are employed by the state government, private providers, and schools. The Olympic education resources and programme writers should be included in the research too (Liu, 2012).

***A more reflexive account to examine governance in China.*** This thesis demonstrates the hybrid rationalities of China's state government. Such a finding breaks the stereotype of China being solely an authoritarian regime. During my research, many colleagues, especially Westerners, were curious about whether I would find a job in China, considering I am critiquing China's Olympic education implementation. Conversely, my Chinese peers were not concerned. They believed Chinese academics have the freedom to do a broad range of research and introduced me to scholars doing critical studies in China. From this experience, I can see that there are still stereotypical views about China, such as the notion that scholars have no

freedom and must support the ideologies and politics of the government. Therefore, I suggest future researchers are reflexive about how their beliefs may shape and influence their research findings in respect to China.

***A broader range of data sources about equipment companies.*** Equipment companies played a key role in delivering winter sports in schools. In this thesis, I aimed to collect empirical evidence from these equipment companies. I devoted my energy to talking to two coaches who worked for equipment companies. That means I might miss data produced by other sources. Future research can collect data from these companies through a broader range of sources, such as annual reports produced by the companies, and formal interviews with managers and representatives from other organisations (e.g., the IOC) could provide new insights about Olympic education in schools.

***Critical ethnography for Olympic education.*** Although this thesis was conducted in the Chinese context, critical ethnography as a methodology could be applied beyond China. The study indicated the differences between official plans of Olympic education and actual practices. This suggests a need to move from discursive governmentality to realist governmentality in order to examine "the messy actualities of the empirical world" (McKee, 2009, p. 482). Also, the actualised Olympic education in China—certainly in the two primary schools— was different from the programme in other countries, and was influenced by the political and educational context of the country. This lends weight to further realist governmentality studies that employ critical ethnographic methodologies, particularly the diverse, often disparate, rationalities, techniques behind the rationalities. Students' voices are of critical importance when investigating the complex government of Olympic education. Critical ethnography provides a way to investigate Olympic education programmes within China and beyond China.

***Visual ethnography for Olympic education.*** The two participating schools delivered different types of activities under the name of Olympic education. They also employed five technologies underpinned these activities. These activities and technologies are valuable to be examined via visual ethnography. For example, using visual images to represent Olympic-themed decorations and how schools spaced students. Visual ethnography utilises these visuals as empirical evidence and represents the study through these visuals (e.g., Pink, 2013).

***The interactions between different technologies.*** When examining technologies the two schools employed in Olympic education, I noticed that these technologies were not played

solely in one activity but interplayed with each other to shape the subjectivities of students, adults, media, the government, and the public. For instance, two schools employed strong disciplinary technologies when applying the technology of media. However, since this research aimed to expose various technologies that schools employed in Olympic education for their self-promotion ambition, I focused on presenting how the two schools used these five technologies in a great detail to achieve their self-promotion in the public education system. Future research could explore the interactions between different technologies in Olympic education, for example, who plays a dominant role in the interactions.

## Final reflections

Foucault (1988e) argued that "[t]he main interest in life and work is to become someone else that you were not in the beginning" (p. 9). By undertaking this research into Olympic education and experiencing how it was enacted at the school level in China, I realised that I am no longer the same person I was at the start of this research, and I do not "think the same as before" (Foucault, 2000c, p. 240). This ethnographic experience provided me with multiple opportunities to challenge the educational role of Olympic education in China.

After commencing this research, I realised my prejudices towards these so called Olympic education programmes. I disliked the way the schools managed students in the different Olympic-related activities and felt that schools were exploiting students to show off themselves. I struggled as a researcher who should not interrupt the research environment and as a citizen who should care about children's education. Consequently, I felt uncomfortable observing Olympic education. Harwood and Rasmussen (2004) noted that studying schools with an ethics of discomfort can help researchers challenge normalised statements and cast an illusion of new ideas. In this case, my discomforts inspired me to challenge the educational role of Olympic-related activities.

Foucault (1984b) made the point that, "the problem is not changing people's consciousness or what is in their head, but the political, economic, institutional regime of the production of truth" (pp. 74-75). My empirical experience at the schools problematised the regime of the truth of Olympic education as an educational programme, and showed that how Olympic education acts as a technology for stakeholders, schools, and individuals to achieve their disparate governmental ambitions. In reflecting on the impact such a finding may have, I am drawn to a quote from Foucault who states, "I don't write a book so that it will be the final

word; I write a book so that other books are possible, not necessarily written by me" (p. 162, Foucault, 1971, as cited in O' Farrell, 2005, p. 9). I do not claim that my research is the final statement about Olympic education. Rather, I hope that this type of research, what I describe as *critical Olympic education research*, can spur other researchers to continue to critically examine not only the official plans for Olympic education in schools, but what actually happens, and to what effect.

# Appendices

## Appendix A: Empirical research on Olympic education

| Number | Authors (year) | Theoretical framework | Sample | Methods | Country |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | Kabitsis et al., 2002 | | 392 boys and 393 girls from 32 schools | Questionnaire and intervention | Greece |
| 2 | Dou, 2004 | | 340 Year five students; three teachers | Questionnaire, interview, and intervention | China |
| 3 | Kong & Li, 2004 | | 1289 students | Questionnaires | China |
| 4 | Grammatikopoulos et al., 2005 | | 55 school principals | Interview | Greece |
| 5 | Liu & Wang, 2006 | | 1069 students and 38 teachers | Questionnaire | China |
| 6 | Hassandra et al., 2007 | | 126 students (66 in experimental group and 60 in the control group) | Intervention | Greece |
| 7 | Lin et al., 2007 | | 129 students and 37 teachers | Questionnaire and interview | China |
| 8 | Song, 2008 | | 66 teachers, 252 students, relevant stakeholders | Questionnaire and interview | China |
| 9 | Zhang, 2008 | Symbol interaction theory | 20 schools, including school principal, teachers, students, parent, university teachers, officials, journalists. | Interview and observation | China |
| 10 | He & Ru, 2009 | | 337 PE teachers | Questionnaire | China |
| 11 | Wang & Masumoto, 2009 | | 1800 students from elementary and secondary schools; five elementary school teachers and five secondary school teachers | Survey with students, and interviews with teachers | China |
| 12 | Law, 2010 | | 2411 students; 15 focus group with students | Questionnaire, focus group interview with students, individual interview with | China |

| Number | Authors (year) | Theoretical framework | Sample | Methods | Country |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | and 22 teachers; | teachers, and observation | |
| 13 | Liu et al., 2010 . | | 36 students from elementary school | Questionnaire and intervention | the Czech Republic |
| 14 | Thorn, 2010 | Shulman's (1987) seminal framework of teacher knowledge | Three teachers and three students | Individual semi-structured interviews with school personnel (teachers and students), focus group interview with students, and observation | New Zealand |
| 15 | Stevens, 2011 | Social-critical, humanistic theoretical framework | Nine students | Individual semi-structured interview and paired interview with students, and a card ordering activity | New Zealand |
| 16 | Zhou, 2011 | Education value | Students and teachers in six primary and secondary schools | Questionnaire, observation and interview | China |
| 17 | Defroand, 2012 | Social capital | Six 14-15 years of young people, five key informants of sports organisations, three PE teachers | Semi-structured interviews | Britain |
| 18 | Liu, 2012 | monitoring and evaluation | five key informants, one PE teacher, six students | Semi-structured interview with five key informants, and storytelling with six students | China |
| 19 | Knijnik & Tavares, 2012 | | Seven coordinators of the program, five PE teachers, and four trainees | Semi-structured interview | Brazil |
| 20 | Nanayakkara, 2012 | | 41 in experimental group and 43 in the control group | Experiment and the survey pre and post-test, interview with 16 students from the experimental group | Sir Lanka |
| 21 | Kaibald, 2013 | | 397 students aged 12 to 19 years old | Individual interview with 11 students, questionnaire | Estonia |

| Number | Authors (year) | Theoretical framework | Sample | Methods | Country |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 22 | Sukys & Majauskiene, 2013 | | 2335 students aged of 13 and 18 | Questionnaire | Lithuania |
| 23 | Sukys & Majauskiene, 2014 | | 747 adolescent student athletes (482 boys and 265 girls) | Questionnaire | Lithuania |
| 24 | Mao, 2015 | | 117 relevant stakeholder, including principals, teachers, 74 students and parents, officials | Interview with adults and storytelling with students | China |
| 25 | Kohe & Jones, 2016 | | 348 students | Questionnaire | Britain |
| 26 | McCone, 2016 | | 14 head of Department | Survey and semi-structured interview | New Zealand |
| 27 | Motiejūnaite, 2016 | | 218 students from 16 universities in four cities | Questionnaire | Lithuania |
| 28 | Chen & Henry, 2017 | Theory of change | Seven school heads and teachers; three relevant stakeholders, and one group of students | Individual interview with adults and focus group with students | Britain |
| 29 | Culpan & Stevens, 2017 | | 18 students | Focus group interview | New Zealand |
| 30 | Sukys et al., 2017 | | 411 adolescents in experimental schools, and 430 adolescents from schools without OE. | A natural experimental research design | Lithuania |
| 31 | Nordhagen & Fauske, 2018 | | 43 high school students | Interview, observation, and personal essays | Norway |
| 32 | Scofano, 2018 | | 105 PE teachers | Online survey | Brazil |
| 33 | Merlin et al., 2019 | | 13 university students | Questionnaire | Brazil |

*Note.* The table is ordered chronologically by publication date

## Appendix B: Main conversation questions

1. Have you heard about Olympic education? What do you think is Olympic education?
2. What kind of activities you have attended for Olympic education?
3. Why your school wants to promote Olympic education?
4. Can you tell me some organisations that are involved in Olympic education? Why do you think they joined Olympic education?
5. What did you learn from Olympic education?
6. Do you think is it necessary to conduct Olympic education? If so, do you have any suggestions for its implementation?
7. Can you tell me some influences that Olympic education has exerted on students, teachers and school?
8. How the Chinese government has supported schools to conduct Olympic education?
9. What do you think of these floor winter sports?
10. Are there any problems/issues influenced the implementation of Olympic education?

# Appendix C: An excerpt of conversations with Zhu

| Interview questions | Translated responses | Original responses in Chinese |
|---|---|---|
| Honglu: What kind of influence Olympic education has exerted on school? | Olympic education was famous not because of its educational nature, but because it helped the innovation of teaching. This was also true even when Olympic education was very prevalent in China. I realised that it was impossible for me to let children understand, accept and enjoy the happiness from the Olympic spirit. This spirit is faster, stronger and higher. This spirit is actually pushing sports and life to extremity. Primary school children are not mature in six dimensions. These include physics, mind, wise, moral, beauty, and thinking ability. So the spirit does not fit for children. My understanding of Olympic education is that young people should have chances to participate in, understand, feel, and touch [sports]. For example, babies and adults have different purposes on women's breasts [We should interpret and implement Olympic education for children]. | 周：奥林匹克教育在鼎盛时期不是说做了教育多么有名，反而是奥林匹克教育的内涵促进了在教育教学方面的创新。以我为例，我怎么才能把奥林匹克更快更快更强让孩子们理解接受，享受，我发现这是不可能的。因为更快更高更强实际上都是把生命、体育推向极致，这种时候孩子的身心智德才思六个维度应该是不成熟的时期，所以呢更快更高更强绝大部分不适合青少年，因此我把他理解为在不同的区域跟维度，对青少年应该是如何更深更远更广地去参与、理解、 感受和触摸。就像小孩字吃奶跟成年人吃奶是不一样的，对吧 |
| Do you mean that you interpreted Olympic education specifically for children? So how it influenced schools? | Yes. Schools usually follow what the government asked them to do. Everything is like a Chinese saying. As the saying goes, the rain soaked the ground, then the land is wet after rain, then would dry, and then disappear (雨过地皮湿。雨过了就湿了，湿了就干了，干了就没了). I have realised this [the short life of Olympic education] for a long time. So I truly want Olympic education to be on the land [continued]. I want the programme to be alive in children's lives. [To do so], I created a paper football [made by paper] for students in 2003. They were so popular at that time. I thought that Olympic education should promote a life of equality, fair play and freedom. If children did not have it [Olympic education and paper football], how can they get involved in it? | 嗯。反过来说，对于学校整体，一般来讲，是比较习惯行政的行政的安排，上级安排我们做什么我们就做什么，要求我们做什么就做什么，一般来讲，学校比较习惯行政的安排，往往像一阵风一样，俗话讲叫雨过地皮湿。雨过了就湿了，湿了就干了，干了就没了，这些年呢，我知道这个状态，所以呢，我很希望它真正地落地，把它真正的植根于孩子们的生活当中，所以在2003，真正火爆的是给孩子们创造的多功能的环保纸足球，为什么呢，我觉得奥林匹克教育倡导的是公平公正公开自由平等的人生哲学。孩子们如果没有机会去拥有它，又怎么来参与进去呢，对吧 |

| Interview questions | Translated responses | Original responses in Chinese |
|---|---|---|
| So, do you mean Olympic education focused on making equipment? Can you tell me more about the equipment making? | People said, Olympic education is a pseudoscientific proposition [temporary phenomenon]. The Olympics only have four years' life in one country. I have not seen any country keeps their organizing committees [as a stable organisation] after the Olympics were over. There was no country focused on educational value of the Olympics. Ministry of Education does not have power and willing to make Olympic education [in the curriculum]. Consequently, Olympic education is a pseudoscientific proposition. At Railway School, when everyone [student] had a paper football, you could say that all children participated in, and enjoyed the joy of sports at this point. Sports is one important stage to deliver Olympic education. Our school had around 1000 people and 5000 paper footballs. This means each student had at least five paper football, which was quite surprising. These paper footballs motivated teachers [to do more Olympic education], pleased parents [with teaching outcomes], and improved school's fame. It was precisely these creative sports equipments that made Railway School stand out from other schools. | 有一种说法是奥林匹克教育是一种伪科学命题，因为奥林匹克在任何一个国家只有四年周期，我没有看到世界范围之内，哪个国家还有这个组委会，有这个奥委会，但是没有这个组织委员会，奥委会呢，好像哪个国家好像也没有把教育作为奥林匹克的一个主要抓手，反而这些都属于教育部，教育部也没有更多的权利跟思维把它定下来，所以这种奥林匹克教育伪科学的命题就出现了。在这所学校，当每个人迅速的得到一个纸足球之后，可以说，在这个点上，孩子们做到了人人拥有，人人参与，人人享受体育运动的快乐。体育不就是奥林匹克教育一个很重要的平台吗，所以盛行的时候，这个学校 1000 多人，五千多个球，每个人有五个，是个什么概念，老师们动起来了，家长们乐了，学校的赞誉就高了，所以羊坊店真正的因为奥林匹克教育在社会上的知名度是靠发明和创新带来，就是器材 |
| Why do you think school leaders would choose Olympic education? | School leaders in primary and secondary schools rarely understood Olympic education during the whole Olympic preparation period [for the 2008 Olympics]. PE teachers did not teach it [Olympic education] because they did not understand it. They did not see the connection between Olympic education and their teaching. I realised the beauty of the Olympics after I met a university professor who researches in Olympic studies. Only then I had the chance to really know the Olympics. The Olympics have its charming in real life, including its romance and close connection with life. | 应该说在奥林匹克周期，初期，在国内，中小学很少有领导理解，很少有体育教师去涉猎，因为不懂，因为跟我们真的没关系，好像买奥林匹克大全看看，跟我也太大关系，也就是机缘巧合跟裴教授的相识，我才有机会了解奥林匹克这种博大精深，还有他现实主义的魅力，包括他唯美浪漫，与生命这种关系。 |
| Right. Do you mean that the school left Olympic education for you to do? | Yes, the school gave me freedom, while at the same time, they also did not care about it [conducting Olympic education]. | 对，一定程度是放手了，也是放任自流了 |

*Note.* The meaning and essence of his responses were lost after translation.

