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**THE TRANSITION OF THE OLYMPIC CITY FROM VISUAL
REPRESENTATIONS OF COUBERTIN'S MODERN IDEAL TO CITY
REPRESENTATIONS AS FASHIONABLE IMAGES**

**(THE TRANSITIONAL ROLE OF OLYMPIC DESIGN AND ARCHITECTURE IN THE
REPRESENTATION OF THE OLYMPIC CITY'S VISUAL IDENTITY FROM THE MODERN
TO THE POSTMODERN ERA)**

by

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Thesis submitted to the Edinburgh College of Art in fulfilment
of the requirements of the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

14-09-2011

I declare that this thesis has been composed by myself, Stephany Tzanoudaki, and it is my own work. The work has not been submitted for any other degree or professional qualification except as specified. The thesis' appendix includes four papers, composed by myself and published by other institutions, which have been reproduced with the permission of the publishers.

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'Stephany Tzanoudaki', with a long horizontal flourish extending to the right.

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ABSTRACT

This thesis focuses on the visual representation of the Olympic city, the city that hosts the Summer Olympic Games, reflecting the city's urban, cultural and social identity. The study is based on the assumption that what is visually experienced as an Olympic city is not a mirror representation of its urban and social condition, but a constructed identity of it. The main argument of this thesis is that the Olympic city always had a representational role to play, with a choice about which picture of its reality should be shown and which should be hidden. The thesis also analyses the role of design and architecture in the visual representation of the Olympic city and in the creation of an identity – a visual identity for it. It argues that this identity often reflects an eclectic, idealised or fashionable image of the host city.

The Olympic city is an idea that developed from Pierre De Coubertin's modern ideals in relation to the Olympic Games revival; he wished to create a cross-cultural event by offering the opportunity to host the Games to different cities. Another core argument of this thesis is that the Olympic city as a visual representation has a transitional character. It has changed from representing Coubertin's modern ideals, often identified with cities' and nations' utopian plans towards modern development (modern era), to represent cities as fashionable images that can be visually consumed and branded on a global scale (postmodern era). The examination of the Olympic city's transitional character as a visual representation aims for a better understanding of the role in the design and architecture in the Olympic city project, considering the social practices and effects of their role, visually representing the urban space, the culture and society of the host city.

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PREFACE

My interest in this particular subject, involving the analysis of design and architectural proposals for the Olympic city, derives from an earlier MPhil study, completed in 2001 (see section 3.1.2). My PhD research gave me the chance to further my investigation in this subject and focus on the role of Olympic design and architecture and the analysis of the material that describes the aesthetic character and language of host cities. By writing this thesis, I have connected, the Olympic city subject with critical theory involving issues of modern cities' changing urban, social and cultural identities, reflected in their represented image, and I have also used methods of visual analysis.

Within the course of the last ten years of my research in this field, I realised that there is a research gap in the investigation of the visual identity of different Olympic cities. This research gap consists of a lack of research that attempts a critical review of the role of Olympic architecture and design since the first Summer Olympic Games in Athens 1896 and also a lack of examination and critical analysis of the visual (and descriptive) material available in the Olympic cities' archives. More specifically, this analysis involves questions about:

- the production of a 'visual identity' (i.e. information about the producer of this identity, the design criteria and influences, such as technological and ideological);
- the relationship of this identity with the surrounding urban, social and cultural environment: 'what knowledge is being deployed and whose knowledge is excluded from this representation' (Rose, 2007, p.259);

- the changes in how this identity is communicated and perceived (changes in the audience, in the perception of the event as a spectacle, in media and in the means of communication involved).

My research journey, from the gathering of the necessary material to the writing up of this thesis, has involved a historical review of archives from different sources (libraries, organising committees and the press). It has also involved a review of theories that facilitated the interpretation of the Olympic city development as a visual identity, placed within a historical and socio-cultural context. Methodologically, therefore, this study is a synthesis based on both the gathering of secondary data and also critical theory on art, design and architecture and on cities' urban and social development. The work of the following researchers has been especially useful in exploring many of the thesis' arguments: theorists such as Walter Benjamin and Ernst Bloch who are concerned with the modern city development; David Harvey, Fredric Jameson, Jean Baudrillard and Zygmunt Bauman, who examine the transformations in twentieth century social and cultural conditions (modernism and postmodernism); and also Sharon Zukin, Kevin Robins, and Anna Klingmann, who examine the social and cultural transformations in contemporary urban development.

In this study, I also focus on the idea of transition and, therefore, on Olympic city examples that have made an immense effort to create a visual identity or alter the ways that people visually experienced them. I have been particularly interested in case studies that, with their design and architectural ideas and the ways they visually communicated the identity of a place, contributed to the transition of the Olympic city in its development as a visual identity. I suggest that, in addition to the examination of the Olympic city development as an urban plan (changing in size and scale and engaging with new technologies) and also as an international event (emerging to a mega-event), there is another type of development in Olympic design and architecture that is worth exploring, that of the Olympic city as a visual identity.

The original ideas in this thesis have to do with the development of the Olympic city as a visual identity and, therefore, with:

- the analysis of visual material (photographs, maps, plans, pictures from the press and posters) and written material (from the Official Olympic reviews, the press, books, letters and speeches) having to do with Olympic cities since the Summer Olympic Games in Athens 1896.
- the analysis of this material by interpreting the characteristics (design criteria, and priorities, who takes decisions and who is the image maker) behind each Olympic city's design and architecture proposals. This analysis considers the promoted urban, social and cultural profile of the host city, but also considers any alternative (different from the represented) urban, social and cultural identity of the host city.
- the selection of examples from the Olympic cities' visual identities that best represent the Olympic city as a transition from the modern to the postmodern era, based on characteristics from these visual identities that have faded, altered or been abolished and also characteristics that have been emphasised and promoted. Many of these characteristics changed the contemporary shape and represented profile not only of Olympic cities but also of cities in general.
- the critical analysis of the role of design and architecture in the representation of an Olympic city, reflected in the characteristics of its visual identity.

CHAPTER 1 – Introduction

1.1. Thematic Area and Key Arguments

1.1.1 The Research Subject

This study focuses on the role of design and architecture in the visual representation of the Olympic city, the host city of the Summer Olympic Games. It starts from the premise that the Olympic city is situated between two distinct visual and cultural imageries, the actual and the one that represents it. My main argument is that, far from being a reflection of the city's urban, cultural and social identities, the visual experience of the Olympic city is a construct, designed to historically represent contingent and increasingly more marketable versions of the Olympic ideal. These versions are informed by marketing and place promotion strategies. I argue that the juxtaposition of two distinct urban realities within the host city, the actual reality and the reality that reflects the ambitions of how the city should be exhibited (and consumed) as a representation of its idealised identity, has often been ignored.

In my study, I recognise the Summer Olympic Games, not only as a mega and cross-cultural event, but more importantly as a visual event, where there is a lot of material to explore by analysing its 'visuality'¹ and describing the 'ways in which vision is constructed in various ways' (Rose, 2007, p.2). I define a 'visual identity' of the Olympic city as the visual elements that contribute to its representation as an urban, cultural and social condition and that reflect the ambitions of how it should be exhibited and perceived by others.

¹ According to Foster: 'vision suggests sight as a physical operation, and visuality sight as a social effect' (1988, p.ix). He also claims that visuality refers to 'how we see, how we are able, allowed, or made to see, and how we see this seeing and the unseeing therein' (1988, p.ix). This term has been used frequently in the thesis referring to 'the ways in which both what is seen and how it is seen are culturally constructed' (Rose, 2007, p.2), emphasising that what we visually experience as a place is not a mirror representation of it, but a constructed identity of its urban and social conditions.

According to Bailey and Hall: 'Identities are positional in relation to the discourses around us. That is why the notion of representation is so important –identity can only be articulated as a set of representations' (1992, cited in Lister and Wells, 2001, p.86). I similarly argue that with the creation of a visual identity an Olympic city brings together a set of representations of its culture and society. This identity also reflects the positions (e.g. of governments, organising bodies), in relation to discourses around the current and future urban, social and cultural conditions and development of the city.

I, therefore, also examine the Olympic city as a 'constructed identity'², with an emphasis on these Olympic city examples that have made an immense effort to conceptually construct and visually communicate their desired visual identity of the host city. My study is particularly interested in the examination of examples that, through this (desired or represented) identity, often aimed at promoting some aspects of the host city's urban, social and cultural life over other aspects. This study is based on information sourced from texts, descriptions, plans and maps, photographs from the Olympic sites and the city's public spaces involved in festivities, but also from photographs and graphic design elements from the event's promotional, commercial and advertising campaigns.

The interest in this subject of study derives from various considerations that are listed below:

Firstly, the Olympic city was founded as a place, in an effort to represent an ideal picture of society and humanity something that makes the study of the

² This term has been also used by other researchers. De Moragas, et al. use this term to describe the experience of the Olympic Games as a televised image, arguing that: 'The Olympics as a television event is very much a constructed reality where –virtually all is controlled except the moments of athletic endeavour' (1996, p.32). I use this term to describe the Olympic city as a visual experience, not necessarily through television, but also other media (e.g. photography, posters, maps, advertisement), even the planning and structure of an Olympic site, where architecture becomes a medium itself and our visual experience is controlled.

Olympic city a special case. This effort is connected with the founder of the 'Modern Olympic Games', the French humanist Baron Pierre de Coubertin and his modern ideals regarding the revival of the Olympic Games that resulted in the organisation of the Summer Olympic Games at the end of the nineteenth century. Coubertin (1910), whose vision, stemming from the ancient Olympic ideal, wished to give to the Games a cross-cultural character by offering the opportunity to different countries to host the Games, claimed: 'A place is suitable for the organisation of the Olympic festival when it is inspired both by internationalism and cultural diversification, without though tending towards something homogenous and identical' (Müller, 1987, p.183).

At the end of the nineteenth century, Coubertin entrusted cities, and not countries, to host the Summer Olympic Games, in the celebration of what he called 'the great quadrennial festival of the human springtime' (Müller, 2000, p.44). The connection of the Olympic city with the effort to represent an ideal picture of society and humanity is found in Coubertin's wish to transfer his modern ideals into the urban and social reality of different cities, especially in the first Olympic Games. The Olympic city was a modern ideal open to interpretation, without any connection to specific design or architectural plans. However, it was the place that with its visual identity (and its exhibited picture of its urban reality) would also represent the identity of the host nation and the host culture and society.