# References


Abbasova, S. (2012, September 1-30). T*he role of Olympism in society* [Paper presentation]. The 19th International Seminar on Olympic Studies for Postgraduate Students, Athens, Greece. http://ioa.org.gr/wp-content/uploads/2017/02/19th-postgraduate-seminar.pdf#page=211

Adams, J., Young, A., & Wu, Z. H. (2006). Public private partnerships in China: System, constraints and future prospects. *International Journal of Public Sector Management*, *19*(4), 384-396. https://doi.org/10.1108/09513550610669202

Allen, B. (1998). Foucault and modern political philosophy. In J. Moss (Ed.), *The Later Foucault: Politics and philosophy* (pp. 164-172). Sage.

Altieri, A. (2011, September 2-30). *Promote Olympic education by mapping active stakeholders* [Students' paper]. The 18th International Session on Olympic Studies for Postgraduate Students, Athens, Greece. https://ioa.org.gr/wp-content/uploads/2016/09/2011_18th-seminar-on-olympic-studies-for-postgraduate-students-38039-600-21.pdf

Aplin, N. (1994, November 24-26). *Olympic education in Singapore* [Paper presentation]. ERA Conference, Singapore. https://repository.nie.edu.sg/bitstream/10497/14765/1/ERA-1994-AplinN.pdf

Anderson, G. L. (1989). Critical ethnography in education: Origins, current status, and new directions. *Review of educational research*, *59*(3), 249-270. https://doi.org/10.3102%2F00346543059003249

Baade, R. A., & Matheson, V. A. (2016). Going for the gold: The economics of the Olympics. *Journal of Economic Perspectives*, *30*(2), 201-218. https://pubs.aeaweb.org/doi/pdfplus/10.1257/jep.30.2.201

Baker, C. (2012). *An ethnographic enquiry into the use of sports science and technologies in professional rugby* [Doctoral thesis, Durham University]. Durham E-Theses. http://etheses.dur.ac.uk/4926/1/C_BAKER_PHD_FINAL.pdf?DDD34+

Ball, S. (1990). *Politics and policy making in education: explorations in policy sociology*. Routledge.

Ball, S. J. (1993). Education markets, choice and social class: the market as a class strategy in the UK and the USA. *British Journal of Sociology of Education, 14*(1), 3-19.

Ball, S. J. (1994). *Education reform: A critical post-structural approach*. Open University Press.

Ball, S. J. (2003). The teacher's soul and the terrors of performativity. *Journal of education policy, 18*(2), 215-228. https://doi-org.ezproxy.auckland.ac.nz/10.1080/0268093022000043065

Ball, S. J. (2007). *Education plc: Understanding private sector participation in public sector education.* Routledge.

Ball, S. J. (2012). Performativity, commodification and commitment: An I-spy guide to the neoliberal university. *British journal of educational studies, 60*(1), 17-28. https://doi.org/10.1080/00071005.2011.650940

Barker, D., Barker-Ruchti, N., Rynne, S. B., & Lee, J. (2012). Olympism as education: Analysing the learning experiences of elite athletes. *Educational Review, 64*(3), 369-384. https://doi.org/10.1080/00131911.2012.665846

Bartlett, S., & Burton, D. (2007). *Introduction to education studies* (2nd Ed.). Sage

Bartle, G. F. B. (2015). *Olympic education: From the embodied perspective* [Unpublished master's thesis]. University of Peloponnese.

Beijing Organizing Committee for the 2022 Olympic and Paralympic Winter Games. (n.d.). The *structure of the organisation*. https://www.beijing2022.cn/cn/aboutus/organisation.htm

Beijing Olympic Education Office. (2005). *Saishi Tongxinjie Gushi* [Heart-to-heart stories for the Olympics from 2005 to 2006]. Beijing Sport University Press.

Beijing Municipal Education Commission & Finance Bureau of Beijing. (2018). *The way to support campus winter sports in Beijing.*

Beijing Municipal Bureau of Sport, Beijing Municipal Education Committee & Beijing Organizing Committee for the Olympic Games. (2018). *The Olympic education*

*plan for primary and secondary school students in Beijing* (Publication No.15). http://www.beijing.gov.cn/zhengce/zhengcefagui/201905/t20190522_61406.html

Beijing Municipal Bureau of Sport. (2018). *The first winter sports for Beijing residents* (Publication No.38).

Besley, T. (2002). *Counseling youth: Foucault, power, and the ethics of subjectivity*. Sense Publishers.

Besley, T. (2005). Foucault, truth telling and technologies of the self in schools. *Journal of Educational Enqu*iry, *6*(1), 76-89. https://ojs.unisa.edu.au/index.php/EDEQ/article/view/503

Bennett, B., & Culpan, I. (2014). The coach as educator: Content and pedagogical frameworks. *Journal of Physical Education & Health, 3*(5), 5-18.

Bilton, T., Bonnett, K., Jones, P., Lawson, T., Skinner, D., Stanworth, M. & Webster, A. (2002). *Introductory Sociology* (3rd ed.). Macmillan.

Binder, D. (2001). "Olympism" revisited as context for global education: Implications for physical education. *Quest*, *53*(1), 14-34. https://doi.org/10.1080/00336297.2001.10491728

Binder, D. (2003). *Curriculum odyssey: Facilitating an international Olympic education project* [Doctoral thesis, University of Alberta]. UC Research Repository. https://elibrary.ru/item.asp?id=5288147

Binder, D. (2005). *Teaching Olympism in schools: Olympic education as a focus on values education* [PDF]. University of Barcelona. https://bit.ly/2MhbUYJ

Binder, D. (2012). Olympic values education: Evolution of a pedagogy. *Educational Review*, *64*(3), 275-302. https://doi.org/10.1080/00131911.2012.676539

Blake, A. (2005). *The economic impact of the London 2012 Olympics* [PDF]. Nottingham University Business School. https://opus.lib.uts.edu.au/bitstream/10453/19780/1/Impact%202005_5.pdf

Bogdan, R. C, Biklen, S. K. (2006). Qualitative research for education: *An introduction to theory and methods (*5th Ed.). Allyn and Bacon.

Bossons, M. (2018, July 24). *NHL's David proper on the rise of ice hockey in China*. That's. http://www.thatsmags.com/beijing/post/24302/nhl-s-david-proper-on-china-games-and-ice-hockey-in-the-middle-kingdom

Boyes, S. (2001). The International Olympic Committee, transnational doping policy and globalisation. In J. O'Leary (Ed). *Drugs and doping in sport: Socio-legal perspectives* (pp. 167-180). Cavendish.

Boyles, D. R. (2008). *The corporate assault on youth: Commercialism, exploitation, and the end of innocence*. Peter Lang.

Brady, M. (2011). Researching governmentalities through ethnography: The case of Australian welfare reforms and programs for single parents. *Critical Policy Studies*, *5*(3), 264-282. https://doi.org/10.1080/19460171.2011.606300

Bretherton, P. (2014). *Corporate Social Responsibility at London 2012: Discourses of sport and activity promotion at the Olympic Games* [Doctoral thesis, Loughborough University]. UC Research Repository. https://repository.lboro.ac.uk/account/articles/9607742

Breukelen, V. L. (2018). *Olympism and Olympic marketing: Paradox or a golden combination* [Master's thesis, University of Peloponnese]. UC Research Repository. http://amitos.library.uop.gr/xmlui/handle/123456789/4858

Bronikowski, M., & Bronikowska, M. (2014). Olympism and Olympic Education in Poland–State of Art. In H. Z. Biziewska & J. Blecharz (Eds.), *Studies in Sport Humanities* (pp. 35-44). Grazyna Fall.

Brownell, S. (2004). China and Olympism. In J. Bale & M. K. Christensen (Eds.), *Post-Olympism? Questioning sport in the twenty-first century* (pp. 51-64). Oxford Press.

Brownell, S. (2007). Beijing moshi aolinpike jiaoyu—dongfang tese he fazhanzhong guojia moshi [Beijing model of Olympic education—Asian style and developing countries model]. *Educational Science Research, 12*, 18-20.

Brownell, S. (2009). Beijing's Olympic education programme: Re-Thinking Suzhi education, re-imagining an international China. *The China Quarterly*, *197*, 44-63. https://doi.org/10.1017/S0305741009000034

Brownell, S. (2011). The Beijing Olympics as a turning point? China's first Olympics in East Asian perspective. In W. W. Kelly & S. Brownell (Eds). *The Olympics in East Asia: Nationalism, regionalism, and globalism on the center stage of world sports* (pp. 185-206). Council on East Asian Studies Yale University.

Brown, S. (2012). De Coubertin's Olympism and the laugh of Michel Foucault: Crisis discourse and the Olympic Games. *Quest, 64*(3), 150-163. https://doi.org/10.1080/00336297.2012.693750

Bruce, T., Hovden, J., & Markula, P. (Eds.). (2010). *Sportswomen at the Olympics: A global content analysis of newspaper coverage.* SENSE PUBLISHERS.

Burchell, G. (1993). Liberal government and techniques of the self. *Economy and Society, 22*(3), 267-282. https://doi-org.ezproxy.auckland.ac.nz/10.1080/03085149300000018

Burnett, C. (2016). Relevance of Olympism education and sport-for-development programmes in South African schools. *South African Journal for Research in Sport, Physical Education and Recreation*, *38*(3), 15-26.

Carabine, J. (2001). Unmarried motherhood 1830-1990: a genealogical analysis. In M. Wetherell, S. Taylor & S.J. Yates (Eds.), *Discourse as data: A guide for analysis* (pp. 267-310). Sage.

Carspecken, F. P. (2013). *Critical ethnography in educational research: A theoretical and practical guide*. Routledge. https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315021263

Caffrey, K. (Ed.). (2013). *The Beijing Olympics: Promoting China: Soft and hard power in global politics*. Routledge.

Carnoy, M. (1998). National voucher plans in Chile and Sweden: Did privatization reforms make for better education?. Comparative Education Review, 42(3), 309-337.

Cerezuela, B. (2011). Educational dimension of the Olympic Games. In Fernandez Peña, E., Cerezuela, B., Gómez Benosa, M., Kennett, C., & Moragas, M. (Eds.), *An Olympic mosaic: Multidisciplinary research and dissemination of Olympic studies* (pp. 189-198). Barcelona Olympics Study Center.

Chapman, G. E. (1997). Making weight: Lightweight rowing, technologies of power, and technologies of the self. *Sociology of Sport Journal*, *14*(3), 205-223. https://doi.org/10.1123/ssj.14.3.205

Chappelet, J. L. (2014). Managing the size of the Olympic Games. *Sport in Society*, *17*(5), 581-592. https://doi.org/10.1080/17430437.2013.834621

Chatziefstathiou, D. (2005). *The changing nature of the ideology of Olympism in the modern Olympic era* [Doctoral thesis, Loughborough University]. UC Research Repository. https://dspace.lboro.ac.uk/dspace-jspui/handle/2134/2820

Chatziefstathiou, D. (2012). Olympic education and beyond: Olympism and value legacies from the Olympic and Paralympic Games. *Educational Review*, *64*(3), 385-400. https://doi.org/10.1080/00131911.2012.696094

Chatziefstathiou, D., & Muller, N. (Eds.). (2014). *Olympism, Olympic education and learning legacies*. Cambridge Scholars Publishing.

Chen, S., & Henry, I. (2017). Schools' engagement with the Get Set London 2012 Olympic education programme: Empirical insights from schools in a non-hosting region. *European Physical Education Review*, *25*(1), 254-272. https://doi.org/10.1177%2F1356336X17721437

Chen, X. T. (2017). *Qiantan dongao beijing xia bingxue yundong jin xiaoyuan yu aolinpike jiaoyu jiehe de yiyi* [The meaning of combining winter sports and Olympic education under the background of the 2022 Winter Olympics]. *Sport World, 5* (767), 115-119.

Chen, Yung-Ju. (2012, September 1-30). *Olympic education in higher education in Taiwan: 2002-2011* [Paper presentation]. The 19th International Seminar on Olympic Studies for Postgraduate Students, Athens, Greece. http://ioa.org.gr/wp-content/uploads/2017/02/19th-postgraduate-seminar.pdf#page=211

Chinanews. (2014, March 6). *Deputies of NPC and CPPCC support the bidding of the 2022 Winter Olympics*. Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China. http://www.gov.cn/xinwen/2014-03/06/content_2631733.htm

Chinanews. (2019, January 15). *Xijinping richeng biao pinxian dongao yuansu* [Why President Xi frequently mentioned Winter Olympics]. Beijing Organising Committee for the 2022 Olympic and Paralympic Winter Games. https://www.beijing2022.cn/a/20190116/005667.htm

Cho, Y. (2008). Broadcasting major league baseball as a governmental instrument in South Korea. *Journal of Sport and Social Issues, 32*(3), 240-254. https://doi.org/10.1177%2F0193723508319721

Chong, G. P. L. (2012). *China Rejuvenated?: Governmentality, subjectivity, and normativity: the 2008 Beijing Olympic Games* [Doctoral thesis, University of Amsterdam]. UvA-DARE. https://pure.uva.nl/ws/files/1595675/110232_thesis.pdf

Coburn, A., & McCafferty, P. (2016). The real Olympic Games: Sponsorship, schools, and the Olympics—the case of Coca-Cola. *Taboo, 15*(1), 23-40. https://doi.org/10.31390/taboo.15.1.05

Codd, J. (2008). Neoliberalism, globalisation and the deprofessionalisation of teachers. In V. M. Carpenter, J. Jesson, P. Roberts & M. Stephenson (Eds.), *Nga Kaupapa Here: Connections and contradictions in education* (pp. 14-24). Cengage Learning.

Corbridge, S., Williams, G., Srivastava, M., & Véron, R. (2005). *Seeing the state: Governance and governmentality in India*. Cambridge University Press. http://dx.doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511492211

Cotoi, C. (2011). Neoliberalism: A Foucauldian perspective. *International Review of Social Research, 1*(2), 109-124. https://doi.org/10.1515/irsr-2011-0014

Cotton, R. (2012). Inspiring a generation? Young people's views on the Olympic Games' legacy. *British Journal of School Nursing, 7*(6), 296-301. https://doi.org/10.12968/bjsn.2012.7.6.296

Coubertin, P. (1919). Letter to the members of the International Olympic Committee (January, 1919). In N. Muller (Ed.), *Pierre de Coubertin 1863-1937—Olympism: Selected writings* (pp. 737-741). International Olympic Committee.