A second consideration refers to the opportunity that the Olympic city project offers to visually represent a selected aspect of the city's urban, social and cultural identities. According to Banks, 'the key point, in the case of visual representation, is that the thing seen - the representation- is a thing in its own right, not merely a substitute for the thing unseen, the thing represented' (Banks, 2007, p.15). In other words, the comparison between the represented and the representation becomes a particular interesting subject, revealing how unseen elements (the represented) become exposed and communicated to the eyes of the viewer. For this reason, in my examination

of the Olympic city, in addition to the characteristics of the 'represented', I focus on the criteria chosen for the composition of a certain visual identity, together with the means and the design procedures that lead to it. A major part of this consideration involves the changing role of the design and architecture for the Olympic city, together with the criteria and means used for the creation of a visual identity to represent it.

I believe it is important to identify two distinct eras in the development of the Olympic city as a visual event and identity: first, the modern era in which the role of design and architecture is to represent both the host city's and nation's ambitions towards modern development and second, the postmodern era in which host cities and nations engage with place promotion strategies for the display of a fashionable image of the host city. In my definition of the Olympic City turning into a fashionable image, I argue that the Olympic city has turned into a sellable, real size 'postcard image' (Giovannini, 2001, cited in Klingmann, 2007, p.238), based on methods of effective display, branding, and attraction of new customers from all around the world. By image, I do not only refer to means of representing reality, but also to ways of altering reality; to construct an Olympic city narrative based on a theme that often has nothing to do with the characteristics of the host city's urban or cultural identities.

According to Rogoff, 'in today's world meanings circulate visually, in addition to orally and textually' (1998, p.15). Mirzoeff also relates the postmodern with the development of visual culture, arguing that 'visual culture is new precisely because of its focus on the visual as a place where meanings are created and contested' (1999, p.6). I similarly argue that the Olympic city has become a visual event based on effects that can alter reality and adjust changes according to pre-determined image narratives. For this reason, the Olympic city, in its examination in the postmodern era, is analysed as a constructed identity, in order to highlight the increased marketing and image making possibilities involved in place promotion strategies.

The increasing possibilities of image making do not necessarily mean that the Olympic city, in the postmodern era, developed a more powerful role in the representation of the host city's social and cultural identity. On the other hand, the Berlin 1936 Olympic city, examined as an example of the modern era, developed one of the most powerful visual identities in order to reflect the ambitious ideas of Nazi ideology, using in a very effective way the available means and media of the time. However, although the focus of this study is not to historicise the available visual means and methods in the transition of the Olympic city from the modern to the postmodern era, it is important to understand how the increase of the visual means and technology (from graphic arts to television and the internet) to represent a place helped in the construction of a visual identity that can be more illusionary.

This illusionary identity creates a difficulty in realising what is real and what is not in our visual perception of a place, as the 'modern connection between seeing and knowledge is stretched to a breaking point in postmodernity' (Rose, 2007, p. 4). Following Kevin Robins statement that: 'if city cultures cannot be re-imagined then perhaps they can be re-imaged' (Carter, et al., 1993, p.303), I also argue that today the Olympic city's role as a representation of social and cultural ideas and values is based on architecture and design reconciling with aspects related to fashion, place imaging and marketing.

In my thesis, I argue that in the context of globalisation and postmodern culture, the role of design and architecture, involved in Olympic city projects, has converged with strategies of place imaging and brandscaping. It is important to understand how the easiness of representing an Olympic city, based on pre-fabricated meanings and stylised visual imageries, structures new ways that people (citizens and visitors) use and perceive the city. This easiness of designing, promoting and building a new identity for the city and

often an entire new part of the city, within a seven-year period from winning the candidature to the celebration of the Games, is also what has given a new meaning to the role of the Olympic city today.

This leads to the third and most important consideration of the thesis which is the analysis of the meaning of transition from the modern to the postmodern era in the Olympic city design and, together with it, the design criteria, the means and the involved agencies in the representation of the Olympic city as a pole of attraction. This consideration refers to the ways that the creation of a visual identity plays an important role in the characterisation of an Olympic city as a successful example. This consideration also involves how the criteria of characterising an Olympic city as a successful example have changed from the modern to the postmodern era.

For example, I argue that in the modern era a successfully represented Olympic city could be mainly based on its promoted social ideals and plans (often utopian) for social progress and urban development. These plans often reflected the nation's political motives, but also views about which style or design language would best represent the nation's plans for modern development. In the examination of the visual identity of the Olympic city of Berlin 1936, examined as the highest point of the Olympic city modern representation, I argue that the emphasis in the creation of a visual identity (from the architecture to the advertisement involved) was on the leader (the governor, the representative of a regime).

On the other hand, in examples belonging to the postmodern era of examination, such as Barcelona 1992, I argue that the emphasis is on the city's representation as a fashionable and contemporary image, based on methods of effective display and global branding. Therefore, in the postmodern era, a successful example is based on global effect, looking for representational vehicles in design and architecture to sell a fashionable and

contemporary image of the city, often by hiring eponymous architects of global fame, to design for an Olympic city .

In postmodern culture, 'an image involves how it positions its viewer in relation to it' (Rose, 2007, p.10). In the examination of the Olympic city in the postmodern era, the selected visual identity and aesthetic language to represent the Olympic city reflects the motives of a global economy and the response of the global viewer. The creation of a visual identity refers to 'the intentional organisation of information' (Banks, 2007, p.14) presented within an image, representing the city, 'by considering the image as a node or a channel in a network of human social relations' (Banks, 2007, p.14). Although often there are examples of connecting the identity of the Olympic city with the producer of the image, especially if this is related to a brand or a well-known designer, the emphasis is on the audience: what the global audience would see as successful. Therefore, in the creation of a successful Olympic city identity, the focus is on the incorporation of images into a global culture and globally familiar symbols, associated with the contemporary and the fashionable.

Today's Olympic city visual identity is constructed to attract a global audience that mediates its impact based on its image consequences. Representing a society and culture through the Olympic city identity has become part of the mega-event motives and strategies. 'A mega-event is not only about showing off the city to the rest of the world but also about putting the global on show for the locals' (Horne and Manzenreiter, 2006, p.13). The visual identity that represents the Olympic city affects the perception of the local community which experiences the creation of an identity made for global viewing. Therefore, the Olympic city as an image can have effects, setting certain rules for the ways that a local community should be perceived by others. In this case, the Olympic city as a visual representation not only 'is a thing in its own right', but affects, often negatively, the identity of the 'represented',

which is the city in its everyday reality and parts of the city that have not been selected to be framed for display.

1.1.2 Aims and Objectives

The basic objective of my study is, through the analysis of different Olympic city examples, to investigate how there is often much more to see behind the Olympic city's visual identity, whether this is through visual interpretations connected to the architecture of the city or the promotional identity of the city or through an advertisement found in a tourist brochure. A working premise for this thesis, supported by a range of images that represent different Olympic city cases, is to show that the 'site of the image' (Rose, 2007, p.19), what we envision as an Olympic city in its represented way, is often very different from what the image represents, the Olympic city as the 'site of production' (Rose, 2007, p.14). The distinction between examples from the modern era and the postmodern era will help in understanding that: in the modern era, the Olympic city as the 'site of the image' was often connected with utopian ideas in an ambitious plan, promising betterment in life, whereas in the postmodern era, it is identified with impressive images, illusionary in their appeal, offering temporary excitement and spectacle.

The following questions respond to the main aims and objectives addressed in the thesis :

- How can the analysis of the Olympic city's visual identity help us interpret the visual characteristics and understand the criteria and scope in the visual representation of a city as the host of the Summer Olympic Games? How can this analysis help us realise the often intentional forces in this representation and the often illusionary role of design and architecture involved in the Olympic city project?

- Which are the characteristics of the design and architecture of the Olympic city in its transition from the modern to the postmodern era and what are the differences between the analysis of an Olympic city's visual identity engaged with the 'utopian' and the 'ideal' (modern era) and an identity engaged with the 'fashionable', the 'global' and the 'marketable' (postmodern era)?

- How can the distinction between the modern and the postmodern era, in the analysis of the Olympic city's visual identity, help us understand the changes in the criteria that a visual identity is created or constructed? How can the analysis of this distinction help us understand the meaning in the creation of a visual identity for an Olympic city today?

What consists of the Olympic city's identity as a visual representation is material that can be decoded with an analysis of images, compositional characteristics, symbolic connotations, but also the agencies (who produced this material) and the visibility (who this material was addressed to). This is an opportunity that the field of visual and cultural studies offers to, both methodologically and theoretically, involve different methodological approaches and schools of thought from semiotics and compositionality of an image (composition, scale, choice of colours) to anthropological and geographical analysis, but also analysis based on social and political theories.

However, this thesis is not about the semiotics of images – at least in terms of studying an image as a composition of signs and by emphasising how 'it stands for something other than itself' (Rose, 2007, p.75), by concentrating entirely on 'the image itself as the most important site of its meaning' (Rose, 2007, p.77). Nevertheless, there are examples in which semiological analysis has been useful in order to interpret the meaning of an image; in most cases I use photographs to facilitate the discussion by visually portraying the

architectural interventions in the Olympic cities discussed. For this matter, the thesis is not about the semiotics of images. Looking at examples where Olympic design and architecture took a significantly metaphorical and symbolic role in the representation of a city's social and cultural identity, the aims of this research are as follows:

- to study the visual identity of Olympic cities based on the elements that have been selected, by the producers of this identity, to represent the city as a changing (from its previous) or different (from its actual) urban, social and cultural reality. This will require:

- The analysis of the decisions taken regarding the created visual identity, involving the chosen Olympic sites, their design and architecture and the created corporate identity (if any) of the Games;
- The comparison of the aesthetic language of this visual identity with the existing design and architectural identity of the city and with other neglected elements from the host city's social, cultural and/or urban reality.

- to examine the characteristics, the motives and the leading agencies of the Olympic city as a 'constructed identity'. This will require:

- To place the Olympic city within its urban and socio-cultural framework;
- To question the reasons, the methods and the techniques behind the representation of the Olympic city as a construct, designed to represent an idyllic or a fashionable picture of reality;
- To reveal the hidden elements and scopes in the representation of the Olympic city as a way to 'highlight' a certain aspect of the city's

urban reality or to 'camouflage' another (juxtaposed) urban, social and cultural reality of the host city. In cases where the representation of an Olympic city is analysed with examples from its promotional campaign or advertisement, to read behind what we see, based on the interpretation of the composition of images and on semiological analysis.

- to suggest that the transition from the modern to the postmodern era is a basic criterion for a critical approach to the visual materials available, representing the Olympic city. This will require:
 - Analysis of images representing the architecture, the planning and design decisions from both the modern and the postmodern eras;
 - Analysis of the characteristics, the priorities and the leading agencies of each era, whether this has to do with the promotion of a progressive, innovative, idyllic and often utopian vision for the future of the place (modern condition), or to sell a fashionable and contemporary picture, that will make it visually attractive and globally powerful (postmodern condition);
 - Comparison of the characteristics from the visual identities of Olympic cities from the postmodern era with those from the modern era, involving modern and postmodern theories, the analysis of which can give explanations for these characteristics.

1.2 The Historical and Ideological Framework of the Olympic City Development

The Modern Olympic Games have become in our days one of the most popular, but also one of the most visible international events. Apart from a

festival, it is a symbol connected with the values of Olympism, and Coubertin's Olympic ideal. It was initiated as the visual and cultural expression of the Modern Olympic Movement, producing an ephemeral festival that consolidates the values of Olympism. In Coubertin's writings dating from 1894 to 1914, one could get an understanding of his conceptual framework regarding the purpose, the organisation and the character of the Games. In his writings on a 'Modern Olympia' (*Olympic Review*, 1910), Coubertin gives a lot of information regarding the size and the aesthetic character of the host city; this information that has nothing to do with, and is often even opposite from, how the Olympic city has evolved today.

Coubertin became the founder of the neologism 'Olympism'³, a philosophy that promotes a model of life inspired by the ancient Olympic ideal, blending sport with culture and education. Olympism itself has gained a central position in the development of the 'Modern Olympic Movement'⁴. The term is recognised internationally and features prominently in the writing of the *Olympic Charter*⁵ and the evolution of the Modern Olympic Games. Coubertin formed an identity of Olympic symbols, composed by the Olympic symbol (Olympic rings), the Olympic emblem - the motto and flag, which is still known today and merges with the Olympic city's visual identity. The Olympic emblems and symbols, since their establishment, have been part of the decoration of the stadia and the public spaces of the Olympic city. They

³ According to the *Olympic Charter*: Olympism is a philosophy of life, exalting and combining in a balanced whole the qualities of body, will and mind. Blending sport with culture and education, Olympism seeks to create a way of life based on the joy found in effort, the educational value of good example and respect for universal fundamental ethical principles (*Olympic Charter*, 1997, p. 8).

⁴ According to the *Olympic Charter*: Under the supreme authority of the IOC, the Olympic Movement encompasses organisations, athletes and other persons who agree to be guided by the Olympic Charter. The activity of the Olympic Movement, symbolised by five interlaced rings, is universal and permanent. It covers the five continents. It reaches its peak with the bringing together of athletes of the world at the great sports festival, the Olympic Games (*Olympic Charter*, 1997, pp. 8-9).

⁵ The *Olympic Charter* is the codification of the Fundamental Principles, Rules, and Bye-Laws adopted by the IOC. It governs the organisation and operation of the Olympic Movement and stipulates the conditions for the celebration of the Olympic Games (*Olympic Charter*, 1997, p.9).

signal the Olympic Games and create a common international atmosphere in continuous multi-sited settings.

1.2.1 The Connection between the Olympic City and the Modern Olympia

Although there has been a presumption that the Games are closely linked with ideals of the Modern Olympic Movement, the connection between the Olympic city as the host of the Games and Coubertin's theoretical sketch of Modern Olympia has been ignored in the later years. It is interesting to mention that the term Olympic city is used as a description of the place hosting the Olympic Games in the last three decades. For example, in the 1972 Games, the park where the Games took place was named 'Olympiapark' and the Official magazine for the 1972 Games had the title *Olympia in München*. The use of the name 'Olympia', instead, reflected the effort to ideologically connect Munich 1972 with Coubertin's ideas of a Modern Olympia, although the specific site had nothing reminiscent of Coubertin's ideas in relation to it.

Coubertin's descriptions of a Modern Olympia composed a theoretical sketch of the place that should host the Modern Olympic Games, inspired by the ideals of Ancient Olympia. Modern Olympia involved all Coubertin's ideas on human health, prosperity and well being, characterising a healthy and peaceful society. His vision involved the creation of a space that should not expand in scale. He had predicted that the growth and expansion of the event would result in its alienation from his vision of its representation of a festival of humanity. Coubertin (1909) proposed an average number of '800 to 1,200 contestants and 10,000 spectators' (Müller, 2000, p. 268), something contrasting to the scale of the Olympic Games today as a mega-event.

Although Coubertin believed in ideas with the potential for development, he never reconciled his ideas of a Modern Olympia with any plans of modern

planning or modern architecture as a style. He rejected the architectural style and planning of other large scale environments. Coubertin (1910) had rejected the idea of an Olympia set in a site in the form of a station or a market, by claiming that:

‘Architecture must produce an effect with the aid of sculpture, painting and the other decorative arts. One can readily understand that a group of buildings in the form of any army camp, a train station or a grain market would not be up to the task of forming the ideal city’ (Müller, 2000, p. 257).

Coubertin was not the only nineteenth century visionary trying to find an aesthetic character to his Olympic ideas and his theoretical model of a Modern Olympia. In the nineteenth century, there were many examples of utopian ideas that reconciled with town planning ideas and architectural plans, reflecting the nations’ ideas for progress, development and better living. In most of them, transformation had an international language, as the gradual trend from handicraft production to industrial production, which also implied ‘a shift of architectural solutions from the local towards the international level’ (Doxiadis, 1963, p.31).

Peter Hall refers to the ‘cities of imagination’ (1998, p.2) and the utopian plans of governments that either represented ‘a reaction to the evils of nineteenth-century city’ (i.e. found in the Victorian slums) or became agents of ‘totalitarian megalomania’ (1998, p.8). Also, city planners of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, such as Howard⁶ and Le Corbusier in Europe, were inspired by ‘the prospect that a radical reconstruction of the cities would solve not only the urban crisis of their time, but the social crisis as well’ (Fishman, 1982, p.4). Modern city planning was a reaction against

⁶ According to Fishman, ‘Howard was an ardent cooperative socialist who utilised planning as part of his search for the cooperative commonwealth’. He therefore believed that the solution to urban problems should also involve the restructuring of a healthy and harmonious commonwealth. In his project of the ‘Garden City’ which he wanted to be ‘compact, efficient, healthful and beautiful’, he involved no more than 30,000 inhabitants and he aimed at solutions where ‘town and country (would) be married’ (1982, p.5-8).

the overcrowded, ill ventilated, unplanned, unwieldy, unhealthy aspects of large cities and city planners often associated the solution of these problems with the city's social reformation.

Modern architecture was orientated towards public life, suggesting methods which could improve circulation, increase the amount of open space and help cities function well. The role of the architect was not to design a life for the individual but 'mass produced houses and radiant cities that will extend the essential joys of the new era to everyone' (Fishman, 1982, p.187). According to the principles of the *Athens Charter*, written by Le Corbusier (1933) as a model case for all modern cities, planning is structured according to the citizens' everyday activities. For example, leisure time has been classified in three categories: 'leisure related to everyday, weekly and yearly activities' (2003, p.67).

The stadium in particular, as a settlement for weekly leisure activities, should be part of the main city planning. Unlike Coubertin, who imagined Modern Olympia as a non-centrally located site, Le Corbusier (1933) believed that 'building of athletic facilities in industrial areas' (2003, p.67), outside the main city master plan, was a mistake. The engagement of sport activities with the modern city rhythms is something very different from how Coubertin had envisioned his plans for a Modern Olympia.

Although Coubertin had also reacted against the overcrowded places and spaces of entertainment which appealed to the masses 'incapable of linking the pleasures of various sorts of art together, scattering such pleasures into bits, lining them up in rows, and pigeonholing them' (Müller, 2000, p. 612), he was never the follower of any modern city plans. However, the general 'cities of imagination' concept, in connection with new plans for development, was something that cities such as the Olympic city of Berlin 1936 followed.

Another reason that possibly kept Coubertin away from the idea of modern design was that modern designers spoke about an international language in reference to the cities aesthetics. On the contrary, for Coubertin, the particular identity distinguishing one place from the other, based on the surrounding landscape, was important. His aesthetic view involved the engagement with nature. According to Coubertin (1909), 'each landscape will inspire different plans, and this is a good thing, because of the close collaboration of man and nature' (Müller, 2000, p. 257). Coubertin (1910) had given the examples of 'lake Geneva or San Francisco Bay, the banks of the Thames or the Danube, the Lombardy Plain or the Puszta vary greatly in line and colour. (Müller, 2000, p.257).

Furthermore, in the first (and only) International Architecture Competition, announced by the International Olympic Committee in 1910, Coubertin called architects 'to develop plans for a Modern Olympia' (Müller, 2000, p. 625). The winning architects produced sketches and plans for a limited number of athletes and spectators, but in spacious garden-based environment with large, neoclassical, indoor and outdoor building structures. Monnod, and Laverrière, the two Swiss architects from Lausanne, created a proposal located on the shores of lake Lemman, that had nothing to do with giving solutions to the rising problems of the modern cities. Their plans presented an environment that looks more like an elite, escapist resort, similar to other elitists environments of the same area, such as the Beau Rivage hotel.

1.2.2 The Connection of the Olympic Games with the Social and Cultural Climate of the Nineteenth century

The following elements, regarding the social and cultural atmosphere of the nineteenth century, are important to consider in order to understand the socio-cultural climate within which Coubertin's ideas were formed. These have to do firstly with the international atmosphere found in other events and

secondly with the utopian ideas connected with modernity and the end of the nineteenth century ambitious plans towards modern development.

Regarding the international atmosphere, this was part of a general climate of ideas involving the creation of humanitarian organisations, but also organisations associated with trade and commerce, encouraging intercultural relationships among countries. Levitas argues: 'Most utopias are portrayed as universal utopias. They make claims about human nature as a means of legitimising the particular social arrangements prescribed' (Levitas, 1990, p.185). Therefore, international events engaging with universal values about humanity and morality, such as the Olympic Games, become a great opportunity for mass utopias to become associated with them.