Coubertin, P. (1931). *Olympic memoirs*. International Olympic Committee.

Coubertin, P. (2000a). To my Hellenic friends. An open letter dated April, 1934. In N. Muller (Ed.), *Pierre de Coubertin 1863-1937 – Olympism: Selected Writings* (p. 278). International Olympic Committee.

Coubertin, P. (2000b). Olympism as a state of mind. In N. Muller (Ed.), *Olympism: Selected writings* (p. 548). International Olympic Committee.

Crabb, M. W. (2010). Governing the middle-class family in urban China: Educational reform and questions of choice. *Economy and Society, 39*(3), 385-402. https://doi.org/10.1080/03085147.2010.486216

Creswell, J. W. (2007). *Qualitative inquiry & research design: Choosing among five approaches*. Sage.

Crocket, H. R. (2012). *Playing with ethics?: A Foucauldian examination of the construction ethical subjectivities in Ultimate Frisbee* [Doctoral thesis, University of Waikato]. The University of Waikato Research Commons. https://hdl.handle.net/10289/6353

Crocket, H. R. (2017). Problematizing Foucauldian ethics: A review of technologies of the self in sociology of sport since 2003. *Journal of Sport and Social Issues, 41*(1), 21-41. https://doi.org/10.1177%2F0193723516677617

Cross-Roller. (2018, June 25). 2*018 quanguo zhongxiaoxuesheng yueye hualun jinbiaosai chenggong juban—zhongguo yueye huaxue weilai keqi* [The successful implementation of roller skating competitions among primary and secondary school students—skiing in China is promising]. Cross-Roller. http://www.cross-roller.com/index.php?m=content&c=index&a=show&catid=26&id=10

Cross-Roller (n.d.) *Chanpin Zhuanqu* [Product introduction]. Cross-Roller. http://www.cross-roller.com/list-31-1.html

Cui, H. C., Gao, R., & Yuan, W. T. (2007). *Aolinpik jiaoyu gongneng de tanxi* [Exploring the function of Olympic education]. *Journal of Harbin Institute of Physical Education, 25*(5), 51-55.

Cui, D. D., Xie, E. J., & Tang, W. B. (2009). *Cong zhexue shijiao kan 21 shijie aolinpike jiaoyu* [Examining Olympic education at the 21st century from a philosophical perspective]. *Consume Guide Education* Space, *11*, 186-187.

Culpan, I. (2008). Olympism, China and the need for an Olympic pedagogy. *Pacific-Asian Education Journal*, *20*(2), 7-15.

Culpan, I. (2017a). Olympism, physical education and culturally responsive pedagogies [Special edition]. *South African Journal for Research in Sport, Physical Education and Recreation*, *39* (1:2), 49-62.

Culpan, I. (2017b). Olympism, constructivism and Foucault's technologies of power: Governmentality at work. *Diagoras: International Academic Journal on Olympic Studies*, *1*, 75-94. http://diagorasjournal.com/index.php/diagoras/article/view/7/4

Culpan, I. (2018). Olympism, physical education and critical pedagogy. *European Physical Education Review*, *25*(3), 847-858. https://doi.org/10.1177%2F1356336X18782560

Culpan, I., Bruce, J., & Galvan, H. (2011, June 2-9). *Olympism enriching bicultural understanding in Aotearoa New Zealand* [Paper presentation]. The 9th International Session for Educators and Officials of Higher Institutes of Physical Education, Athens, Greece. https://ioa.org.gr/wp-content/uploads/2016/09/9th-international-session-2011.pdf#page=131

Culpan, I., & McBain, S. (2012). Constructivist pedagogies for Olympism education. *Asia-Pacific Journal of Health, Sport and Physical Education*, *3*(2), 95-108. https://doi.org/10.1080/18377122.2012.700690

Culpan, I., & Stevens, S. (2017). Olympism, physical education and attitudes and values: what do graduating teachers in Aotearoa, New Zealand know and understand? *Asia-Pacific Journal of Health, Sport and Physical Education*, *8*(3), 259-272. https://doi.org/10.1080/18377122.2017.1345284

Culpan, I., & Wigmore, S. (2010). The delivery of Olympism education within a physical education context drawing on critical pedagogy. *International Journal of Sport and Health Science*, *8*, 67-76. https://doi.org/10.5432/ijshs.20090028

Dahlberg, G. & Moss, P. (2005). *Ethics and politics in early childhood education.* Routledge.

Damkjær, S. (2004). Post-Olympism and the aestheticization of sport. In J. Bale & M. K. Christensen (Eds.), *Post-Olympism? Questioning sport in the twenty-first century* (pp. 211–230). Berg.

Danaher, G., Schirato, T., & Webb, J. (2000). *Understanding Foucault*. Sage.

D' Astous, A., & Chartier, F. (2000). A study of factors affecting consumer evaluations and memory of product placements in movies. *Journal of Current Issues & Research in Advertising, 22*(2), 31-40.

Davis, J. A. (2012). *The Olympic Games effect: How sports marketing builds strong brands*. John Wiley & Sons.

Dean, M. (1999). *Governmentality*. Sage.

Dean, M. (2007). *Governing societies: Political perspectives on domestic and international rule.* McGraw-Hill International.

Dean, M. (2010). *Governmentality: Power and rule in modern society* (2nd ed.). Sage.

Defroand, J. (2012). *London 2012: Olympic 'Legacy', Olympic education and the development of social capital in physical education and school sport: A case study* [Master's thesis, Universality of Birmingham]. UC Research Repository. http://etheses.bham.ac.uk/3701/

DeMeulenaere, E. (2019). Disrupting school rituals. *Urban Education, 00*(0), 1-28. https://doi.org/10.1177%2F0042085919838007

Deng, X. P. (1994) second edition. *Dengxiaoping Wenxuan* [The collection of Deng's speech] (2nd Ed.). People's Publisher.

Devitt, M. (2012). Olympic education: Gold medal for propaganda? In J. Forsyth & M. K. Heine (Eds), *The eleventh international symposium for Olympic research. Problems, possibilities, promising practices: Critical dialogues on the Olympic and Paralympic Games* (pp. 51-56). International Centre for Olympic Studies.

Dirlik, A. (1989). Postsocialism? Reflections on "socialism with Chinese characteristics". *Bulletin of Concerned Asian Scholars, 21*(1), 33-44. https://doi-org.ezproxy.auckland.ac.nz/10.1080/14672715.1989.10413190

Donatuti, J. L. (2007). Can China protect the Olympics, or should the Olympics be protected from China. *Journal of Intellectual Property Law, 15*, 203-230. https://heinonline.org/HOL/Page?handle=hein.journals/intpl15&id=1&collection=journals&index=

Dong, J. X., & Mangan, J. A. (2013). Beijing Olympics legacies: Certain intentions and certain and uncertain outcomes. In J. A. Mangan & M. Dyreson (Eds.). *Olympic legacies: Intended and unintended: Political, cultural, economic and educational* (pp. 168-189). Routledge.

Dortants, M. (2018). Regulating full contact martial arts and combat sports: How governmentality as an analytical framework informs practices of the governing of sports. *International Journal of Sport Policy and Politics*, *10*(2), 255-269. https://doi.org/10.1080/19406940.2017.1389764

Dortants, M., Knoppers, A., & Van Bottenburg, M. (2016). Challenges in regulating full contact martial arts and combat sports. *International Journal of Sport Policy and Politics*, *8*(3), 473-490. https://doi.org/10.1080/19406940.2016.1170717

Dou, X. (2004). *Bei jing shi 11/12 sui xiao xue sheng ao lin pi ke jiao yu shi zheng yan jiu* [The Quantitative study on Olympic education for 11/12 years primary school students in Beijing] [Master's thesis, Beijing Sports University]. CNKI.

Dougherty, K. J., & Natow, R. S. (2019). Analyzing neoliberalism in theory and practice: The case of performance-based funding for higher education. *The Center for Global Higher Education*. https://doi.org/10.7916/d8-a1kt-7p96

Dukalskis, A. (2017). *The authoritarian public sphere: Legitimation and autocratic power in North Korea, Burma, and China*. Taylor & Francis.

Elwood, S. A., & Martin, D. G. (2000). "Placing" interviews: Location and scales of power in qualitative research. *The Professional Geographer*, *52*(4), 649-657. https://doi.org/10.1111/0033-0124.00253

Englund, H., Frostenson, M., & Beime, K. S. (2019). Performative technology intensity and teacher subjectivities. *Scandinavian Journal of Educational Research*, *63*(5), 725-743. https://doi.org/10.1080/00313831.2018.1434825

Englund, H., & Gerdin, J. (2019). Performative technologies and teacher subjectivities: A conceptual framework. *British Educational Research Journal, 45*(3), 502-517. https://doi.org/10.1002/berj.3510

Evans, J., & Davies, B. (2015). Neoliberal freedoms, privatisation and the future of physical education. *Sport, Education and Society, 20*(1), 10-26. https://doi.org/10.1080/13573322.2014.918878

Falzon, M. (Ed). (2009). *Multi-sited ethnography: Theory, praxis and locality in contemporary research.* Ashgate.

Fan, H., & Song, L. (2016, September). Study on the Imbalance Reasons and the Equilibrium Strategy of Information Resources of Basic Education in Urban and Rural Areas. *In 2016 International Conference on Contemporary Education, Social Sciences and Humanities*, Moscow, Russia.

Fan, H., Wu, P., & Xiong, H. (2005). Beijing ambitions: An analysis of the Chinese elite sports system and its Olympic strategy for the 2008 Olympic Games. *The International Journal of the History of Sport, 22*(4), 510-529. https://doi.org/10.1080/09523360500126336

Fejes, A. (2008). What's the use of Foucault in research on lifelong learning and post-compulsory education? A review of four academic journals. *Studies in the Education of Adults, 40*(1), 7-23. https://doi.org/10.1080/02660830.2008.11661553

Ferguson, J., & Gupta, A. (2002). Spatializing states: Toward an ethnography of neoliberal governmentality. *American ethnologist, 29*(4), 981-1002. https://doi.org/10.1525/ae.2002.29.4.981

Fitzpatrick, K. (2010). *Stop playing up! A critical ethnography of health, physical education and (sub) urban schooling* [Doctoral thesis, University of Waikato]. The University of Waikato Research Commons. https://hdl.handle.net/10289/4429

Fleischer, F. (2011). Technology of self, technology of power. Volunteering as encounter in Guangzhou, China. *Ethnos, 76*(3), 300-325. https://doi.org/10.1080/00141844.2011.565126

Foucault, M. (1972). *The archaeology of knowledge and discourse on language* (R. Sawyer, Trans.). Pantheon.

Foucault, M. (1974). *The archaeology of knowledge.* Tavistock.

Foucault, M. (1978). *The history of sexuality, volume 1: An introduction*. Penguin.

Foucault, M. (1979). *Discipline and punish: The birth of the prison*. Vintage Books.

Foucault, M. (1980). *Power/Knowledge: Selected interviews & other writings 1972-1977*. (C. Gordon, Ed.; Trans.). Pantheon.

Foucault, M. (1982). The subject and power. *Critical Inquiry*, *8*(4), 777-795.

Foucault, M. (1983). The subject and power. In H. L. Dreyfus & P. Rabinow (Eds.), *Michel Foucault, beyond structuralism and hermeneutics* (2nd ed., pp. 208-226). University of Chicago Press.

Foucault, M. (1984a). Space, knowledge, and power: Interview with Paul Rabinow. In P. Rabinow (Ed.), *The Foucault reader* (pp. 239-256). Pantheon.

Foucault, M. (1984b). Truth and power. In P. Rabinow (Ed.), *The Foucault reader* (pp. 51-75). Pantheon.

Foucault, M. (1985). *The history of sexuality, volume 2: The use of pleasure*. Penguin.

Foucault, M. (1988a). Technologies of the self. In L.H. Martin, H. Gutman & P. H. Hutton (Eds.), *Technologies of the self: A seminar with Michel Foucault* (pp. 16-49). University of Massachusetts Press.

Foucault, M. (1988b). An aesthetics of existence. In L. D. Kritzman (Ed.), *Politics, philosophy, culture: Interviews and other writings, 1977-1984* (pp. 47-56). Routledge.

Foucault, M. (1988c). The ethic of care for the self as a practice of freedom: An interview with Michel Foucault. In J. W. Bernauer & D. M. Rasmussen (Eds.), *The final Foucault* (pp. 1-20). The MIT Press.

Foucault, M. (1988d). Practicing criticism. In L. D. Kritzman (Ed.), *Politics, philosophy, culture interviews and other writings, 1977-1984* (pp. 152–156). Routledge.

Foucault, M. (1988e). Truth, power, self: An interview with Michel Foucault. In L. H. Marin, H. Gutman & P. H. Hutton (Eds.), *Technologies of the Self: A seminar with Michel Foucault* (pp. 9–15). University of Massachusetts Press.

Foucault, M. (1990). *The history of sexuality, volume. 1: An introduction* (R. Hurley, Trans.). Vintage.

Foucault, M. (1991a). Governmentality. In G. Burchell, C. Gordon & P. Miller (Eds.), *The Foucault effect: Studies in governmentality* (pp. 87-104). Harvester Wheatsheaf.

Foucault, M. (1991b). *Discipline and punish: The birth of the prison* (A. Sheridan, Trans.). Penguin.

Foucault, M. (1996). Ethics of the concern for self, self as a practice of freedom. In S. Lotringer (Ed.), *Foucault Live: Collected interviews, 1961-1984, Michel Foucault* (pp. 432-449). Semiotext.

Foucault, M. (1997a). On the genealogy of ethics: An overview of work in progress. In P. Rabinow (Ed.), *Michel Foucault: Ethics, subjectivity, and truth, 1954-1984, volume. 1* (pp. 253-280). The New York Press.

Foucault, M. (1997b). The ethics of the concern for self as a practice of freedom. In P. Rabinow (Ed.), *Michel Foucault: Ethics, subjectivity, and truth, 1954-1984, volume. 1* (pp. 281-302). The New York Press.

Foucault, M. (1997c). What is critique? In S. Lothringer & L. Hochroth (Eds), *The Politics of Truth* (pp. 23-82). Semiotext.

Foucault, M. (2000a). Governmentality. In J. D. Faubion (Ed.), *Michel Foucault, ethics, essential works of Foucault 1954-1984, volume 3* (pp. 201-223). Penguin.

Foucault, M. (2000b). Foucault. In J. D. Faubion (Ed.*). Michel Foucault, aesthetics, method, and epistemology: Essential works of Foucault 1954-1984, volume 2* (pp. 459-463). Penguin

Foucault, M. (2000c). Interview with Michel Foucault. In J. D. Faubion (Ed.*). Michel Foucault, ethics: Essential works of Foucault, 1954-1984, volume 3* (pp. 239–97). Penguin.

Foucault, M. (2003). Truth and power. In P. Rabinow & N. Rose (Eds.), *The essential Foucault: Selections from essential works of Foucault 1954-1984* (pp. 300-318). The New Press.

Foucault, M. (2007). *Security, territory, population: Lectures at the Collège de France, 1977-78.* (G. Burchell, Trans.). Palgrave Macmillan.

Foucault, M. (2008). *The birth of biopolitics: Lectures at the Collège de France 1978-1979* (G. Burchell, Trans.). Palgrave Macmillan.

Fraser, N. (2007). Feminist politics in the age of recognition: A two-dimensional approach to gender justice. *Studies in Social Justice, 1*(1), 23-35.

French, S. P., & Disher, M. E. (1997). Atlanta and the Olympics: A one-year retrospective. *Journal of the American Planning Association, 63*(3), 379–392. https://doi.org/10.1080/01944369708975930

Fu, Y. N. (2008). *Zhongguo tiyu tongshi: 1949-1979* [Sports history in China from 1949 to 1979]. People's Sport Publishing House.

Fullagar, S. (2002). Governing the healthy body: Discourses of leisure and lifestyle within Australian health policy. *Health, 6*(1), 69-84. https://doi.org/10.1177%2F136345930200600104

Gabbard, D. (2008). *Knowledge and power in the global economy: The effects of school reform in a neoliberal/neoconservative age* (2nd ed.). Lawrence Erlbaum.

Gao, X., & Zhu, M. L. (2010). *Woguo zhengfu bumen zhijian guanxi de tantao* [Exploration and discussion of relations between governmental departments in China]. *Sichuan Administration College, 1*, 5-8.

García, R. S., & Herraiz, A. R. (2013). 'Governmentality' in the origins of European female PE and sport: The Spanish case study (1883-1936). *Sport, Education and Society*, *18*(4), 494-510. https://doi.org/10.1080/13573322.2011.601735

Geng, S. (2007). Guoji shiye zhong de aolinpike jiaoyu beijing moshi [Beijing model of Olympic education under the examination of an international perspective]. *Educational Science Research, 12*, 8-12.

Geng, S., Ren, H., Zhang, L., & Guo, Z. X. (2009). *Guoji aolinpike jiaoyu zhong de "Beijing moshi" yanjiu*. [A study of the "Beijing model" in International Olympic education]. Beijing Sports University Press.

Georgiadis, K. (2010). The implementation of Olympic education programs at world level. *Procedia-Social and Behavioral Sciences, 2*(5), 6711-6718. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.sbspro.2010.05.017

Georgiadis, K. (2011, June 2-9). *The master's degree programme on Olympic studies, "Olympic studies, Olympic education, organisation and management of Olympic events"* [Lecture]. The 9th International Session for Educators and Officials of Higher Institutes of Physical Education. Athens, Greece. http://ioa.org.gr/wp-content/uploads/2016/09/9th-international-session-2011.pdf

Gerdin, G. (2014). *Boys will be boys?: Gendered bodies, space and dis/pleasures in physical education* [Doctoral thesis, University of Auckland]. UC Research Repository. https://www.diva-portal.org/smash/get/diva2:844310/FULLTEXT01.pdf

Girginov, V. (2010). Studying Olympism. In V. Girginov (Ed.). *The Olympics: A critical reader* (pp. 9-20). Routledge.

Girginov, V. (2016). Has the London 2012 Olympic Inspire programme inspired a generation? A realist view. *European Physical Education Review, 22*(4), 490–505. https://doi.org/10.1177%2F1356336X15623169

Girginov, V., & Parry, J. (2005). *The Olympic Games Explained: A Student Guide to the Evolution of the Modern Olympic Games*. Routledge.

Gordon, C. (1991). Governmental rationality: An introduction. In G. Burchell, C. Gordon & P. Miller (Eds.), *The Foucault effect: Studies in governmentality* (pp. 1-52). The University of Chicago Press.

Grammatikopoulos, V., Hassandra, M., Koustelios, A., & Theodorakis, Y. (2005). Evaluating the Olympic education program: A qualitative approach. *Studies in Educational Evaluation, 31*(4), 347-357. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.stueduc.2005.11.004

Gratton, C., & Jones, I. (2010). *Research methods for sports studies*. Taylor & Francis.

Green, C. (2005). *The privatization of state education: Public partners, private dealings*. Routledge.

Green, M., & Houlihan, B. (2006). Governmentality, modernization, and the "disciplining" of national sporting organizations: Athletics in Australia and the United Kingdom. *Sociology of Sport Journal, 23*(1), 47-71. https://doi.org/10.1123/ssj.23.1.47

Griggs, G. (2010). For sale-primary school physical education. £20 per hour or nearest offer. *Education, 38*(1), 39–46. https://doi.org/10.1080/03004270903099793

Grix, J. (2013). Sport politics and the Olympics. *Political Studies Review, 11*(1), 15-25. https://doi.org/10.1111%2F1478-9302.12001

Guay, M. P. (2014). *Game, set, watched: Governance, social control and surveillance in professional tennis* [Master's thesis, Queen's University]. ProQuest Dissertations and Theses Global.

Guo, Z. X. (2009). Aolinpike jiaoyu shifanxiao yi shijian quanshi aolinpike yundong [Interpretation of Olympic Movement by Practice of Olympic Education Model School]. *Journal of Beijing Sport University, 32*(3), *94-97.*

Guo, Z. X. (2010). *Aolinpike jiaoyu lishi yanbian yanjiu* [The research on the evolution of Olympic Education]. [Doctoral thesis, Beijing Sport University]. CNKI.

Guttmann, A. (2002). *The Olympics: A history of the modern games*. University of Illinois Press.

Haidian district educational commission. (2018a). *The competition of Winter Olympics knowledge.*

Haidian district educational commission. (2018b). *The third winter sports competition for primary and secondary schools in Beijing.*

Hall, C. M. (1987). The effects of hallmark events on cities. *Journal of Travel Research, 26*(2), 44–45. https://doi.org/10.1177%2F004728758702600209

Hammond, A., Leahy, D., & Jeanes, R. (2015, April 13-15). *The discourses of disability and disability sports coaching in Australian sport policy: Preliminary findings from*

*contemporary swimming Australia policy documents* [Paper presentation]. The 29th ACHPER International Conference, Australia, https://bit.ly/3okWAaR

Harris, A. (2005). VII. Discourses of desire as governmentality: Young women, sexuality and the significance of safe spaces. *Feminism & Psychology*, *15*(1), 39-43. https://doi.org/10.1177/0959-353505049702

Harvey, D. (2007). *A brief history of neoliberalism*. Oxford University Press. https://doi.org/10.1093/oso/9780199283262.001.0001

Harwood, V. (2009). Theorizing biopedagogies. In J. Wright & V. Harwood (Eds.), *Biopolitics and the obesity epidemic: Governing bodies* (pp. 15-30). Routledge.

Harwood, V., & Rasmussen, M. L. (2004). Studying schools with an 'ethics of discomfort'. In B. M. Baker, K. E. Heyning & K. M. Heyning (Eds.), *Dangerous Coagulations?: The Uses of Foucault in the Study of Education* (pp. 305-321). Die Deustche Bibliotek.

Hassandra, M., Goudas, M., Hatzigeorgiadis, A., & Theodorakis, Y. (2007). A fair play intervention program in school Olympic education. *European Journal of Psychology of Education*, *22*(2), 99-114. https://doi.org/10.1007/BF03173516

He, L. J., & Ru, X. Y. (2009). Dui beijing aolinpike jiaoyu jihua shishi yingxing yinsu de pingjia [An Evaluation for the Influential Factors of the Olympic Education Program Implementation in Beijing]. *Journal of Capital Institute of Physical Education*, *21*(6), 672-675.

He, W., Wang, X., & Yu, K. (2007). A visible hand: Government as the change agent in the transformation of management education in China. *International Journal of Management in Education*, *1*(1-2), 5-20. https://doi.org/10.1504/IJMIE.2007.014374

Hickey, C., & Kelly, P. (2008). Preparing to not be a footballer: Higher education and professional sport. *Sport, Education and Society*, *13*(4), 477-494. https://doi.org/10.1080/13573320802445132

Hill, M. (2009). Ways of seeing: using ethnography and Foucault's 'toolkit' to view assessment practices differently. *Qualitative Research*, *9*(3), 309-330. https://doi.org/10.1177%2F1468794109105030

Hindess, B. (2001). The liberal government of unfreedom. *Alternatives, 26*(2), 93-111.

Hoberman, J. (1986). *The Olympic crisis: Sport, politics and the moral order*. Caratzas.

Hobsbawm, E. (1983). Mass-producing traditions: Europe, 1870-1914. In E. Hobsbawn & T. Ranger (Eds), *The invention of tradition* (pp. 263-308). Cambridge University Press.

Holliday, A. (2007). *Doing and writing qualitative research* (2nd ed.). Sage.

Holloway, I. (2005). *Qualitative research in health care*. McGraw-Hill Education.

Horesh, N., & Lim, K. F. (2017). China: An East Asian alternative to neoliberalism? *The Pacific Review*, *30*(4), 425-442. https://doi.org/10.1080/09512748.2016.1264459

Horn, E. (2016). *A critical analysis of the 'Agenda 2020' in general—its contribution to Olympic Education in particular* [Master's thesis, University of Peloponnese]. UC Research Repository. https://amitos.library.uop.gr/xmlui/handle/123456789/4813

Horne, J., & Whannel, G. (2010). The 'caged torch procession': Celebrities, protesters and the 2008 Olympic torch relay in London, Paris and San Francisco. *Sport in Society*, *13*(5), 760-770. https://doi.org/10.1080/17430431003650950

Hotchkiss, J. L., Moore, R. E., & Zobay, S. M. (2003). Impact of the 1996 Summer Olympic Games on employment and wages in Georgia. *Southern Economic Journal*, *63*(3), 691-704. https://doi.org/10.2307/1061702

Hsu, L. H. L., & Kohe, G. Z. (2015). Aligning Olympic education with the Liberal Arts: A curriculum blueprint from Taiwan. *Physical Education and Sport Pedagogy*, *20*(5), 474-489. https://doi.org/10.1080/17408989.2014.882892

Huang, L. (2010). *Lun 'aolinpike jiaoyu' yinggia huanxing* [The implementation of 'Olympic Education' should go slowly]. *Journal of Physical Education, 17*(10), 5-10.

Hübner, L., & Wassong, S. (2015). Olympic Education via e-learning: A research proposal. *Journal of Qualitative Research in Sports Studies, 9*(1), 219-234.

Hulme, D. L. (1990). *The political Olympics: Moscow, Afghanistan, and the 1980 US boycott.* Praeger.

Hunt, A., & Wickham, G. (1994). *Foucault and law: Towards a sociology of law as governance*. Pluto Press.

Hutchinson, S., & O'Malley, P. (2019). Discipline and governmentality. In M. Deflem (Ed.), *The handbook of social control*, (pp. 63-75). John Wiley & Sons Ltd. https://doi.org/10.1002/9781119372394.ch5

Hwang, B. R. (2018). *A meta-narrative review of Olympic education and its implications for realist evaluation of programmes for Tokyo 2020* [Doctoral thesis, Loughborough University]. UC Research Repository. https://bit.ly/3mwk5gi

Hwang, B., & Henry, I. (2021). Identifying the field of Olympic education: a meta-narrative review. *European Sport Management Quarterly*, 1-25. https://doi.org/10.1080/16184742.2021.1895861

Inda, J. X. (2005). Analytics of the modern: An introduction. In J. X. Inda (Ed.), *Anthropologies of modernity: Foucault, governmentality, and life politics* (pp. 1-19). John Wiley & Blackwell.

International Olympic Committee. (n.d.). *Olympic values education programme.* https://www.olympic.org/olympic-values-and-education-program

International Olympic Committee. (1978). *Olympic Charter*. https://library.olympic.org/default/olympic-charter.aspx?_lg=en-

International Olympic Committee. (2014). *Olympic agenda 2020: 20+ 20 recommendations.* https://stillmed.olympic.org/Documents/Olympic_Agenda_2020/Olympic_Agenda_2020-20-20_Recommendations-ENG.pdf

International Olympic Committee. (2015). *Host city contract detailed obligations.* https://stillmed.olympic.org/Documents/Host_city_elections/Host-City-Contract-Detailed-obligations-XXIV-Olympic-Winter-Games-2022.pdf

International Olympic Committee. (2016). *Host city contract: Operational requirements*. https://library.olympic.org/Default/doc/SYRACUSE/171361/host-city-contract-operational-requirements-international-olympic-committee?_lg=en-GB

International Olympic Committee. (2017). *The fundamentals of Olympic values education*. https://www.icsspe.org/system/files/The%20Fundamentals%20of%20Olympic%20Values%20Education.pdf

International Olympic Committee. (2018). *PyeongChang 2018 excite, inform & engage through education program*. https://www.olympic.org/news/pyeongchang-2018-set-to-launch-olympic-education-programme

International Olympic Committee. (2020). *Olympic Charter*. https://www.olympic.org/documents/olympic-charter

Ives, M (2018, Sept 18). *The N.H.L., Seeking fans in China, calls in the great one*. The New York Times. https://www.nytimes.com/2018/09/18/sports/hockey/nhl-china-wayne-gretzky.html

Jefferson-Buchanan, R. (2016). Traces of discourses and governmentality within the content and implementation of the Western Australian Fundamental Movement Skills programme (STEPS Professional Development). *Education 3-13, 44*(5), 525-536. https://doi.org/10.1080/03004279.2016.1169483

Jeffreys, E., & Sigley, G. (2009). Governmentality, governance and China. In E. Jeffreys (Ed.), *China's Governmentalities, governing change, changing government* (pp. 13-35). Routledge.

Jennings, A. (1996). *The new lords of the rings: Olympic corruption and how to buy gold medals*. Pocket Books.

Jessop, B. (2007). From micro-powers to governmentality: Foucault's work on statehood, state formation, statecraft and state power. *Political Geography, 26*(1), 34-40. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.polgeo.2006.08.002

Jin, S. Y. (2010). *Woguo zhongxiaoxue yinyue xiaoben kecheng kaifayanjiu* [A research on the music school-based curriculum development in primary and secondary schools in China]. [Doctoral thesis, Fujian Normal University]. CNKI.

Jones, I., Brown, L., & Holloway, I. (2012). *Qualitative research in sport and physical activity*. Sage.

Jordan, B. (2019). *Authoritarianism and how to Counter it.* Springer.

Jordan, S., & Yeomans, D. (1995). Critical ethnography: Problems in contemporary theory and practice. *British Journal of Sociology of Education, 16*(3), 389-408. https://doi.org/10.1080/0142569950160307

Kabitsis, C., Harahousou, Y., Arvaniti, N., & Mountakis, K. (2002). Implementation of Olympic culture in the school curriculum in Greece. *Physical Educator, 59*(4), 184.

Kaibald, L. (2013). *Estonian youths' attitudes and perceptions towards the Olympic brand and its relation with Olympic Education* [Master's thesis, University of Peloponnese]. UC Research Repository. https://bit.ly/3oCP1Mf

Kasimati, E. (2003). Economic aspects and the Summer Olympics: A review of related research. *International journal of tourism research*, *5*(6), 433-444. https://doi.org/10.1002/jtr.449

Keller, K. L. (2003). Brand synthesis: The multidimensionality of brand knowledge. *Journal of Consumer Research, 29*(4), 595-600. https://doi.org/10.1086/346254

Kerr, D. (1999). Beheading the king and enthroning the market: A critique of Foucauldian governmentality. Science and Society Summer. *Science & Society*, *63*(2), 173–202.