In the nineteenth century, apart from the Olympic Movement, there were many other international organisations claiming to be idealistic movements promoting peace. Loland (1995, p.58) refers to similar organisations established during the nineteenth century such as 'the London Peace Society' founded in 1816, 'the International Peace Bureau' established in Berne in 1892 and the first annual universal peace congress taking place in Paris 1889. He claims that 'liberal internationalism and the strong belief in "the great idea of progress" of the late decades of the century were closely related to visions of international peace' (1995, p.58). Similarly, Espy (1979, p.16) refers to the establishment of a distinct category of thematically interrelated organisations during the nineteenth century such as: The Red Cross (1863), the Esperanto Movement (1887) and the Scouting Movement (1908). The Modern Olympic Games were also staged in parallel with another international event, the International Expositions⁷. Ideologically, the Modern Olympic Games had nothing in common to share with the International Expositions in the first Olympic city examples (this will be further examined with the example of the Paris 1900 Olympic city, examined in chapter 4).

⁷ The first International Exposition was staged at the Crystal Palace in London, in 1851.

Regarding the rise of utopian ideas, late nineteenth and early twentieth century societies became very well connected with the efforts towards the realisation of utopian dreams leading to a perfected form of life and citizenship. As Bauman states in *Modernity as history of time*: 'The history of time began with modernity...modernity is the time, when time has history' (2000, p.110). Coubertin's association with the modern involved the idea of having new opportunities for recreation. With the revival of the Olympic Games, he wanted to 'restore this ideal completely, in a form and under conditions suited to the needs of the day' (Müller, 2000, p.612). Olympia as a modern space was the land of promise, transformation, growth and betterment, a vision that would be repeated every four years, with the hosting of the Games in different places every time.

Many early nineteenth century social utopian theorists believed in the power of science and technology as a way to move into a better future. Social utopian ideas, like those of Henri de Saint Simon, maintained that 'the golden age is not behind us but in front of us and that [it] will be realized by the perfection of the social order' (1825, cited in Manuel and Manuel, 1982, p.581). Also according to Rowe and Koetter, the meaning of utopia in the late nineteenth century was related to 'an icon of the good society, the terrestrial shadow of an idea, an emblem of universal and final good' (1978, p.14). Modernity established a common ground of understanding the new and the progressive. That common ground was based on how nations displayed themselves as symbols of progress and as identities of the new. A new life could be represented by a new urban form and structure and architecture as the strongest form of construction 'had the means to create an ideological situation ready to fully integrate design, at all levels, with the reorganisation of production, distribution and consumption in the new capitalist city' (Tafari, 1969, p.48).

According to Manuel and Manuel, towards the end of the eighteenth century, Europe's de-Christianised climate gave rise to 'a branch of utopian thought that spurned any fictional backdrop, broke the limitations of specific place, and addressed itself to the reformation of the entire species' (1982, p.2). Social reformers of the time, inspired by Marx's theory, believed in the creation of a system that would lead to the reformation of society and the class order. However, Coubertin cannot be characterised as a social reformer, inspired by Marx's theory. In his interpretation of the meaning of Olympism in modern society, he turns against industrialisation and ephemeralisation of everyday life (*Le Sport Suisse*, 10 July 1929). However, for Coubertin, the country, the nationality and the race represent contemporary man's 'religion' (Müller, 2000, p.580), which, through the Olympic spirit of equal effort and mutual understanding, he is given the chance to promote and honour. In his speech in 1935, he stated that religion can be found in the search for patriotism, claiming that:

'To achieve these goals in our secular age, only one religion is open to us. The national flag, the symbol of modern patriotism being raised on the pole of victory to honour the winning athlete-that was what would keep the faith alive at the newly rekindled hearth' (Müller, 2000, p.573).

It is important to consider that Coubertin's speech referring to patriotism was a year before the Berlin Games - an event that has been accused of creating a visual identity, representing the Olympic city of Berlin 1936, that relied entirely on nationalism and the values of the Nazi regime.

1.2.3 From the Representation of a Utopian Idea to the Celebration of a Global and Mega-Event

Today the Olympic city is no longer connected with the modest festival that Coubertin had envisioned. The Olympic city is the result of a global and well-marketed mega-event strategy, which, borrowing David Harvey's words,

relies on 'image assemblers, image builders, image crafters, and image creators' (1990, p. 289).

The Olympic city, since its beginning, has functioned as a temporary space moving from place to place after a four year interruption. Bauman talks about the meaning of the festival by arguing that the event's host city is: 'the same city transformed, more exactly a time interlude during which the city was transformed before falling into its routine quotidianity' (2000, p.98). Other temporary events, such as local festivals or carnivals, are also examples where the atmosphere of the city changes instantly and for a limited time, but then returns back to its everyday routine. On the other hand, mega-events are 'large scale cultural (including commercial and sporting) events which have a dramatic character, mass popular appeal and international significance' (Roche, 2000, p.1). This section refers to the main characteristics of this evolution that I have identified as important, in relation to my subject which responds to the role of the Olympic city as a visual representation. These are:

- The turning of the Olympic Games into a 'spectacle';
- the commercialisation of the Olympic Games; and
- the Olympic Games globalisation.

1.2.3.1 The Turning of the Olympic Games into a Spectacle

Guy Debord (1967) in the *Society of the Spectacle* states that: 'everything that was directly lived has receded into representation' (2005, p.7). Under the same light, the Olympic city has become an outcome of a representation, an invented time and space scenario, which is popular as a place that has not been lived and experienced in its everyday basis. Hetherington argues that for Debord, 'lived time is historical, whereas spectacular time is spatial' (2008, p.282). Debord (1967) recognises spectacular time as different from

cyclical time or historical time. For him, 'spectacular time is the illusorily lived time of a constantly changing reality' (2005, p.90).

Similarly, there was a shift in the representation of the Olympic city from a time experience to a spatial experience, with media controlling the time reference of what is represented as space. Communication and information technology broke the barriers of communication and the distances between people. The Rome Olympic Games in 1960 were the first to broadcast the Olympic Games live. Since then, the television coverage has moved hand in hand with marketing and has become the main agent of the experience of the Olympic Games as a visual event.

The Games have become supported by the mass media industry, changing their scale and moving the radius of their action away from its centre, which is the stadium and the Olympic city as an urban entity, where the athletic events take place. In 1972, sale of television rights surpassed ticket sales as the number one source of Olympic income (Real, 1989). According to Real's analysis on the *Global Olympic event*, 'television and the Olympics have developed a symbiotic relationship in which each benefits profoundly from the other' (1989, p.230). This new relationship between television and the Olympic city has influenced any decision that has to do with the Olympic city's representation as a broadcasted image and less as a lived space.

1.2.3.2 The Commercialisation of the Olympic Games

The Games in 1984 discovered new relations between financing possibilities and the projection of the Olympic image and identity. Although the Games' commercial activity had grown from the nineteen sixties, often influencing the Games corporate identity, the Los Angeles Games in 1984 made a profit and introduced new marketing solutions. In 1984, a new era of corporate sponsorship began, based on companies signed as 'official sponsors', 'suppliers' and 'licensees'. In 1985, the 'TOP' (The Olympic Partner

Programme) became the IOC's worldwide sponsoring programme, and provided to its members exclusive marketing rights and opportunities. It comprised world known companies from global industry, such as Coca Cola, IBM, Kodak and Panasonic, reinforced by global advertising and public relations activities (International Olympic Committee, 1996, *Olympic Marketing Fact File*).

With the expansion of the commercial identity of the Games, new symbols and themes were added to the promotional identity of the Olympic city, something that in the past was more connected to the identity of the International Expositions and the World Fairs, which had a direct relation with industry and commerce. The Olympic city started involving other activities, where consumption was linked with leisure, something that Relph, in his characterisation of theme parks, describes as places made to provide 'guaranteed excitement, amusement, or interest, while eliminating the effort and chance of travel or imagination' (1976, p.33).

In the example of the Olympic city of Atlanta 1996, one of the main design features was the Swatch Pavilion situated at the west side of the Olympic Park. The building was the design of a famous architecture firm in California, Pfau architects, and it was based on effect and interactive design techniques, where, 'the translucent pavilion glowed a different colour while projected images danced upon its façade' (Weathersby, 1996). For the admirers of Swatch products, there was the creation of a Swatch world in large scale. These spaces, according to Zukin, are 'explicitly produced for visual consumption' (1991, p. 219), but in a simplified and globally understood language.

1.2.3.3 The Olympic Games Globalisation

According to Rudie: 'Globalisation is about the membership of the person in the world, and therefore about identity. It is about conceptions of how

particular places can become sites and events of extraordinary importance' (1998, p.114). For example, the creation of a 'Swatch world' as part of the Olympic city experience, referred to in the previous paragraph, is an invitation to become member of a global world and gain a global identity. Maurice Roche, considering the Olympic city as both a global experience and a mega-event, argues that the Olympic city is 'a periodic compression of social space-time and the promotion of "one world" awareness' (2006, p.30).

The Olympic city involves its audience with its global shared identity, something that the Olympic Games sponsor companies work to achieve, not only in order to offer a sense of the spectacular, but also a sense of the familiar. According to Saskia Sassen: 'Economic globalisation and telecommunications have contributed to produce new spatialities for the urban, that pivot on cross-border networks and territorial locations with massive concentrations of resources' (2001, p.91). The Olympic city, therefore, produces a new spatiality for its global viewers, by creating new associations. These associations might be related to the identity of a product, a branding idea or even a narrative relying on a globally shared problem. For example, for the 2008 Beijing Olympics, Samsung created an 'eco-friendly pavilion' (Posavec, 2008) situated at the heart of Beijing's Olympic Park. The company promoted Samsung's wireless Olympic works system and mobile devices, associating its campaign with the branding identity of Beijing 2008 'Green Olympics: Progress vs Challenge' (The official site of the Beijing 2008 Olympic Games, 2008). The Olympic city global identity and the characteristics of the visual representation of it will be further examined in the findings of the postmodern era in the representation of the Olympic city's visual identity (chapter 5).

1.2.4 The Changing Role of the Olympic Architecture and Design

The Olympic city has turned less to a place that accommodates the Games and more to a product itself that can visually impress and sell. Furthermore,

as the scale of the Olympic city increased over time, the Olympic city became a more expensive project and it became a greater challenge to manage and organise space well. What I identify as the main factors that changed the Olympic architecture and design as well as the role of those involved in it, are as follows:

- The end in the association of the Olympic city with utopian ideas for modern city development;
- the popularisation of the Games and the new role of the Olympic city as a broadcasted experience, turning into spectacle; and,
- the increasing scale of venues, sports, services, athletes and size of audience.