Kidd, B. (1996). Taking the rhetoric seriously: Proposals for Olympic education. *Quest, 48* (1), 82-92. https://doi.org/10.1080/00336297.1996.10484180

Kirakosyan, L. (2020). Educational Legacy of the Rio 2016 Games: Lessons for Youth Engagement. *Societies*, *10*(2), 39. https://doi.org/10.3390/soc10020039

Knijnik, J., & Tavares, O. (2012). Educating Copacabana: A critical analysis of the "Second Half", an Olympic education program of Rio 2016. *Educational Review*, *64*(3), 353-368. https://doi.org/10.1080/00131911.2012.671805

Kohe, G. Z. (2010). Disrupting the rhetoric of the rings: A critique of Olympic idealism in physical education. *Sport, Education and Society, 15*(4), 479-494. https://doi.org/10.1080/13573322.2010.514742

Kohe, G. Z. (2014). Stimulating a sociological imaginations in Olympic learning legacies: a critique of a London 2012 initiative. In D. Chatziefstathiou & N. Muller (Eds.), *Olympism, Olympic education and learning legacies* (pp. 87-99). Cambridge Scholars Publishing.

Kohe, G. Z., Aeamaki, A., Sekine, M., Masumoto, N. & Hsu, L. (2021). Conceptualising L'Space Olympique: Tokyo 2020 Olympic education in thought, production and action. *Educational Review, 73*, 1-27. https://doi.org/10.1080/00131911.2021.1874308

Kohe, G. Z., & Bowen-Jones, W. (2016). Rhetoric and realities of London 2012 Olympic education and participation "legacies": Voices from the core and periphery. *Sport, Education and Society*, *21*(8), 1213-1229. https://doi.org/10.1080/13573322.2014.997693

Kohn, A. (2002). *Education, Inc.: Turning learning into a business*. Heinemann.

Kong, F. M., & Li, Y. (2004). *Zai daxue zhong shishi aolinpike jiayu de diaocha yu sikao* [The investigation and thinking of Olympic education in the university]. *Journal of Beijing Union University* [Humanities and Social Sciences], *2*(4), 73-77.

Koning, J. J. D. (2010). World records: How much athlete? How much technology? *International Journal of Sports Physiology and Performance, 5*(2), 262-267. https://doi.org/10.1123/ijspp.5.2.262

Koreneva. M. (2011, September 2-20). *Olympic education in the system of volunteer preparation* [Students' paper]. The 18th International Session on Olympic Studies for Postgraduate Students, Athens, Greece. https://bit.ly/37pqzYi

Koro-Ljungberg, M., Gemignani, M., Brodeur, C. W., & Kmiec, C. (2007). The technologies of normalization and self: Thinking about IRBs and extrinsic research ethics with Foucault. *Qualitative Inquiry, 13*(8), 1075-1094. https://doi.org/10.1177/1077800407308822

Kromidha, E., Spence, L. J., Anastasiadis, S., & Dore, D. (2017). A longitudinal perspective on sustainability and innovation governmentality: The case of the Olympic Games as a mega-event. *Journal of Management Inquiry, 28*(1), 77-93. https://doi.org/10.1177%2F1056492617711585

Kulz, C. (2017). *Factories for learning: Making race, class and inequality in the neoliberal academy*. Oxford University Press.

Landry, P. F. (2008). *Decentralized authoritarianism in China: The Communist Party's control of local elites in the post-Mao era (*Vol. 1). Cambridge University Press.

Larsson, J., Löfdahl, A., & Prieto, H. P. (2010). Rerouting: Discipline, assessment and performativity in contemporary Swedish educational discourse. *Education Inquiry*, *1*(3), 177-195. https://doi.org/10.3402/edui.v1i3.21941

Lauder, H., Hughes, D., Watson, S., Waslander, S., Thrupp, M., Strathdee, R., Simiyu, I., Dupuis, A., McGlinn, J., & Hamlin, J. (Eds.). (1999). *Trading in futures: Why markets in education do not work.* Open University Press.

Law, W. W. (2010). The state, citizenship education, and international events in a global age: The 2008 Beijing Olympic Games. *Comparative Education Review*, *54*(3), 343-367. http://dx.doi.org/10.1086%2F649425

Leahy, D. (2012). *Assembling a health[y] subject* [Doctoral thesis, Deakin University]. UC Research Repository. http://dro.deakin.edu.au/view/DU:30048464

Lee, J. (1992). Media portrayals of male and female Olympic athletes: Analyses of newspaper accounts of the 1984 and the 1988 summer games. *International Review for the Sociology of Sport*, *27*(3), 197-219. https://doi.org/10.1177%2F101269029202700301

Lemke, T. (2002). Foucault, governmentality, and critique. *Rethinking Marxism*, *14*(3), 49-64. https://doi.org/10.1080/089356902101242288

Lemke, T. (2007). An indigestible meal? Foucault, governmentality and state theory. *Distinktion: Scandinavian Journal of Social Theory, 8*(2), 43-64. https://doi.org/10.1080/1600910X.2007.9672946

Lemke, T. (2010). Foucault's hypothesis: From the critique of the Juridico-discursive concept of power to an analytics of government, *Parrhesia*, 9, 31-43. https://www.parrhesiajournal.org/parrhesia09/parrhesia09_lemke.pdf

Lenskyj, H. J. (2000). *Inside the Olympic industry: Power, politics, and activism*. SUNY Press.

Lenskyj, H. J. (2012). Olympic education and Olympism: Still colonizing children's minds. *Educational Review, 64*(3), 265-274. https://doi.org/10.1080/00131911.2012.667389

Leo, H. L. H. (2011). Olympism and East Asia: A Philosophical Reflection on Olympic Philosophy. In W. W. Kelly & S. Brownell (Eds.), *The Olympics in East Asia: Nationalism, regionalism, and globalism on the center stage of world sports* (pp. 109-118). Council on East Asian Studies Yale University.

Li, B.Y. (2002). *Aolinpike yundong yu jiaoyu* [The Olympic Movement and Education]. *Journal of GzIPE, 22*(5), 114-117.

Li, H., Meng, L., & Wang, Q. (2009). The government's role in China's Olympic glory. *Applied Economics, 41*(25), 3313-3318. https://doi.org/10.1080/00036840701736081

Li, H. X., & Nauright, J. (2018). Boosting ice hockey in China: Political economy, mega-events and community. *Sport in Society, 21*(8), 1185-1195, https://doi.org/10.1080/17430437.2018.1442198

Li, J. (2019). Bingxue yundong jin xiaoyuan mianlin de kunnan ji jiejue duice [The strategies of developing winter sports at school], *Ice and Snow Sports, 7*, 72-73.

Li, P. (2012). Meng gu guo ao lin pi ke jiao yu ji hua [The educational programme in Mongolia]. *Journal of the Inner Mongolia University, 18*(2), 98-99.

Li. P. W. (2008). Shishu Beijing aoyun sanda linian yu aolinpike jiaoyu de jiehe [On combination of the three ideologies of 2008 Beijing Olympic Games and Olympic education]. *Journal of Chengdu Sport University, 34*(2), 88-90.

Li, T. M. (2007a). *The will to improve: Governmentality, development, and the practice of politics.* Duke University Press.

Li, T. M. (2007b). Practices of assemblage and community forest management. *Economy and Society, 36*(2), 263-293. https://doi.org/10.1080/03085140701254308

Li, T. M. (2007c). Governmentality. *Anthropologica, 49*(2), 275-281.

Lin, X. Q., Sun, P., Ma, Q., Yang, F.J., Tang, Y., & Wang, H. (2007). *Guanyu pinkun diqu zhongxiaoxue aolinpike jiaoyu de xianzhuang diaocha* [Investigation on present situation of Olympic education of elementary schools in poverty-stricken areas]. *Journal of Shenyang Sport University, 26*(2), 28-29.

Li, X. W. (2014).*zhongxiaoxue xiaobenkecheng kaifade yibianwenti yu gaijin* [On the Alteration Issues of the School-based Curriculum Development in Primary and Secondary Schools and Its Improvement]. E*ducational Research, 5* (412), 107-112.

Liu, C. (2012). *From rhetoric to action—employing Olympism as an educational tool: An examination and evaluation of the school-based Olympic education programs in the Beijing 2008 Olympic Games* [Doctoral thesis, University of Toronto]. ProQuest Dissertations and Theses Global.

Liu, H, Y., & Wang, Z. (2006). *Beijing shi zhongxuesheng puji aolinpike jiaoyu zhuangkuang de diaocha yanjiu* [A survey on the current status of the popularization of Olympic education—among the high school students in Beijing. *Journal of Capital Institute of Physical Education, 18*(6), 53-55.

Liu, L. (2018). *Female Chinese and Māori sport participants' embodied experiences of risk, pain and injury* [Doctoral thesis, the University of Auckland]. UC Research Repository. https://researchspace.auckland.ac.nz/handle/2292/37549

Liu, P. J., Ma, S. Y., Jin, Y. Y., & Hao, X. Q. (2019). *Jiyu 2022 dongaohui shiyu xia Beijing qingshaonian bingxue yundong fazhan yanjiu* [A study on development policy of

winter sports for Beijing teenagers under the framework of Beijing 2022 Winter Olympic Games], *Journal of Nanjing Sports Institute, 7*, 17-23.

Liu, S. (2018). Neoliberal global assemblages: The emergence of "public" international high-school curriculum programs in China. *Curriculum Inquiry, 48*(2), 203-219. https://doi.org/10.1080/03626784.2018.1435977

Liu, X., & Yan, F. (2008). Lun aolinpike jiaoyu yu suzhi jiaoyu de ronghe [Quality education through Olympic education]. *Journal of Jilin Institute of Physical Education, 24* (4), 35-36.

Liu, Y. (2010). *Canjiren aolinpike yundong jiaoyu jiazhi yanjiu* [Research on educational value of Paralympic Movement] [Doctoral thesis, Soochow University]. CNKI.

Liu, Y., & Wang, W. Y. (2013). Zhongguo tiu tizhi gaige ershi nian [the 20 years of the China sports management]. *People's Tribune, 8*, 232-234.

Liu, Z., & Yamamoto, H. (2009). Public-private partnerships (PPPs) in China: Present conditions, trends, and future challenges. *Interdisciplinary Information Sciences, 15*(2), 223-230. https://doi.org/10.4036/iis.2009.223

Lucas, J. (1992). Future of the Olympic Games. *Champaign, Illinois: Human Kinetics*

Luo, D. M. (2018). Hongtou wen jian luanjian: Biaoxian, Yuanyou yu zhili [The messy employment of red tape documents: Performance, reasons, and governance]. *Sichuan University of Arts and Science Journal, 20*(1), 51-57.

Luo, S., & Huang, F. (2013). China's Olympic dream and the legacies of the Beijing Olympics. *The International Journal of the History of Sport, 30*(4), 443-452. https://doi.org/10.1080/09523367.2013.765722

Luo, X. Z. (2009). Hou aoyun shidai zhongguo aolinpike jiaoyu [Olympic education at post-Games in China]. *Journal of PLA institute of physical education, 28*(4), 7-9.

Lv, S.T., & Shang, Z. N. (2010). Beijing aoyun hou zhongguo tiyu guanli tixi gaige de sikao [Reform of Chinese sports management system after Beijing Olympic Games]. *Journal of Wuhan Institute of Physical Education, 44*(7), 9-15.

Lynch, S. & Ovens, A. (2020). Critical Pedagogy in Physical Education Teacher Education. In: Peters. M. (Ed). *Encyclopedia of Teacher Education* (pp. 1-5). Springer,

Ma, J. Q. (2019). *Opening different winter sports curriculum for different age's students at Zhongguancun No. 2 primary school.* [Online image]. Tencent. https://new.qq.com/omn/20190510/20190510A0K96A.html

Ma, L. J. (2009). China's authoritarian capitalism: Growth, elitism and legitimacy. *International Development Planning Review, 31*(1), I.

Ma, Y. L. (2005). *Yadian, Duling, Beijing aolinpike jiaoyu jihua duibi yanjiu* [The comparison between Athens, Turin, and Beijing in terms of Olympic education]. *Sport Culture Guide*, 54-58.

MacAloon, J. (1981). *This Great Symbol: Pierre de Coubertin and the origins of the Modern Olympic Games*. University of Chicago Press.

Macdonald, D. (2015). Teacher-as-knowledge-broker in a futures-oriented health and physical education. *Sport, Education and Society, 20*(1), 27-41. https://doi.org/10.1080/13573322.2014.935320

Macdonald, D., Abbott, R., Knez, K., & Nelson, A. (2009). Taking exercise: Cultural diversity and physically active lifestyles. *Sport, Education and Society, 14*(1), 1-19. https://doi.org/10.1080/13573320802444945

Macdonald, D., Abbott, R., & Jenkins, D. (2012). Physical activity of remote indigenous Australian women: A postcolonial analysis of lifestyle. *Leisure Sciences, 34*(1), 39-54. https://doi.org/10.1080/01490400.2012.633854

MacNaughton, G. (2005). *Doing Foucault in early childhood studies: Applying poststructural ideas*. Routledge.

Madden, J. R. (2002). The economic consequences of the Sydney Olympics: The CREA/Arthur Andersen study. *Current Issues in Tourism, 5*(1), 7-21. https://doi.org/10.1080/13683500208667904

Madden, N. (2007). Ambush marketing could hit new high at Beijing Olympics. *Advertising Age, 78*(29), 22.

Magdalinski, T., Schimmel, K. S., & Chandler, T. J. (2005). Recapturing Olympic mystique: The corporate invasion of the classroom. In J. Nauright & K. S. Schimmel (Eds.), *The political economy of sport* (pp. 38-54). Palgrave Macmillan.

Magolda, P. M. (2000). The campus tour: Ritual and community in higher education. *Anthropology & Education Quarterly*, *31*(1), 24-46. https://doi.org/10.1525/aeq.2000.31.1.24

Makris, A., & Georgiadis, K. (2017). Athens 2004: Olympic education in Greece during the Athens 2004 Olympic Games. In R. Naul, D. Binder, A. Rychtecky & I. Culpan (Eds.), *Olympic education*: *An international review* (pp. 47-59). Routledge.

Mangan, J. A., & Dyreson, M. (2013). *Olympic legacies: Intended and unintended: political, cultural, economic and educational*. Routledge

Manion, M. (1991). Policy implementation in the People's Republic of China: Authoritative decisions versus individual interests. *The Journal of Asian Studies*, *50*(2), 253-279. https://doi.org/10.2307/2057208

Manolev, J., Sullivan, A., & Slee, R. (2019). The datafication of discipline: ClassDojo, surveillance and a performative classroom culture. *Learning, Media and Technology*, *44*(1), 36-51. https://doi.org/10.1080/17439884.2018.1558237

Mao, Q. N. (2012). *Aolinpike jiaoyu xinqushi dui zhongguo aolinpike jiaoyu huaity de qi*shi [The enlightenment of the new trend of Olympic education to Chinese Olympic education]. [Master's thesis, Beijing Sport University]. CNKI.

Mao, W. (2015). A notable endeavour: The nature and significance of Olympic education in the pre-and post-period of Beijing's 2008 Olympic Games [Doctoral thesis, Western University]. Electronic Thesis and Dissertation Repository. https://ir.lib.uwo.ca/etd/3294

Markula, P. (2003). The technologies of the self: Sport, feminism, and Foucault. *Sociology of Sport Journal*, *20*(2), 87-107. https://doi.org/10.1123/ssj.20.2.87

Markula, P. (2009). *Olympic women and the media: International perspectives*. Springer.

Markula, P., & Pringle, R. (2007). *Foucault, sport and exercise: Power, knowledge and transforming the self*. Routledge.

Markula, P., & Silk, M. L. (2011). *Qualitative research for physical culture.* Palgrave Macmillan.

Marshall, J. D. (2006). The meaning of the concept of education: searching for the lost arc. *Journal of Thought, 41*(3), 33-37.

Mason, D. S., Thibault, L., & Misener, L. (2006). An agency theory perspective on corruption in sport: The case of the International Olympic Committee. *Journal of Sport Management, 20*(1), 52-73. https://doi.org/10.1123/jsm.20.1.52

Masschelein, J. (2006). Experience and the limits of governmentality. *Educational philosophy and theory, 38*(4), 561-576. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1469-5812.2006.00211.x

Masumoto, N. (2012). The legacy of the Olympic peace education of the 1964 Tokyo Olympic Games in Japan. *The international Journal of the History of Sport, 29*(9), 1263-1280. https://doi.org/10.1080/09523367.2012.692247

McCabe, D. (2019). The day of the rally: An ethnographic study of 'ceremony as resistance' and 'resistance as ceremony'. *Organization, 26*(2), 255-275. https://doi.org/10.1177%2F1350508418805284

McCabe, J. L., & Holmes, D. (2009). Reflexivity, critical qualitative research and emancipation: A Foucauldian perspective. *Journal of Advanced Nursing, 65*(7), 1518-1526. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1365-2648.2009.04978.x

McCall, C. (2016). Rituals of conduct and counter-conduct. *Foucault studies*, (21), 52-79. https://doi.org/10.22439/fs.v0i0.5013

McCone, A. (2016). *New Zealand physical education teachers' knowledge and teaching of Olympism* [Master's thesis, University of Canterbury]. UC Research Repository. http://dx.doi.org/10.26021/9479

McDermott, L. (2007). A governmental analysis of children "at risk" in a world of physical inactivity and obesity epidemics. *Sociology of sport journal*, *24*(3), 302-324. https://doi.org/10.1123/ssj.24.3.302

McEvilly, N. (2012). *Place and meaning of 'physical education' to practitioners and children at three preschool contexts in Scotland* [Doctoral thesis, the University of Edinburgh]. Edinburgh Research Archive. http://hdl.handle.net/1842/8041

McEvilly, N., Verheul, M., Atencio, M., & Jess, M. (2014). Physical education for health and wellbeing: a discourse analysis of Scottish physical education curricular documentation. *Discourse: Studies in the Cultural Politics of Education, 35*(2), 278-293.

McHoul, A., & Grace, W. (2015). *A Foucault primer: Discourse, power and the subject.* Routledge.

McKee, K. (2009). Post-Foucauldian governmentality: What does it offer critical social policy analysis? *Critical Social Policy, 29*(3), 465-486. https://doi.org/10.1177%2F0261018309105180

McLaren, M. A. (2002). *Feminism, Foucault, and embodied subjectivity*. State University of New York Press.

McLaren, P. (2003) Critical pedagogy: A look at the major concepts. In A. Dardner, M., Baltodano & R. D. Torres (Eds), *The Critical Pedagogy Reader* (pp. 69-97). Routledge.

McNay, L. (1992). *Foucault and Feminism: Power, Gender and The Self.* Polity Press

McWhorter, L. (2004). Rites of passing: Foucault, power, and same-sex commitment ceremonies. In K. Schilbrack (Ed.), *Thinking through rituals: Philosophical perspectives* (pp.71-96). Routledge

Merlin, G., Muller, N., & Todt, N. (2019). Students' perception about the Olympic values experience in Rio 2016 Olympic Games and the future of the Olympics. *Journal of Human Sport and Exercise, 14*(3), 336-S347. https://doi.org/10.14198/jhse.2019.14.Proc3.07

Miller, P., & Rose, N. (1990). Governing economic life. *Economy and Society, 19*(1), 1-31. https://doi.org/10.1080/03085149000000001

Miller, P., & Rose, N. (1997). Mobilizing the consumer: Assembling the subject of consumption. *Theory, Culture and Society*, *14*(1), 1-36. https://doi.org/10.1177%2F026327697014001001

Miller, P., & Rose, N. (2008). *Governing the present: Administering economic, social and personal life*. Polity Press.

Miller, T., Lawrence, G. A., McKay, J., & Rowe, D. (2001). *Globalization and sport: Playing the world*. Sage.

Ministry of Education. (1997). *Guojia jiaowei guanyu jinyibu tuijin chengshi jiaoyu zonghegaige de ruogan yijian* [Suggestion on promoting education in cities from Ministry of Education].

Ministry of Education. (2003). *Regulations of the People's Republic of China on Chinese-foreign cooperation in running schools*. http://www.moe.gov.cn/s78/A20/gjs_left/moe_861/tnull_8646.html

Ministry of Education. (2004). *Implementation measures for the regulations of the People's Republic of China on Chinese-foreign cooperation in running schools in Chinese*. http://www.crs.jsj.edu.cn/index.php/default/news/index/6

Ministry of Education. (2011). *Tiyu yu jiankang kecheng biaozhun* [Sport and physical health curriculum]. Beijing Normal University.

Ministry of Education. (2018a). The evaluation of the excellent PE teaching syllabus.

Ministry of Education. (2018b). *Jinzhi shangye guanggao shangye huodong jinru zhongxiao xuexiao he youeryuan de jinji tongzhi* [Forbid commercial information and activities in primary, secondary schools, and early childhood centers] (Publication No. 77). http://www.moe.gov.cn/srcsite/A06/s7053/201810/t20181012_351283.html

Ministry of Education, General Administration of Sport, & Beijing Organizing Committee for the Olympic Games. (2018). *The Olympic education plan for primary and secondary school students in Beijing 2022 Winter Olympics and Paralympics* (Publication No.10).

http://www.moe.gov.cn/srcsite/A17/moe_938/s3273/201802/t20180227_327878.html

Ministry of Education, & The temporary department for the management of Olympic Education. (2018). *The call for the Olympic mascot* (Publication No. 62). http://www.moe.gov.cn/srcsite/A17/s7059/201809/t20180912_348407.html

Mok, K. H., Wong, Y. C., & Zhang, X. (2009). When marketisation and privatisation clash with socialist ideals: Educational inequality in urban China. *International Journal of Educational Development, 29*(5), 505-512. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ijedudev.2009.04.011

Monnin, E. (2012). The Olympic Movement's strategy for the integration of the concept of Olympic education into the education system: The French example. *Educational review, 64*(3), 333-351. https://doi.org/10.1080/00131911.2012.689273

Motiejunaite, R. (2016). *Olympic education in Lithuanian universities* [Master's thesis, University of Peloponnese]. UC Research Repository. https://amitos.library.uop.gr/xmlui/bitstream/handle/123456789/4816/Motiejunaite-Ramune-Master's%20Thesis.pdf?sequence=1

Motion, J., & Leitch, S. (2007). A toolbox for public relations: The oeuvre of Michel Foucault. *Public Relations Review, 33*(3), 263-268. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.pubrev.2007.05.004

Mountain School. (2018, December, 16). *Di sijie dazhong bingxue beijing gongkai sai qidong yishi* [The opening ceremony of the 4th winter sports competitions for the public]. Mountain School official WeChat.

Mountakis, C. (2016). Olympic education in all Greek schools: Adoption and abandonment. *Acta Universitatis Carolinae: Kinanthropologica, 52*(2), 41-55. https://doi.org/10.14712/23366052.2016.10

Muckelbauer, J. (2000). On reading differently: Through Foucault's resistance. *College English, 63*(1), 71-94. https://doi.org/10.2307/379032

Muller, N. (Ed). (2000). *Pierre de Coubertin 1863-1937: Olympism, selected writings*. International Olympic Committee.

Muller, N. (2004). Olympic education. *The Sport Journal, 7*(1). https://thesportjournal.org/article/olympic-education/

Muller, N. (2008). Olympic education. In H. Ren, L. D. Costa, A. Miragaya & N. Jing (Eds.), *Vol. 1: Olympic studies reader* (pp. 305-322). Beijing Sport University.

Nanayakkara, S. V. (2012). *Olympism in practice: An evaluation of the effectiveness of an Olympism education programme to resolve conflicts between primary school students in Sri Lanka* [Doctoral thesis, University of Canterbury]. UC Research Repository. http://dx.doi.org/10.26021/9435

Naul, R. (2008). Olympic pedagogy as a theory of development of ethical and humanistic values in education. The 9th International Session for Directors of National Olympic Academies. (pp. 27-40). IOA. http://www.sportinfo.lt/dokumentai/periodiniai_leidiniai/sp_mokslas/SM_2008-3.pdf

Naul, R. (2014). The European Union and Olympism: "Coubertin Plan" and Youth Olympics. *Journal of Olympic History, 22*(2), 53-59. https://shorturl.at/inuS4

Naul, R., Binder, D., Rychtecky, A., & Culpan, I. (2017). *Olympic education: An international review*. Routledge.

Nelson, A. L., Macdonald, D., & Abbott, R. A. (2012). A risky business? Health and physical activity from the perspectives of urban Australian indigenous young people. *Health, Risk & Society, 14*(4), 325-340. https://doi.org/10.1080/13698575.2012.680949

Nealon, J. T. (2008). F*oucault beyond Foucault. Power and its intensifications since 1984.* Stanford University Press.

Niehaus, A. (2011). Spreading Olympism and the Olympic Movement in Japan: Interpreting "Universal" values. In W. W. Kelly & S. Brownell (Eds.), *The Olympics in East Asia: Nationalism, regionalism, and globalism on the center stage of world sports* (pp. 75-94*).* Council on East Asian Studies Yale University.

Nordhagen, S. E., & Fauske, H. (2018). The Youth Olympic Games as an arena for Olympic education: An evaluation of the school program, "Dream Day". *AUC Kinanthropological, 54*(2), 79-95. https://doi.org/10.14712/23366052.2018.7

Obayashi, T. (2015). *The early stage of Olympic education in Japan: "Olympic Kokumin-Undo" for the 1964 Tokyo Olympic Games* [Master's thesis, University of Peloponnese]. UC Research Repository. http://amitos.library.uop.gr/xmlui/bitstream/handle/123456789/4860/Obayashi%20Taro%20%CE%9C.%CE%94.%CE%95..pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y

O'Farrell, C. (2005). *Michel Foucault*. Sage.

O' Flynn, G. H. (2004). *Young women's meanings of health and physical activity: The body, schooling, and the discursive constitution of gendered and classed subjectivities* [Doctoral thesis, University of Wollongong]. UC Research Repository. https://ro.uow.edu.au/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?referer=https://scholar.google.com/&httpsredir=1&article=1226&context=theses

O' Leary, T. (2002). *Foucault and Art of Ethics*. Continuum.

O'Malley, P. (2009). Governmentality and risk. In J. O. Zinn (Ed.), *Social theories of risk and uncertainty: An introduction* (pp. 52-75). Blackwell.

O'Malley, P., Weir, L., & Shearing, C. (1997). Governmentality, criticism, politics. *Economy and Society*, *26*(4), 501-517. https://doi.org/10.1080/03085149700000026

Österlind, M., & Wright, J. (2014). If sport's the solution then what's the problem? The social significance of sport in the moral governing of 'good' and 'healthy' citizens in Sweden, 1922-1998. *Sport, Education and Society*, *19*(8), 973-990. https://doi.org/10.1080/13573322.2012.726217

Ouellette, L., & Hay, J. (2008). Makeover television, governmentality and the good citizen. *Continuum, 22*(4), 471-484. https://doi.org/10.1080/10304310801982930

Park, J. K. (2005). Governing doped bodies: The world anti-doping agency and the global culture of surveillance. *Cultural Studies & Critical Methodologies*, *5*(2), 174-188. https://doi.org/10.1177%2F1532708605274945

Parry, J. (1998). Physical education as Olympic education. *European Physical Education Review*, *4*(2), 153-167.

Parry, J. (2003). *Olympism for the 21st Century [Lecture]*. Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona. https://www.academia.edu/5207670/Olympism_for_the_21st_century

Parry, J. (2007). The religio-athletae, Olympism and peace. In J. Parry, S. Robinson, N. Watson & M. Nesti (Eds.), *Sport and spirituality: An introduction* (pp. 201-214). Routledge.

Parry, J. (2012). Olympic education and the Youth Olympic Games. *Acta Universitatis Carolinae: Kinanthropologica*, *48*(1), 90-98.

Patton, M. Q. (1990). *Qualitative evaluation and research methods* (2nd ed.). Sage.

Peck, J., Theodore, N., & Brenner, N. (2012). Neoliberalism resurgent? Market rule after the great recession. *South Atlantic Quarterly*, *111*(2), 265-288.

Peck, J., & Tickell, A. (2002). Neoliberalizing space. *Antipode*, *34*(3), 380-404. https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-8330.00247

Peck, J., & Zhang, J. (2013). A variety of capitalism… with Chinese characteristics? *Journal of Economic Geography*, *13*(3), 357-396. https://doi-org.ezproxy.auckland.ac.nz/10.1093/jeg/lbs058

Pei, D. G. (2008a). Olympic education in China. *Journal of Capital Institute of Physical Education*. *20*(3), 1-9.

Pei, D. G. (2008b, January). Olympic education programmes for the 2008 Beijing Olympic Games a collaboration of grassroots and government. In *Proceedings: International Symposium for Olympic Research* (pp. 534-547). International Centre for Olympic Studies.

Pei, D. G. (2009). *Aolinpike jiaoyu de lilun yu shijian: yi shoudu tiyu xueyuan aolinpike jiaoyu zhixing tuandui weilie* [Theory and practices activities during the Beijing Olympic Games: A review of the Olympic education promotion team in Capital Institute of Physical Education]. *Journal of Capital Institute of Physical Education*, *21*(4), 499-505.

Peneva, B. I. (2009). Functions of Olympic education in contemporary school. *Sport Science*, *2*(1), 31-34. https://www.sposci.com/PDFS/BR0201/SVEE/04%20CL%2004%20BP.pdf

Peng, L., & Ye, D. (2019, January 10). *Weixin huoyue yonghu yue 1.08 billion, meitian yong 45 billion weixin from WeChat* [There were about 1.08 billion WeChat active user and 45 billion messages were send out every day]. People's Daily Online. http://tc.people.com.cn/n1/2019/0110/c183008-30513620.html

Pereira, A. J. (Ed.) (2019). *Affective governmentality: Neoliberal education advertisements in Singapore*. Springer.