Hetherington and Cronin argue that: 'The past was indexed as a resource for memorialising the flow of time as history- grand civic buildings, monuments, parks, and so on' (Hetherington and Cronin, 2008, p.6). Many of the first Olympic city examples, such as Athens 1896 and Berlin 1936 produced buildings with a strong monumental character, with the purpose of becoming a resource for memorialising and giving duration to the visual character of the event. The often monumental character of the architecture has been replaced by impressive building forms (iconic buildings) in the postmodern era. The Olympic city of Munich 1972, which will be further analysed in chapter 5, provides an example where lightly-structured architecture replaced an architecture based on heavy and permanent materials, symbolising the end of the monumental architecture. The suspended translucent plastic tent roof of the stadium, designed by Frei Otto, and the communications tower were the centrepieces (landmarks) of the Olympic image in the 1972 Olympics, a design replicated on the official poster, souvenirs etc.

In the Tokyo Olympics of 1964, the eponymous architect, Kenzo Tange, introduced a new concept of Olympic architecture with the design of a massive urban project which changed the image of the city and the planning

of the Olympic setting as well. Although many of the central venues were designed by Kenzo Tange, the intention was not to relate their forms to icons, something that is a key characteristic in the design of buildings by eponymous architects today. It is also worth mentioning that the created corporate identity to promote the Games, together with the other design symbols had nothing to do with the representation of Tange's architectural forms.

The Montreal Olympics in 1976, became the turning point in the realisation of the vastness of the Olympic project and the size of the financial responsibility that the staging of the Olympic event holds. The construction delays, that brought the 1976 Games to debt, led to a decrease in the number of candidate cities in the following years. In October 1974, only two cities, Los Angeles and Moscow, stood for the candidature of the host city 1980. In 1978 there was only one entry, and the agreement was signed for Los Angeles to host the 1984 Olympics, an example that relied entirely on ephemeral structures and introduced a new type of architecture (see chapter 5).

The 1990s, and more specifically, the Olympic city of Barcelona 1992, changed the role of the architect and the designer. Branding an identity of the city with the creation of iconic buildings and with the transformation of areas into brandscapes (Klingmann, 2007, p.238), became the new way of representing an Olympic city identity (see chapter 5). However, what is important to emphasise is that Olympic architecture, especially in later examples, returned to what the nineteenth century architect Pugin had argued against, stating that: 'it is all right to decorate construction but never construct decoration' (cited in Venturi, Scott-Brown and Izenour, 1977, p.163). The Bird's Nest, the Olympic stadium and main venue for the Beijing 2008 Games, designed by Herzog and De Meuron, is an example that was formally represented as a bird's nest. It seems that the Olympic architecture has started being represented by forms characterised by a 'constructed decoration', where the building takes the form of an object.

In parallel with the creation of iconic buildings, another characteristic of the role of the designer and the architect today is operational planning, something that firms such as 'HOK event organisers' work with. According to the HOK: 'Part of the overlay design is to find the right balance of facilities such as bars, restaurant, cafes, toilets and special event areas to keep people happy, but at the same time not to make it so comfortable that they loiter for too long' (Sportbusiness group, 2001, p.34). In this case, the role of the architect and the designer is, not only to arrange the space, but also to organise the crowd and decide on people's movements and activities, all based on well organised and accurate planning. According to Earl Santee, from the HOK team, 'sports venues are the social centres of the city' (cited in Provoost, 2000, p.101) and they can complete a city downtown, 'whether it is an arena or a stadium with other office functions, with retail and entertainment' (cited in Provoost, 2000, p.101). Rod Sheard, the senior vice president of HOK, claims that:

'Our aim as architects is to change the perception of sports buildings; to sweep away the common image of crude, concrete monoliths and replace it with the promise of exciting, stimulating and uplifting venues of enjoyment and entertainment' (2001, p.xvii).

The HOK ideas do not turn against the architecture of iconic buildings; however, they support an opposing, concept prioritising well operated, functional spaces. They identify that: 'The stadium is the signature of the city and makes it special versus other cities' (2001, p.xviii) and that 'the expectations of the community and society are that they really want great architecture. They want to have timeless architecture, they want to be proud of it and relate to it' (2001, p.xviii).

On the other hand, according to 'Ove Arup & Partners', one of the leading engineer team for stadia architecture, the iconic and the well operated cannot

be given the same priorities. According to the associate director, Bob Lang, the stadium environment is not an 'inside town' (cited in Provoost, 2000, p.179), in contrast to Sheard's ideas. For Lang, the 'stadium is a highly engineered project, almost a machine for moving people in and out, providing technical facilities, allowing an event to take place' (cited in Provoost, 2000, p.178). He identifies two ways to approach the design of the stadia: 'One is to create an architectural icon and then find the way of fitting the sport inside it; the other way is to consider what the stadium is there for and find a roof, a structure and a form that suits what happens in stadia' (cited in Provoost, 2000, p.179).

The characteristics of today's Olympic architecture, based on iconic buildings and operational planning, stem from ideas of previous examples in architectural theory and practice. For example, operational planning comes closer to the ideas of the modern architecture, giving priority to function rather than form, with the infamous mottoes 'that form ever follows function' (Sullivan, 1896) and 'a house is a machine for living' (Le Corbusier, 1923), reminding of what was previously mentioned, referring to Bob Lang's words that 'a stadium is a machine for moving people in and out'. On the other hand, iconic architecture comes closer to the ideas of the postmodern architecture that can 'communicate with the public' (Jencks, 1986).

The main difference, though, is that today there is the intentional mix of operational planning with iconic building, such as in the case of the announced proposal for the design of the stadium for the 2012 London Olympics. The project is a collaboration of HOK Sports, and Sir Peter Cook, the founder of the Archigram group and a designer of utopian city proposals in the sixties, such as the 'Instant city' and the 'Plug-in city' (Cook, 1970). According to Wright, 'perhaps the most unusual thing about the Olympic stadium is the collaboration between HOK Sports and Sir Peter Cook' (Wright, 2008, p.52).

In chapter 5, examining cases of Olympic design and architecture in the postmodern era, the aim is to examine introduced ideas in Olympic design and architecture, such as lightweight architecture (Munich 1972), ephemeral architecture (Los Angeles, 1984), in order to understand the meaning of this intentional mix that takes place today. It is important to understand that today's design solutions are not based on single concepts and ideas, but on solutions that can guarantee economic success, security and good operation.

1.3 Content Structure

The thesis is composed of five chapters, including this introductory one, which defined the aims of the research project and presented the study's historical and ideological framework.

Chapter 2 examines different theoretical perspectives, in relation to the subject of study, the Olympic city, from different disciplinary areas. It is argued that the literature associated with the representational role of the Olympic city as a visual and cultural identity, and also the critical reviews engaging with the role of Olympic design and architecture, is very limited. The chapter defines five thematic areas, mainly within the Olympic studies and mega-events literature, with the analysis of different aspects, in relation to the Olympic city subject. These five thematic areas involve aspects in reference to: Coubertin's aesthetic ideas and the historic roots of the Olympic city, the historic development of the Olympic city based on stages of evolution, the Olympic city as a well organised business and an opportunity for city imaging and promotion, the Olympic city as a media event and finally current interpretations of the Olympic city legacy.

Chapter 3 describes the main methodological tools and techniques and also the theoretical perspectives that the arguments of my thesis have been based on. This section highlights methodologies used in the examination of

the Olympic city from a 'Visual and Cultural studies' perspective, a study that has not been done before, in relation to the representational role of the Olympic city. It also refers to the key theoretical perspectives that the thesis engaged with for the examination of the findings in the modern and the postmodern eras. Finally, this chapter also outlines my personal 'research journey' (completion of a previous MPhil study, attendance at Conferences, published papers) that helped with the gathering of useful information and the writing of this thesis.

Chapter 4 examines three specific examples from the period 1896-1936: the Olympic cities of Athens 1896, Paris 1900 and Berlin 1936. In the examination of the visual identities of these Olympic cities, this chapter makes use of specific images (from commemorative albums, the press, buildings architecture, pictures from guide books and brochures). The main objective is to reveal the ambitious plans for redevelopment and analyse the visual methods used to enchant the masses and embrace them into an often utopian looking atmosphere. The presented examples, and illustrative material used, engage with the following theoretical ideas: the nineteenth and twentieth century utopian ideas, the enchantment of the collective conscience, Harvey's idea of 'creative destruction' (1989, p.16), Giannitsiotis' idea of 'constructed visibility' (2004, p.243) and Benjamin's concept of 'phantasmagoria' (1999). Many of the examples, theories and characteristics analysed in this chapter are also met in chapter 5, where they are compared to examples and characteristics of the postmodern era.

Chapter 5 examines various Olympic city cases from the period 1952-2004, mainly looking at, with the support of relevant illustrative material, the visual identities of the following Olympic cities: Munich 1972, Los Angeles 1984, Barcelona 1992 and Athens 2004. This chapter, apart from examining the visual characteristics of the Olympic cities in the postmodern era, examines the relation between these characteristics and those of the modern era. The chapter develops within the following theoretical frameworks: the crisis of

utopian ideas and of the 'meta or grand narratives' (Lyotard, 1984), the experience of spaces as heterotopias (Foucault, 1967), phenomena of ephemeralisation and instantaneity (Bauman, 2000, p.118), the meanings of 'simulations and simulacra' (Baudrillard, 1983), the language of 'stylistic pastiche' (Jameson, 1991) and the conditions of place imaging and representation of places as 'landscapes of power' (Zukin, 1991) and as 'brandsapes' (Klingmann, 2007).

The aim of the chapter is to show that the meaning of the postmodern in the representational role of the Olympic city is associated with the 'after'. It examines how the Olympic city has changed in relation to the meanings of space, time, novelty, urban transformation and visual and cultural representation, from the modern to the postmodern era.

CHAPTER 2 - Review of Theoretical Literature

Introduction

In the last twenty years, there has been a growth of interest related to the Olympic city subject, but our knowledge is still very limited in the investigation of the Olympic city development as a visual identity and the critical role of Olympic design and architecture. This study focuses on the interpretation of the visual identities of Olympic cities. In the examination of some specific Olympic city examples, supported by a selection of pictures that justify the thesis' arguments, my emphasis is not only on the 'who, where and what of reality' (Van Leeuwen and Jewitt, 2001, p.5) that is reflected into the Olympic cities visual identities. My interest is also to 'document the process of (re-) constructing reality itself' (Van Leeuwen and Jewitt, 2001, p.5), by examining the Olympic cities visual identities as constructs of an often juxtaposed picture of the host city's urban, social and cultural condition.