Perez, C. R., & Rubio, K. (2014). The understanding of Olympic values by Brazilian Olympic athletes. *International Journal of Humanities Social Sciences and Education*, *1*(12), 37-43.

Perry, E. J. (2015). Higher education and authoritarian resilience: The case of China, past and present. *Harvard-Yenching Institute Working Paper Series*.

Peters, M. A., & Besley, T. (2007). *Why Foucault?: New directions in educational research*. Peter Lang.

Petrie, K. (2017). Olympic/ism education: Does it have a place in Physical Education? *Diagoras: International Academic Journal on Olympic Studies*, *1*, 153-168. http://diagorasjournal.com/index.php/diagoras/article/view/12/8

Piccolo, G. (2020). *The Effects of Professional Athletes as Role Models on High School Students* [Master's thesis, SUNY Brockport]. UC Research Repository. https://digitalcommons.brockport.edu/pes_synthesis/111

Piggin, J., Jackson, S. J., & Lewis, M. (2009). Knowledge, power and politics: Contesting evidence-based national sport policy. *International Review for the Sociology of Sport*, *44*(1), 87-101. https://doi.org/10.1177%2F1012690209102825

Piggott, D. (2012). Coaches' experiences of formal coach education: A critical sociological investigation. *Sport, Education and Society*, *17*(4), 535-554. https://doi.org/10.1080/13573322.2011.608949

Pike, J. (2010). *An ethnographic study of lunchtime experiences in primary school dining rooms* [Doctoral thesis, University of Hull]. UC Research Repository. https://hydra.hull.ac.uk/resources/hull:3511

Pink, S. (2013). *Doing visual ethnography* (3rd ed.). Sage.

Pittarokoilis, G. (2012). *The implementation of the pilot program of Olympic education in Greek primary schools in 1999 and its impact in the subsequent implementation of curricula, of Olympic education and physical education in Greek schools* [Master's thesis, University of Peloponnese]. UC Research Repository. http://amitos.library.uop.gr/xmlui/bitstream/handle/123456789/4823/Pittarokoilis%20Georgios%20-%20Master%27s%20thesis.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y

Polletta, F., & Jasper, J. M. (2001). Collective identities and social movements. *Annual Rev. Sociology*, *27*, 283–305. https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev.soc.27.1.283

Powell, D. (2010). *'Running in Circles': Children's lessons in PE, fitness and fatness* [Master's dissertation, University of Auckland]. UC Research Repository. https://researchspace.auckland.ac.nz/handle/2292/6446

Powell, D. (2014). Childhood obesity, corporate philanthropy and the creeping privatisation of health education. *Critical Public Health*, *24*(2), 226-238. https://doi.org/10.1080/09581596.2013.846465

Powell, D. (2015). *"Part of the solution"?: Charities, corporate philanthropy and healthy lifestyles education in New Zealand primary schools* [Doctoral thesis, Charles Sturt University]. UC Research Repository. https://researchoutput.csu.edu.au/ws/portalfiles/portal/9316089/80326

Powell, D. (2020). Schools, corporations, and the war on childhood obesity: How corporate philanthropy shapes public health and education. *Routledge*.

Powell, D., & Fitzpatrick, K. (2015). 'Getting fit basically just means, like, non-fat': Children's lessons in fitness and fatness. *Sport, Education and Society*, *20*(4), 463-484. https://doi.org/10.1080/13573322.2013.777661

Preuss, H., Gemeinder, K., & Seguin, B. (2008). Ambush marketing in China: Counterbalancing Olympic sponsorship efforts. *Asian Business & Management, 7*(2), 243-263.

Pringle, R. (2003). *Doing the damage? : An examination of masculinities and men's rugby experiences of pain, fear and pleasure* [Doctoral Thesis, The University of Waikato]. The University of Waikato Research Commons. https://hdl.handle.net/10289/13244

Pringle, R. (2012). Debunking Olympic sized myths: Government investment in Olympism in the context of terror and the risk society. *Educational Review, 64*(3), 303-316. https://doi.org/10.1080/00131911.2012.671804

Pringle, R., & Markula, P. (2005). No pain is sane after all: A Foucauldian analysis of masculinities and men's rugby experiences of fear, pain, and pleasure. *Sociology of Sport Journal, 22(*4), 472-497. https://doi.org/10.1123/ssj.22.4.472

Pyykkönen, M. (2007). Integrating governmentality: Administrative expectations for immigrant associations in Finland. *Alternatives, 32*(2), 197-224. https://doi.org/10.1177%2F030437540703200203

Qianlong. (2016). *Walking into Zhangjiakou art associations to witness the combination between arts and winter Olympics*. [Online images]. Qianlong. http://sports.qianlong.com/2016/0804/794198_3.shtml

Qiu, R. (2007). *Aolinpike zhuyi de zhongguohua quanshi* [Explanation about the sinicization of Olympism]. *Journal of Sports and Science, 28*(2), 35-38.

Rabinow, P. (1984). *The Foucault Reader*. Pantheon Books.

Rabinow, P., & Rose, N. (2006). Biopower today. *BioSocieties, 1*(2), 195-217. https://doi.org/10.1017/S1745855206040014

Real, M. R. (2010). Who owns the Olympics? Political economy and critical moments in the modern games. In V. Girginov (Ed.). *The Olympics: A critical reader* (pp. 221-239). Routledge.

Ren, H. (2005). *Ao lin pi ke yun dong* [The Olympics]. People's Sports Publishing House.

Ren, H. (2007). Guoji aolinpike jiaoyu zhong de Beijing model—aolinpike jiaoyu yu kuawenhua chuanbo [Beijing Olympic education model—Olympic education and cross culture promotion]. *Jiaoyu kexue yanjiu*, *12*, 5-7.

Ren, H. (2010). *Neoliberalism and culture in China and Hong Kong: The countdown of time.* Routledge.

Ren, H. (2017). China: Olympic education in the context of the Beijing Olympic Games. In R. Naul, D. Binder, A. Rychtecky & I. Culpan (Eds.), *Olympic education*: *An international review* (pp. 119-129). Routledge.

Ren, Z. (2009). *Tiyu yuanxiao daxuesheng kaizhan aolinpike jiaoyu de xianzhuang diaocha yu duice yanjiu* [Research on the present status and resolution of the Olympic education for undergraduates in physical college]. [Master's thesis, DongBei Normal University]. CNKI.

Renminwang (2015, July 31). *A Summary of sports events that President Xi supported publicly*. http://politics.people.com.cn/n/2015/0731/c1024-27393247.html

Renmingwang (2017, February 25). *President Xi: Improving city planning and focusing on an excellent Winter Olympics in Beijing.* http://cpc.people.com.cn/n1/2017/0225/c64094-29106991.html

Rezende, A. L. (2008, July 1-30). *Olympic education experiences: The sponsorship role in the promotion of Olympic values* [Paper presentation]. The 16th International Seminar on Olympic Studies for Postgraduate Students, Athens, Greece. https://ddd.uab.cat/pub/worpap/2008/hdl_2072_9206/WP115_eng.pdf

Ritchie, J. R. B., & Aitken, E. C. (1984). Assessing the impacts of the 1988 Olympic Winter Games: The research program and initial results. *Journal of Travel Research, 22*(3), 17-25. https://doi.org/10.1177%2F004728758402200302

Roche, M. (2000). *Mega-events and modernity: Olympics and expos in the growth of global culture.* Routledge.

Rooney, D. (1997). A contextualising, socio-technical definition of technology: Learning from Ancient Greece and Foucault. *Prometheus*, *15*(3), 399-407. https://doi.org/10.1080/08109029708632084

Rose, A. K., & Spiegel, M. M. (2011). The Olympic effect. *The Economic Journal*, *121*(553), 652-677. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-0297.2010.02407.x

Rose, N. (1993). Government, authority and expertise in advanced liberalism. *Economy and Society*, *22*(3), 283-299. https://doi.org/10.1080/03085149300000019

Rose, N. (1999a). *Powers of freedom: Reframing political thought.* Cambridge University Press

Rose, N. (1999b). *Governing the soul: The shaping of the private self*. Routledge.

Rose, N., O'Malley, P., & Valverde, M. (2006). Governmentality. *Annu. Review of Law and Social Science, 29*, 83-104. https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev.lawsocsci.2.081805.105900

Ru, X. Y. (2008). *2008 Beijing Olympic education legacy.* Beijing Sport University Press.

Ru, X. Y. (2012). Beijing zhongxiaoxue aolinpike jiaoyu yichan yanjiu [Research on Legacies of Olympic education in primary and secondary schools in Beijing]. *Journal of Xi'an Physical Education University*, *29*(1), 107-111.

Rychtecky, A., & Dovalil, J. (2007, June 1-8). *The concept of Olympic Education in the Czech schools* [Paper presentation]. The 9th International Session for Directors of National Olympic Academies, Athens, Greece. http://ioa.org.gr/wp-content/uploads/2016/09/9th-international-session-for-directors-of-noas-37916-600-21-2007.pdf#page=156

Safari, H. R. (2012, September 1-30). Olympic education programme and effective factors on its implementation [Paper presentation]. In the 19th International Seminar on Olympic Studies for Postgraduate Students, Athens, Greece. http://ioa.org.gr/wp-content/uploads/2017/02/19th-postgraduate-seminar.pdf#page=211

Saltman, K. J. (2011). Introduction to the first edition. In K. J. Saltman & D. A. Gabbard (Eds.), *Education as enforcement: The militarization and corporatization of schools* (2nd ed., pp. 1-18). Routledge.

Sandel, M. J. (1998). *What money can't buy: The moral limits of markets* [PDF]. Brasenose College. https://bit.ly/3pB7RVw

Santos, A. L. P. D. (2018). The educational program of the Olympic Games—Rio 2016. *The International Journal of Sport and Society*, *9*(2), 19-35. http://doi.org/10.18848/2152-7857/CGP/v09i02/19-35

Saunders, D. B. (2010). Neoliberal ideology and public higher education in the United States. *Journal for Critical Education Policy Studies*, *8*(1), 41-77. http://www.jceps.com/wp-content/uploads/PDFs/08-1-02.pdf

Schirmer, E., & Apple, M. W. (2016). Democracy, Charter Schools, and the Politics of Choice. In The Charter School Solution. In T. L. Affolter & J. K. Donnor (Eds.), *The Charter School Solution: Distinguishing Fact from Rhetoric* (pp. 19-40). Routledge.

Schorr. K (2011, September 2-30). *"IOA: 50 years of Olympic education—future perspective". German influences on the activities of the IOA* [Students' paper]. The 18th International Session on Olympic Studies for Postgraduate Students. Athens, Greece. https://bit.ly/2MjBtYQ

Scofano, E. B. (2018). *The legacy of the Rio 2016 Olympic education programme: An evaluation of physical education classes in public schools of Rio de Janeiro* [Master's thesis, Seoul National University]. SNU Open Repository. http://hdl.handle.net/10371/144218

Seguin, B., Richelieu, A., & O'Reilly, N. (2008). Leveraging the Olympic brand through the reconciliation of corporate and consumers' brand perceptions. *International Journal of Sport Management and Marketing*, *3*(1-2), 3-22. https://doi.org/10.1504/IJSMM.2008.015958

Sha, A. P. (2011). How to define Olympic education in the 21st century. *ACC Journal*. 194-199. https://dspace.tul.cz/handle/15240/21188

Sheng, S. (2007, August 8). Fei aoyun zanzhushang fuji zhengguijun [Ambush marketing competing Olympic partners]. http://www.ceconline.com/sales_marketing/ma/8800049047/01/

Sigley, G. (2006). Chinese governmentalities: Government, governance and the socialist market economy. *Economy and Society*, *35*(4), 487-508. https://doi.org/10.1080/03085140600960773

Sina. (2006, August 15). *Aoyun zhishi guatu xiang quanguo zhongxiaoxue mianfei fafang* [Handing out Olympic education posters to primary and secondary schools for free]. Sina. http://news.sina.com.cn/c/2006-08-15/09159752855s.shtml

Sina. (2015, July 31). *Xi jinping luzhi shipin biaoda dui Beijing ban 2022 dongao zui jianding de zhichi* [President Xi made videos to support the bidding of the 2022 Olympics]. Sina. http://sports.sina.com.cn/others/winter/2015-07-31/doc-ifxfpcyu4987145.shtml

Smart, B. (2018). Consuming Olympism: Consumer culture, sport star sponsorship and the commercialisation of the Olympics. *Journal of Consumer Culture*, *18*(2), 241-260. https://doi.org/10.1177%2F1469540517747146

Smithson, J. (2000). Using and analysing focus groups: Limitations and possibilities. *International Journal of Social Research Methodology*, *3*(2), 103-119. https://doi.org/10.1080/136455700405172

Smith, A. C., & Westerbeek, H. M. (2007). Sport as a vehicle for deploying corporate social responsibility. *Journal of Corporate Citizenship*, *25*(1), 43-54. https://www.jstor.org/stable/jcorpciti.25.43

Sockett, T. (1984). The education agenda: A view to the future. *Irish Education Studies*, *4*(2), 1-20. https://doi.org/10.1080/0332331840040204

Song, X. (2008). *Beijingshi teshujiaoyu (longxiao) aolinpike jiaoyu de xianzhuang diaocha ji duiceyanjiu* [The survey and measures of Olympic education in Beijing Special Education Schools (Deaf schools)] [Master's thesis, Beijing Sport University]. CNKI.

Sparkes, A. C. (1995). Writing people: Reflections on the dual crises of representation and legitimation in qualitative inquiry. *Quest*, *47*(2), 158-195. https://doi.org/10.1080/00336297.1995.10484151

Sparkes, A. C. (1996). The fatal flaw: A narrative of the fragile body-self. *Qualitative Inquiry*, *2*(4), 463-495. https://doi.org/10.1177%2F107780049600200405

Sparkes, A. C. (2002). *Telling tales in sport and physical activity: A qualitative journey.* Human Kinetics Publisher.

Sparkes, A. C., & Smith, B. (2013*). Qualitative research methods in sport, exercise and health: From process to product*. Routledge.

Sperka, L. (2020). (Re)defining outsourcing in education. *Discourse: Studies in the Cultural Politics of Education, 41*(2), 268-280. https://doi.org/10.1080/01596306.2020.1722429

Stauff, M. (2010). The governmentality of media: Television as 'problem' and 'instrument.' In L. Jäger, E. Linz, & I. Schneider (Eds.), *Media, culture and mediality: New insights into the current state of research* (pp. 263-283). Majuskel Medienproduktion, GmbH.