In the last two decades, books concerned with Olympic architecture and design have often been based on photographic material and technical or structural details. The information provided through the analysis of images is more factual where 'images are produced to serve as records of reality, as documentary evidence of the people, places things, actions and events they depict' (Van Leeuwen and Jewitt, 2001, p.4). Two examples are: Bingham-Hall's (2000) *Olympic Architecture: building Sydney 2000* and *Olympic Architecture: Beijing 2008*, by the Beijing Institute of Architectural Design (2008). There are also examples that have been commonly investigated for the technical knowledge they offered in the fields of architecture and engineering of the stadia and other facilities. (Geraint, et al., 2007; Perelman, 2010). There is a distinction of Olympic city periods, with some providing a richer material than other non-popular periods such as 1920-1932. For example the Antwerp 1920 Games have been described as suffering from

'shortage of resources and materials' and that the rowing events took place in 'an ugly industrial setting' (Gold and Gold, 2007, p.27).

Furthermore, in the last two decades, Olympic design and architecture started being connected with the display of elements of style, in the representation of the Olympic city's new urban, cultural and social identities. There is an interest in publishing books related to the architecture and planning of stadia, designed by internationally eponymous architects and event organisers (Herzog & De Meuron, 2003; Tzonis, 2006). Globally leading architects such as Santiago Calatrava and architecture offices, such as Herzog & De Meuron and PTW have become involved with design plans, structures and forms represented as symbolic in the display of a fashionable image of the host city.

In May 2001, a first conference involving the role of Olympic architecture was organised by the International Union of Architects and the International Olympic Committee. During the conference a booklet was distributed with the title *The Future for Host Cities* (Sportbusiness group, 2001), where the criteria for a winning bid strategy were listed, with interviews by leading design groups such as the HOK Sports. After the conference, a book was published by the International Olympic Committee, with the conference's presented papers, which included management and organisational issues but also planning ideas and proposals by famous architects such as Arata Isozaki. *The Stadium: The architecture of mass sport* (Provoost, 2000) is another published book, with interviews by eponymous architects and design offices, such as Kisho Kurokawa, Ove Arup & Partners, HOK Sports and Ellerbe Becket, discussing the relationship between stadium architecture and the city, but also the engagement of stadium design with leisure industry (Provoost, 2000, p.49) and planning trends in Europe (Provoost, 2000, p.129).

Along with collections of different design and architecture examples of Olympic cities, there are other publications focusing on specific individual Olympic cities. It is evident that some case studies, such as Berlin 1936, Munich 1972, Montreal 1976, Los Angeles 1984 and Barcelona 1992 have been identified as 'interesting' because of their association with certain incidents, benefits and social and economic impacts. For example, the Berlin 1936 Olympic city has been associated with the Nazi politics and ideology and with German Neoclassicism (Warner, 1983; Scorbie, 1990); the Los Angeles 1984 Olympic city with the economic and commercial growth the Games offered and with ephemeral structures (*Abitare*, November 1983); and the Barcelona 1992 Olympic city with the city redevelopment and regeneration plans (Nel-lo, 1997; Carbonell, 2005; Atkinson and Bridge, 2005). Factual information, such as the bankruptcy of the city of Montreal (Howell, 2008) and the terrorist attack at the Olympic Village of Munich 1972 Games (Graham, 1976; Lucas, 1980; MacAloon 1984; Schiller and Young, 2010) have also offered opportunities for investigations.

The date of publication of an individual case study is another important issue to consider. For example, there is a lot of information about the design of the Olympic site for the Berlin 1936 Games, the Reichsportfeld (*Das Reichsportfeld*, 1936). In particular, there is vast literature on German Neoclassicism and the architecture of Werner March, the leading architect in the design of the Reichsportfeld, but also on the promotion of the 1936 Games through Leni Riefenstahl's film 'Olympia'. It is worth to mention that this literature has been written in two different times, and in these two times, the same material is analysed from a very different perspective: firstly, from publications by the Organising Committee, in the year of the 1936 Games (*Werner March - Bauwerk Reichsportfeld*, 1936), and secondly from a number of papers and books, published many years after the event, when the writer positions himself differently, in his association with the architecture and the dystopian consequences of the Nazi ideology. (Kluge, 1999; Guttmann, 2006).

Both sources are necessary for different reasons. In particular, the first source can shed further light on the intentions of promoting the architecture of the stadium, helping in the investigation of what was previously referred to as 'who, where and what of reality' (Van Leeuwen and Jewitt, 2001, p.5). This source is also necessary for getting a better idea about the technical aspects in the architecture of the place (materials, structures, design forms). The second source, on the other hand, focuses on the ideological positioning of the author, usually influenced by a general positioning (a position based on how successful or unsuccessful it has been and how faithful to the Olympic morals) many years after the hosting of the Games.

There are other individual studies that have looked at those examples of Olympic cities that have not been unanimously recognised as successful in response to the values of the Modern Olympic Movement. For example, the book by André Drevon (2000) *Les Jeux Olympiques Oubliés –Paris 1900* (trans: *The Forgotten Olympic Games – Paris 1900*) explores the reasons that the Olympic Games in Paris 1900 have been characterised as unsuccessful. Drevon's book becomes a very interesting source, revealing what was expected by Paris 1900, according to Coubertin's ideals, and which characteristics made it an unsuccessful Olympic example, opposed to Coubertin's expectations.

There are also cases when there has been an interest in publishing books in relation to an older Olympic city during the staging of a new one. There are recent publications (published books and research papers), with information regarding the visual identity of Athens 1896, published during the time of the Athens 2004 Games. For example Giannitsiotis' *Αστικός χώρος και Αυτοπαρουσίαση - Αθήνα, πόλη των Ολυμπιακών Αγώνων 1896-1906* (trans: *Urban space and national self- representation, Athens the city of the Olympic Games 1896-1906*), published by the International Olympic Academy (2004), provides useful material on people's activities in public spaces, street decorations and festivities during the 1896 Games.

What I would like to stress is that visual research methodologies are of little use in the Olympic studies research. Within the field of Olympic studies and in the examination of elements that compose the visual identity of an Olympic city, what is missing from current studies is the examination of the meaning in the visual representation of the Olympic city, together with the characteristics, the scope and the criteria of design and architectural decisions involved in the Olympic project. Furthermore, the subject of the Olympic city is mostly studied from a single disciplinary field (history, politics, social studies, urban studies or media studies) and not from an interdisciplinary field. In a single disciplinary field, an image is often analysed as a source of factual information, and as a record of figures and facts, that many researchers often rely on to classify Olympic cities. (see section 2.2.2).

My analysis belongs to the visual and cultural studies discipline. From a visual studies perspective, it is a 'cross disciplinary study of images' (Rogoff, 1998, p.14), with the aim to interpret what images stand for and reveal elements of new stereotypes in the visual representation of the host city, the promotion of cities based on constructed identities, but also relations between image and power. Furthermore, from a critical cultural studies perspective (for example involving theories by Jean Baudrillard and Michel Foucault), my analysis examines the changing image (and represented identity) of the Olympic city and its socio-cultural role. The thesis, therefore, makes use of theoretical frameworks and methodologies from other disciplines. It also analyses a diverse range of images, from examples of photographs revealing the aesthetic identity of the Olympic city to images from advertising and reportage.

The methodology, together with the theoretical frameworks this thesis makes use of, are the subjects of the next chapter (chapter 3). Chapter 3 will focus on theories and notions defining the characteristics of modernism and postmodernism in relation to urban planning and 'ideal city' projects, architecture and design, media and advertising and visual and cultural

representations. In this chapter (chapter 2), I refer to different perspectives found in research studies and published books and papers related to the subject of the Olympic city. I refer to material from such closely connected disciplines as: architecture and urban studies, social studies, geography and tourist studies and communication and media studies. Of particular interest is the discussion of contexts of historical meaning and urban legacy of the Olympic city. This interest is extended to include references to 'globalisation' and the range of shifts which are gathered under the term 'postmodern'. Therefore, other contexts of discussion concern the Olympic city as the construct for the celebration of a mega and global event and of the impact of new mass forms of communication, representation and consumption.

This chapter is divided in two sections: Section one introduces the different thematic groups and disciplines that I have identified as necessary for the examination of my subject. Section two analyses the different literature sources, which are classified into five thematic groups. With the introduction of these sources, my aim also is to develop my opinion in reference to the different voices and views that exist in the examination of the Olympic city subject. In this way, this chapter also becomes a prologue to my position in the arguments that will be further analysed in chapters 4 and 5, in the findings of the modern and postmodern eras.

2.1 The Multidisciplinary Examination of the Olympic City Subject

Depending on the aims and nature of the research, the Olympic city has been a subject of studies with emphasis on its different roles and functions: as the host of a mega-event or hallmark event, a media event, a global event, a leisure event, a legacy or an event connected with the principles and values of Coubertin's modern ideas. These are the subjects that I have identified as closely connected with the examination of the Olympic city from a 'visual and cultural studies' perspective.

Since the 1984, Los Angeles Olympics 'changed the economics of major sports events' (Gratton, et al., 2001, p.35), after the financial losses of both the Munich 1972 and the Montreal 1976 Games, the Olympic cities that followed have been mainly treated as positive and successful examples. The interest, from an architecture and design point of view, is usually in how this successful outcome has been reflected onto the identity of the host city and, likewise, onto the design of buildings, the decorations of the stadia and the promotional and commercial campaigns. However, the aim of this chapter is also to present the alternative voices that often question the criteria and the motives that have led to the recognition of Olympic city examples, especially of the last two decades, as contributions to a legacy with a positive image and beneficial economic impacts. Furthermore, in this section, I am referring to the studies that categorise Olympic cities into stages of development or classify them based on different patterns of the Games' organisation and planning.

Lately, there is a large number of publications on the planning, organisation and management of the Olympic Games and their urban, social and economic impacts. There is an interest in questioning the development of the Olympic city as part of an urban legacy (Hiller, 2004; Cashman, 2002; Gold and Gold, 2007) including the later involvement of architecture as part of city regeneration plans (Hall, 2001; De Moragas and Botella, 2002; Monclus, 2006; Chalkley and Essex, 2007; Pitts and Liao, 2009) and as the host of a mega-event and a major sports event (Hall and Hodges, 1996; Roche, 2000; Emery, 2001; Hall, 2001; Burbank et al., 2001; Horne and Manzenreiter, 2006), as well as the role of the Olympic city as a tourist and business attraction (Keller, 1999; De Moragas, 1999; Segrave, 2000; Emery, 2001; Weed, 2008). There is also an interest in the impact (political and social) of the Olympic Games as a global sports event and a spectacle (MacAloon, 1984; Real, 1989; Tomlinson, 1996; 2000) and in the impact of television in the Olympics (De Moragas, et al., 1995).

On the other hand, the cases where the Olympic city is examined as the outcome of Coubertin's ideas for a Modern Olympia, or the expression of the Olympic ideology, are rare. Most researchers find that the Modern Olympic Movement of the first decades, related to Coubertin's ideals, has little to do with the identity of the Games today and the expansion of the Games into a mega and global event. In addition, there are only a few investigations dedicated to an overall study of the Olympic city development, with the selection of several Olympic city examples offered in comparison with each other. These examples are most commonly based on the creation of stages within the Olympic city development, based on different criteria of classification.

The division into stages, is something that I have found unsuitable for the examination of the evolution of the Olympic city as a visual identity, a design and architecture project. However, I am interested in the criteria that other researchers use for the creation of these stages. A key argument of my thesis is that the division instead into two eras, the modern and the postmodern, is essential to the examination of the Olympic city and the changes in its visual identity and image. I argue that there is a need in placing Olympic cities within a wider time framework of changes and developments regarding the organisation, planning and promotion of the Olympic city. In this way, it is avoided the creation of typifications and labels to characterise different stages of Olympic city development, by relying on the characteristics of a specific case study and a dead end relation from the one stage to the other. On the other hand, an 'era' signifies the gradual changes and shift in the Olympic city development and its characteristics as a visual identity.

This chapter is divided in five different thematic areas based on the material found in the available literature related to the Olympic city subject. Each thematic area presents different theoretical perspectives, but also alternative

voices in relation to key subjects that are connected with the study of the Olympic city. These thematic areas are:

- The ideological framework of Coubertin's aesthetic ideas and the historic roots of the Olympic city, found in the theoretical model of a 'Modern Olympia'. In this thematic area, my interest is in studies that involve the roots of the Olympic city and discuss the relevance of Coubertin's ideological model of a 'Modern Olympia' today and also whether today's Olympic city has anything in common with the idea it stemmed from.
- The historic development of the Olympic city based on phases or stages of evolution. The emphasis is on the different criteria, used by researchers, in the definition of the characteristics of each stage of the Olympic city evolution. Here, the focus is on a range of studies in which this classification is done, engaging with changes and incidents that played an important role in the history of the Modern Olympic Movement.
- The Olympic city as a well-organised enterprise and an opportunity for city imaging and promotion. In this thematic area, attention is directed towards studies that involve the turning of the Olympic city project into a business plan and the Olympic city itself into a product that has to be well operated and promoted in order to attract investment. Here, the focus is on the different criteria and agencies associated with the control of the resulting identity of the Olympic city.
- The Olympic city as a media event, promoting a design based on new mass forms of communication, representation and consumption. The interest is in different perspectives by which to analyse the growth of the Games as a media event and a global

identity, raising questions about the impact this growth has on a social and cultural level.

- The meaning of the Olympic city legacy, with a focus on studies that have questioned the validity of this legacy and have stood as the 'alternative voices' regarding the future of the Olympic Games. This thematic area draws a great deal of information from papers (published) presented at the International Symposium that was organised by the International Olympic Committee in Lausanne in 2002, with the title *Legacy of the Olympic Games: 1984-2000*.

2.2 Different Thematic Groups involved in the Examination of the Olympic City Subject

2.2.1 Literature based on the Examination of the Ideological Framework of the Olympic City and Coubertin's Aesthetic Ideas

As mentioned in the introduction, it is not the intention of this thesis to make any comparison between today's meaning and role of the Olympic city with Coubertin's initial ideas of a 'Modern Olympia'. With the expansion of the Summer Olympic Games into a major world event, evidently, many things have changed concerning the organisation, the administration and the number of participants and spectators in the Olympic Games, but also the planning of the setting and the ways of display and promotion of the Olympic city. Researchers have different interpretations of the relevance or irrelevance of the Games today, in comparison to the Games in the past and the major changes that have taken place, with views also related to the planning and the aesthetic identity of the Games. Although Coubertin's plans for a Modern Olympia may be not be relevant today, I find a brief description of these plans to be essential, as they were the starting point in the development of the Olympic city concept.

Through his writings, Pierre de Coubertin presented a detailed and well-defined theoretical description of a 'Modern Olympia'. In particular, he discussed his 'Modern Olympia' and Olympic ideology in his articles under the titles: 'The Setting', 'Administration', 'The Program of the Games', 'Qualified Individuals' and 'The Spectators' all published in a series of monthly issues of the French *Olympic Review* in 1910. There has been a recent translation of Coubertin's writings into English, in the book with the title: *Pierre De Coubertin 1863-1917, Olympism Selected Writings* (2000, p. 256-268). It is interesting that the editor of the book, Norbert Müller, suggests that:

'Competitors should seek only general information in these texts, not prescriptive formulas. Clearly, several of these ideas will be open to debate, and of unequal merit. These ideas do not come from the International Committee and will have no influence on the decision it will reach. Let each person weigh them, adopting or rejecting them in total independence' (2000, p. 256).

Coubertin's writings offer a theoretical sketch of a Modern Olympia inspired by the setting and values of Ancient Olympia. His efforts to reconcile elements from the past with a modern vision for society, ignoring the historic gap between the two epochs, is something that has caused him to be characterised as an eclectic thinker by different researchers. As the contemporary critic in Olympic matters, Berndt Wirkus, suggests 'eclecticism was the source of energy of his [Coubertin's] thinking, combining things together, which normally do not fit together' (1987, p.181).

Segrave also finds a distant relation between Coubertin's philosophical and aesthetic ideas and what has been applied in reality in the building of the Olympic city today. Segrave, believes that: 'while the Games themselves have thrived, the Olympic idea, the ideology that undergirds the entire

Olympic movement, Olympism, has not' (2000, p.268). He amongst many other researchers who associate Coubertin's ideology with the examples of the first Olympic cities, characterises the Olympic city of the nineteenth century as:

'a classic expression of modernity, a recurrent, quadrennial celebration of the world view that embraced science, reason, the sovereignty of the individual and progress as the presumption for human health, prosperity and well being' (2000, p.269).

Brown, in his PhD thesis, investigates the evolution of Coubertin's aesthetic ideas and suggests that Coubertin 'held strong views on the social function of art in culture' (1997). Brown also believes that 'understanding how and why Coubertin attempted to infuse an aesthetic idea into the experience of the Olympic Games, is a way of understanding why modern sport contributed to the social production of knowledge and personal meaning' (1997, p.6).

Kruger focuses on the influence that the English art critic and social reformer John Ruskin had on Coubertin, regarding the beautification of the Games. Ruskin was also a social reformer who believed in 'the beauty of products and of landscapes as an integral part of national health' (Kruger, 1996, p.29), something that also reflected Coubertin's wish to beautify the conditions of the surrounding environment. Kruger is an alternative voice, regarding the relevance of Coubertin's aesthetic ideas today. In an article, about 'The Beautification of the Games' (1996, p.32) he concludes that:

'[T]he idea that the Olympic Games are the splendid postmodern phenomenon that they are is because of Coubertin's attempt to Ruskinize them. [...] For this, Coubertin invented a corporate identity with a logo, a flag, a powerful myth, -the invented tradition - so early that he could be considered an economic genius, because he was the first to market a sector of the service industry, invest heavily into a future profit, one from which

Samaranch and his colleagues are now reaping the benefit' (1996, pp. 34-35).

Apart from the connection of Coubertin with the aesthetic ideas of his time, there are also studies on the relevance of Pierre de Coubertin's ideas to other social theories and ideologies of his time. Nikolaos Nissiotis argues that 'Coubertin was not a systematic philosopher' (1987, p.162), for the reason that he never studied philosophy or referred to the philosophical systems of his time. Similarly, Wirkus claims that 'nowhere in his voluminous writings does Coubertin betray any familiarity with authors or the great systems of thought' (1987, p.201), such as Karl Marx or Sigmund Freud. During a time with a strong climate of philosophical thinking and social utopianism, both Nissiotis and Wirkus believe that Coubertin decided not to engage with specific theories and theorists of utopian thinking. Berndt Wirkus (1987) characterises Coubertin not as a pure utopian, due to the fact that he creates continuation between the historic past and present and he acknowledges a romantic world view of the past.

In studies that focus mainly on the benefits of the Olympic city legacy today, there are often examples associating Coubertin's initial ideas with the meaning of the Olympic city today. Pitts and Liao, in their study of Olympic urban development, believe that Coubertin's decisions of the time are still valid today and argue that:

'De Coubertin's concept in establishing a Modern Olympia contributed much to Olympic urban history, and it was De Coubertin himself who insisted that the Modern Olympia should be a periodical stage moving from one city to another instead of a permanent site' (2009, p.19).

In this example, the similarity in the basic conceptual form is highlighted, found in the hosting of the Olympic Games every four years in different parts of the world. Pitts and Liao also find another relevance in the 'concentrated

venue approach' something that 'retains the imprint of De Coubertin's Modern Olympia' (2009, p.25).

The relevance of Coubertin's aesthetic ideas for the building of a Modern Olympia can also be seen partly as a series of investigations based on a categorisation which is in turn based on periods or stages of the Olympic Games development and the Olympic city evolution, which is the subject of the following paragraph. My suggestion is that often Coubertin's idealism is used in order to create a relation with other type of efforts associated with the 'pursuing of excellence'. I argue that the fact that Coubertin did not offer an actual plan for a Modern Olympia, but only a theoretical way, led to the symbolic role, apart from the solely representational role, that the Olympic city has in inventing its own ways to represent Coubertin's ideals and excellence.

2.2.2 Studies based on Stages of the Olympic Games Development and the Olympic City Evolution

There are researchers that divide the Olympic Games and the Olympic city development, according to different phases, periods or stages (Muñoz, 1996; Chalkley and Essex, 1999; Gold and Gold, 2007; Pitts and Liao, 2009). These stages are based on various criteria such as the Games' organisation and administration, available facilities, popularity and visibility of the event. Some of these studies recognise some Olympic cities as key examples that changed the way Olympic cities are organised, planned and designed.