Stevens, S. R. S. (2011). *Olympism practised through sport: An insight from youth* [Master's thesis, University of Canterbury]. UC Research Repository. http://hdl.handle.net/10092/5806

Sukys, S., & Majauskiene, D. (2013). The attitude towards Olympism values of pupils in schools implementing and not implementing integrated Olympic education. *Baltic Journal of Sport and Health Sciences*, *4*(91), 46-52. https://doi.org/10.33607/bjshs.v4i91.179

Sukys, S., & Majauskiene, D. (2014). Effects of an integrated Olympic education program on adolescent athletes' values and sport behavior. *Social Behavior and Personality: An International Journal*, *42*(5), 811-821. https://doi.org/10.2224/sbp.2014.42.5.811

Sukys, S., Majauskiene, D., & Dumciene, A. (2017). The effects of a three-year integrated Olympic education programme on adolescents' prosocial behaviours. *European journal of sport science*, *17*(3), 335-342. https://doi.org/10.1080/17461391.2016.1254280

Sun, Y, J., Zhu, G. H., & Zhao, X. M. (2019). Beijingshi zhongxiaoxue bingxue yundong kaizhan duice yanjiu [The strategies to develop winter sports in primary and secondary schools in Beijing]. *Tiyu jiaoxue* [Physical education teaching], *3*, 61-62.

Taylor, W. G., Piper, H., & Garratt, D. (2016). Sports coaches as 'dangerous individuals'—practice as governmentality. *Sport, Education and Society*, *21*(2), 183-199. https://doi.org/10.1080/13573322.2014.899492

Tazzioli, M., & Walters, W. (2016). The sight of migration: Governmentality, visibility and Europe's contested borders. *Global society*, *30*(3), 445-464. https://doi.org/10.1080/13600826.2016.1173018

Teetzel, S. J. (2012). Optimizing Olympic education: A comprehensive approach to understanding and teaching the philosophy of Olympism. *Educational Review*, *64*(3), 317-332. https://doi.org/10.1080/00131911.2012.688729

Thanem, T. (2009). 'There's no limit to how much you can consume': The new public health and the struggle to manage healthy bodies. *Culture and organization*, *15*(1), 59-74. https://doi.org/10.1080/14759550802709558

The Bank of China (2018, March 27). *The Bank of China issued 'Winter Olympics winter sp*orts plan'. The Bank of China. http://www.boc.cn/aboutboc/bi1/201803/t20180327_11829708.html

The Floor X Association. (n.d.). The *introduction of the sport.*

Thomas, J. (1993). *Doing critical ethnography*. Sage.

Thorn, S. A. (2010). *Olympism Education: Teaching and learning Olympism in a New Zealand secondary physical education programme* [Master's thesis, University of Canterbury]. UC Research Repository. http://hdl.handle.net/10092/4537

Tims, C. (2017). Involving schools, Get Set—a model for a more open approach to Olympic education? In V. Girginov (Ed.). *Handbook of the London 2012 Olympic and Paralympic Games, volume one: Making the Games* (pp. 174-184). Routledge.

Tokyo 2020 (n.d.). *About Tokyo 2020 education programme*. The Tokyo Organising Committee of the Olympic and Paralympic Games. https://education.tokyo2020.org/en/about/

Toohey, K., Crawford, S., & Halbwirth, S. (2000). Sydney's Olympic legacy and educational resources. *Orana*, *36*, 14-20.

Toohey, K., & Veal, A. (2007). *The Olympic Games: A social science perspective* (2nd ed.). CABI.

Tong, Y. Y., & Liu, X. M. (2013). Qingjingrenzhi yu xuexi lilun xia de dongji aolinpike jiaoyu yanjiu [A study on Winter Olympic education based upon situated cognition and learning theory]. *Ice and Snow Sport, 35*(6), 53-57.

Tricoglus, G. (2001). Living the theoretical principles of critical ethnography' in educational research. *Educational Action Research*, *9*(1), 135-148. https://doi.org/10.1080/09650790100200146

Tu. C. F (2004). *Qian xi jia na da ao lin pi ke jiao yu ji hua* [The Olympic education programmes in Canada]. Journal of Sports Culture and Guide, *8*, 61-62.

Turner, V. W., & Schechner, R. (1988). *The anthropology of performance.* PAJ Publications.

Voolaid, K. (2013). School Olympics in Estonia: New chance of life for traditional sports and games? *Folklore-electronic Journal of Folklore*, (54), 137-146. https://www.ceeol.com/search/article-detail?id=53879

Walters, W., & Haahr, J. H. (2005). *Governing Europe: Discourse, governmentality and European integration.* Routledge.

Wamsley, K. (2004). Laying Olympism to rest. In J. Bale & M. Christensen (Eds.), *Post-Olympism: Questioning sport in the twenty-first century* (pp. 231-240). Berg Publishers.

Wang, G. Z. (2001). *Putong gaoxiao kaizhan aolinpike sixiang tixi jiaoyu de sikao* [The cogitation upon education with Olympic system thought for undergraduates in university]. *Journal of Physical Education, 8*(2), 76-77.

Wang, J. (2007). *Aolinpike jiaoyu yu shenghuo fangshi de gaishan* [Olympic education and lifestyle]. *Sport Cultural Guide, 8*, 44-45.

Wang, X. (2010). *Education in China since 1976*. McFarland.

Wang, Y., & Masumoto, N. (2009). Olympic education at model schools for the 2008 Beijing Olympic Games. *International Journal of Sport and Health Science, 7*, 31-41. https://doi.org/10.5432/ijshs.IJSHS20085001

Wang, Z. (2012). *Never forget national humiliation: Historical memory in Chinese politics and foreign relations*. Columbia University Press.

Wasserman, D. (2008). Performance-enhancing technologies and the values of athletic competition. *Philosophy and Public Policy Quarterly, 28*(3/4), 22-27. http://dx.doi.org/10.13021/G8pppq.282008.116

Wassong, S. (2006). Olympic education: Fundamentals, success and failures. In N. Crother, R. Barney & M. Heine (Eds.), *Cultural imperialism in action: Critiques in the global Olympic trust* (pp. 220-229). University of Western Ontario.

Wedekind, J. (2008). The commercial Games: Selling off the Olympic ideals. *Multinational Monitor*, *29*(2), 47-53.

Weedon, C. (1997). *Feminist practice and poststructuralist theory* (2nd ed.). Blackwell.

Weidner, J. R. (2010*). Globalizing governmentality: Sites of neoliberal assemblage in the Americas* [Doctoral thesis, Florida International University]. FIU Electronic These and Dissertations. https://digitalcommons.fiu.edu/etd/258

Weixian paper cut. (2018). *Wenn Weixian paper cut met the 2022 Winter Olympics.* [Online image]. Nuanquan. https://nuanquan.net/jianzhi/2526.html

Wei, G. H., Zhang, H. K., & Chang, X. G. (2010). *Haerbingshi putong gaozhong xuesheng shenti sushi zhuangkong de bijiao yanjiu* [Comparative Study of Physical Conditions between General High and Emphasis High Schools Students in Harbin]. *Journal of Harbin Institute of Physical Education, 2*, 118-120.

Wenn, S. R., & Martyn, S. G. (2006). 'Tough Love': Richard Pound, David D'Alessandro, and the Salt Lake City Olympics Bid Scandal. *Sport in History*, *26*(01), 64-90. https://doi.org/10.1080/17460260600661257

Westpac. (2000, February 26). *Westpac helps to bring the Olympics o Australian communities*. Westpac. https://www.westpac.com.au/about-westpac/media/media-releases/2020/26-february/

Wickman, K. (2011). The governance of sport, gender and (dis) ability. *International Journal of Sport Policy and Politics, 3*(3), 385-399. https://doi.org/10.1080/19406940.2011.596159

Williams, B. J., & Macdonald, D. (2015). Explaining outsourcing in health, sport and physical education. *Sport, Education and Society, 20*(1), 57-72. https://doi.org/10.1080/13573322.2014.914902

Williams, B. J., Hay, P. J., & Macdonald, D. (2011). The outsourcing of health, sport and physical educational work: A state of play. *Physical Education and Sport Pedagogy, 16*(4), 399-415. https://doi.org/10.1080/17408989.2011.582492

Willig, C. (2008). *Introducing qualitative research in psychology* (2nd ed.). Open University Press.

Willis, J. W., Jost, M., & Nilakanta, R. (2007). *Foundations of qualitative research: Interpretive and critical approaches.* Sage.

Wright, J. (2004). Post-structural methodologies: The body, schooling and health. In J. Evans, B. Davies & J. Wright (Eds.), *Body knowledge and control: Studies in the sociology of physical education and health* (pp. 19-31). Routledge.

Wright, J. (2006). Physical education research from postmodern, poststructural and postcolonial perspectives. In D. Kirk, D. Macdonald & M. O'Sullivan (Eds.), *The handbook of physical education* (pp. 59-75). Sage.

Wu, X. X. (2013). *School choice in China: A different tale?* Routledge.

Xiao, L. P. (2018, October, 31). *The hegemonic time of red tape is gone.* BJNEWS. http://www.bjnews.com.cn/opinion/2018/10/31/516491.html

Xie, G. Q. (2004). *Lun aolinpike jiaoyu--yi gu xila aolinpike jiaoyu wei fanben* [Olympic education--referencing Olympic education in ancient Greece]. *Journal of Wuxi Education College, 24(4), 51-54.*

Xinhua News. (2017, January 23). *The President Xi visited Zhangjikou for the 2022 preparation*. Xinhua News. http://www.xinhuanet.com//photo/2017-01/23/c_1120370891_5.htm

Xiong, D. Y. (2005). Lun aolinpike jiaoyu [A study on the Olympic education]. *Journal of Jilin Institute of Physical Education, 21*(1), 1-4.

Xiong, X. Z., & Liu, Y. Y. (2008). *Aolinpike jiaoyu yu qingshaonian renge peiyang* [Olympic education and teenagers' personality cultivation]. *Journal of Physical Education, 15*(1), *5-8.*

Xu, C. F., & Jing, G. H. (2000). *Xiandai aolinpike yundong de wenhua xianxiang yu zhongguo tiyu de fazhan zhanlue* [The cultural phenomenon of the modern Olympic movement and the China sport]. *Journal of Wuhan Institute of Physical Education, 34*(1), 11-13.

Xu, H. T., & Liu, X.Y. (2016). D*ongaohui beijing xia guanyu hebeisheng gaoxiao kaizhan aolinpikejiaoyu desikao* [Olympic education implementation in higher education in Hebei province under the 2022 Olympics]. *Shanxi Youth, 8,* 29-30.

Xu, X. (2007). The political purpose of Taiwan rejected the Olympic flame. *Learning Monthly, 11,* 36-37.

Ye, W. W., & Xiao, T. F. (2004). Pu ji ao lin pi jiao yu de wen ti ji dui ce—zhong guo nong cun ao lin pi ke jiao yu [The problem of Olympic education in Chinese suburb areas]. *Journal of Zhangnan Normal University*, (3), 59-61.

Yili. ((n.d.). *Wonderful cooperation*. Yili. http://www.yili.com/cms/rest/reception/articles/list?categoryId=29

Yili. (2019, January 7). *Xiangban aoyun 14 nian* [Companying Olympics 14 years]. Yili. http://www.yili.com/cms/rest/reception/articles/show?id=52

You, Y. (2007). A deep reflection on the "key school system" in basic education in China. *Frontiers of Education in China, 2*(2), 229-239.

Youdell, D. (2011). *School trouble: Identity, power and politics in education*. Routledge.

Yu, J, G., & Ni, C. Y. (2012). Chuanmei aolinpike jiaoyu shiyu xianxiang pouxi [The silence of Olympic education in media]. *Xinwen yu Chuanbo yanjiu, 9*, 1-3.

Yu, S. M. (2004). *Lun aolinpike jiaoyu de chuangxin yu fazhan* [Innovation and development of Olympic education]. *Sports Sciences Research, 8*(2), 51-54.

Zeng, C. Y., & Liu, W. (2007, July 28). *Feiaoyun zanzhushang de beijingshi yingxiaoshu* [Non-Olympic sponsors' ambush marketing]. Zhixie. http://www.mie168.com/marketing/2007-07/261580.htm

Zhang, L. (2008). *Ao lin pi ke jiao yu yu zhong xiao xue ti yu fa zhan—yi Beijing ao lin pi ke jiao yu shi jian wei shi yu* [The relationship between Olympic education and the development of primary and secondary school]. [Doctoral thesis, Beijing Sport University]. CNKI.

Zhang, L., & Zhao, S. X. (2009). City branding and the Olympic effect: A case study of Beijing. *Cities, 26*(5), 245-254. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.cities.2009.05.002

Zhang, C. (2018). Governing neoliberal authoritarian citizenship: Theorizing hukou and the changing mobility regime in China. *Citizenship Studies, 22*(8), 855-881. https://doi.org/10.1080/13621025.2018.1531824

Zhang, W., & Bray, M. (2017). Micro-neoliberalism in China: Public-private interactions at the confluence of mainstream and shadow education. *Journal of Education Policy, 32*(1), 63-81. https://doi.org/10.1080/02680939.2016.1219769

Zhao, A. J. (2011). Hongtou wenjian de neihan jiqi jieding [The nature and scope of the red tape document]. *Journal of Taishan Township Enterprise Workers University, 18*(2), 13-15.

Zhao, L. (2005). *Tiyu gailun* [Sport theories]. People's Sports Publishing House.

Zhao, L. B. (2007). *Lun zhongguo de shiye danwei jiqi gaige* [Enterprise and its reforms in China]. *Journal of the Party School of the Central Committee, 11*(5), 78-83.

Zhao, S., Bai, C. Y., & Wei, B. (2016). *Xiandai aolinpike yundong jiaoyun sixiang de lishi yanbian yu dangdai fazhan* [The historical evolution and contemporary

development of the educational thoughts of the modern Olympic Games]. *Journal of Chengdu Sport University, 42*(2), 27-31.

Zhongguowang. (2008, October 16). *The uncrowned king on the Olympics.* Chinanews. http://www.china.com.cn/news/txt/2008-08/26/content_16336757.htm

Zhongxinwang. (2016, March 20). *The meaning of the 2022 Olympics for President Xi.* Chinanews. http://www.chinanews.com/gn/2016/03-20/7804035.shtml

Zhou, L. P. (2011). *Wo guo zhong xiao xue ao lin pi jiao yu jia zhi shi xian de yan jiu* [The values of Olympic education in China]. [Doctoral thesis, Nanjing Normal University]. CNKI.

Zhou, M. X. (2008). *Houaoyun shidai woguo qingshaonian aolinpike jiaoyu* [Young people's Olympic education after the 2008 Olympics in China]. *Education Research, 12*, 15-17.

Zhu, X. G. (2006). *Jiceng zhengfu jian de gongmou xianxiang* [The cooperation between local state organisations]. *Social Research, 6*, 2-21.

Zhu, X. M. (2007). *Aoyun yingxiao* [The Olympic marketing]. People's Education Press.

Zhou, Y., & Ap, J. (2009). Residents' perceptions towards the impacts of the Beijing 2008 Olympic Games. *Journal of Travel Research, 48*(1), 78-91. https://doi.org/10.1177%2F0047287508328792

Zou, W. J., & Shao, S. (2019). *Dangqian woguo xiaoyuan bingxue yundong kaizhan qingkuang ji zhengce jianyi* [The implementation of school winter sports and related advice]. *People's Education, 12*, 52-53.