In their book *Sustainable Olympic design and urban development* (2009), Pitts and Liao recognise four different stages of urban development in relation to the Summer Olympic Games project: 'the origins of Olympic urbanism' (1896-1904), 'the dominance of the Olympic stadium' (1908-28), 'the rise of the Olympic quarter' (1932-56), and 'the age of urban transformation' (1960-2012). Criteria are the growth of the scale of the stadia

and of the Olympic sites, but also the expansion of the Olympic city plan to be part of the host city's urban master plan. In particular, the last stage involves examples, where there was a stretching of the Olympic city urban plan into different directions, but also a wider urban development and transformation involving urban renovation schemes such as airports, housing, tourist accommodation, and also inner-city regeneration. Pitts and Liao associate urban development with urban improvement, as the final stage of Olympic urbanisation characterised by:

'[M]ore entertainment facilities, additional housing estates, more business opportunities and inward investment, a boost to the tourism and convention industry, higher quality of living through better civic infrastructure and services, new urban landmarks and cultural legacies' (2009, p.31-39).

Chalkley and Essex (*Planning Perspectives, issue 14, 1999, p.369-394*), a research example that Pitts and Liao (2009) have based their research on, divide urban development through hosting the Olympic Games into four phases (similar to the ones found in Pitts' and Liao's research): In the first phase (1896-1904) the event is characterised as small scale and poorly organised whereas in the second phase (1908-1932), as larger in scale and better organised. In the third phase (1936-1956), Chalkley and Essex argue that there is a link with host society's symbols, whereas in the last phase (1960-today), the hosting of the Olympic Games has been mainly associated with large-scale urban developments. Chalkley and Essex are urban geographers and examine the meaning of urban development based on the number of facilities and services, the size of the available stadia and other venues, but also the involvement of the host city as space with the organisation of the Games, something that has increasingly changed throughout the twentieth century.

Another study that examines the Olympic city evolution in stages is the book *Olympic Cities, City Agendas, Planning, and the World's Games, 1896-2012*

(Gold and Gold, 2007). This book is a collection of essays on Olympic cities, structured in a sequence of events, describing the different phases of the Olympic city development. It starts from the association of the Olympic city with the idea of the Games' revival and continues by making associations with the ideas of fairground, austerity, and the subjects of urban development, regeneration and sustainability. In the introduction of this book, John R. Gold (from the field of urban historical geography) and Margaret M. Gold (from the field of urban studies) distinguish six stages of development: the 'Surviving the Fairground' (1896-1906) the 'Olympics by design' (1908-1936), the 'Austerity' (1948-1956), the 'Catalyst' (1960-1976), the 'Ideological Games' (1980-1984) and the 'Shifting Horizons' (1988-1996) (2007, p.15-47).

The authors argue that 'as the scale of the Games themselves increased, so the ambitions of those that planned the events widened' (2007, p.15). They examine the Olympic city as an ambitious plan increased in scale, focusing more on the impact of changes on a global scale, liaising with political and social motives. They do not, however, create a link with aesthetic movements and design ideas that could have had an impact on each stage.

There is often a generalisation in the titles given to each stage of development. For example, in the stage named as the 'Olympics by design' (1908-1936), the title justifies the efforts of different host cities to offer aesthetically something more than the functions and services that the Games needed. However, the criteria of these efforts are very different and so is the resulting visual identity of each Olympic city representing this stage. For example, the Berlin 1936 Games, known for its efforts to reflect the power of the nation through the architecture and planning of the facilities, is examined together with examples more modest in their design efforts (e.g. the Stockholm 1912 Games).

Another study that uses a collection of material from different Olympic cities is Maurice Roche's (2000) *Mega Events Modernity, Olympics and Expos in*

the growth of Global Culture. In his book, Roche - apart from the Olympic Games - studies other mega-events such as the International Expositions and, in fewer examples, the World Cup. For Roche, the development of mega-events parallels the growth of modernity. As a sociologist, specialising in popular culture (and the organisation of major sport and cultural events), he highlights how there is a change in the evolution of these events, from reconciling with concepts such as nationalism and internationalism to engaging with the needs of a global society and culture.

In his study, he gives an emphasis to the meaning and development of 'public culture' and 'cultural citizenship' (2000, p.1). He divides his case studies into two main chronological parts; in the first part (1851-1939) he examines cultural citizenship together with the growth of international culture whereas in the second part (the second half of the twentieth century), he examines the impacts of cultural exchange in the growth of global culture. In the second part, the Olympic city is also examined in relation to the needs of mega-projects, where the Olympic Games take the role of an event of global magnitude and mass media interest that turns the city into a theme park.

Roche's distinction of the Olympic Games development in two 'parts' (and not phases), interesting because of the changes of the criteria to represent a local identity, agrees with my approach and the distinction of two 'eras' in the examination of the development of the Olympic city as a visual identity. The analysis of case studies based on phenomena and characteristics of societies' (especially western societies) modern development has also been important in the writing of my thesis, by making it possible to avoid typifications and creation of general categorisations regarding the Olympic Games development. The main difference, though, is that my thesis has addressed the development of the Olympic city as a characteristic of both modernity and postmodernity, focusing on those characteristics that affected its representation as a visual identity. For this reason, my study has also emphasised the use of the term 'postmodern', as many of these

characteristics engage with major shifts that have taken place in the field of design and architecture (see chapter 5).

There are also studies based on other criteria of classification (based on stages) focusing in particular on the study of the architecture of the athletic venues, the Games infrastructure and also the study of the Olympic city as an ambitious plan increased in scale and size. In Martin Wimmer's book *Olympic Buildings* (1976), an older book dedicated to Olympic architecture, there is an in-depth discussion on the buildings, facilities, and services required for the growing needs of the Olympic Games, from the Athens 1896 until the Moscow 1980 Olympic Games. In his examination of Olympic architecture based on the formal language of buildings, Martin Wimmer finds, in each stage, an added element that makes it distinctive from the previous one. However, he distinguishes a few Olympic cities, such as Rome's 1960 for beginning to have 'many far reaching consequences on the local built environment' (1976), in other words engaging more with the urban environment.

Barclay, another seminal writer on Olympic architecture, identifies key phases and also examples where the choice of form and materials have significance in Olympic architecture. He identifies a first phase from 1896-1932, where there is a search for an identity, a style and form of Olympic architecture that satisfies the basic functions in the Games organisation. Barclay characterises the architecture of the Olympic city of Berlin 1936 Games as a significant example for the choice of the materials, which should be 'native German materials' and the use of buildings and sites 'after the Games as a backdrop for the rites and rituals of National Socialism' (1983, p. 27). From 1952-1976, Barclay examines the Olympic architecture separately, mainly of the stadia, although he does not analyse the ideas and practices that changed the role of design and architecture in the representation of the Olympic city's social and cultural identities.

In a more recent publication on Olympic buildings and architecture, *The Stadium, Architecture of Mass Sport* (Provoost, 2000), there is a choice of sports buildings that have been characterised as landmarks. These buildings are studied because of their contribution to the knowledge of design and construction, but also their use of innovative materials and engineering solutions. Here there are not chronological barriers or phases, but key case studies. Amongst these examples are both the stadia for the Berlin 1936 Games and the Munich 1972 Games respectively. Although the examples are not examined as part of an evolution in the concepts and planning ideas, the descriptions of the building form often relates to the intentions behind the design concept. For example, the architecture and setting of the Berlin 1936 stadium is described as ‘an elliptical plan with galleries and decentralised access routes; monumental towers; combined accommodation for sport, theatre and political rallies; and embedment in an idealised nature’ (Provoost, 2000, p.74).

In addition to Roche’s study on The Olympic Games development, mentioned earlier on, Muñoz’s paper *Historic Evolution and Urban Planning Typology of Olympic Villages* (1996) is the second example that I recognise as a valuable source among studies, although its focus is on the design of Olympic Villages and not Olympic cities. It is an example where design and planning solutions are analysed together with movements and trends in modern city design and planning. This analysis does not only focus on changes regarding the involvement of host cities in urban development, but also looks at utopian schemes, radical planning ideas and design and architectural movements that have influenced the planning of Olympic cities and the architecture of the Olympic Village.

In his study on the *Olympic Villages and Architecture – Modernity and Localism*, Muñoz (1996) identifies different stages, focusing on the applied style and planning solutions of specific Olympic Village design examples from 1932-1996. These stages correspond to four different specific Olympic

Village cases, through which the 'ideal city concept manifests itself in different forms and ways' (1996, pp.40-45). These phases are: 'the pre-fab housing' model (Los Angeles, 1932), the 'rational housing' model (Berlin, 1936), the 'from functionalism to radicalism model' (sixties Olympic Villages), the 'megastructures' (seventies Olympic Villages) and the 'post-modern' model which becomes part of a wider gentrification project (e.g. Barcelona 1992).

Muñoz also examines the symbolic significance of different functions and forms found in the architecture of the Olympic Villages, based on the analysis of specific cases. For example, he explains how the Olympic city of Los Angeles in 1928 was the first to involve the construction of the Olympic Village, to accommodate the athletes with the use of pre-fabricated methods. By prefabrication Muñoz meant 'the disappearance of typical, historical elements of the first decades of the century' (1996, p.40) and the start of an architectural system temporarily used and then destroyed like any other consumed product. Finally, Muñoz recognises that the adoption of larger and more spectacular stadia was something that became intense after the 1960s and that was because the Olympic cities' 'wish to make statements about the technological prowess and modernity of the host nation led to the adoption of larger, more spectacular and inherently more expensive stadia' (1996, p.43).

Muñoz's analysis has facilitated the structure of my own model in the examination of my case studies. I have supported my arguments with the choice of specific cases of Olympic cities, due to their leading role in the introduction of new or different ideas in design, and not with the creation of stages of the Olympic city development. The examination of the selected examples, similarly to Muñoz's analysis, parallels Olympic design with design ideas and trends that have affected modern (and postmodern) design and architecture.

2.2.3 Research based on the Examination of the Olympic city as the Host of a Hallmark or a Mega-event

In the last two decades, there has been growing number of studies with a focus on the Olympic city's involvement in a successful business plan, as a well-marketed leisure event (what Segrave calls as 'entertainment packaging' (2000, p. 271), together with an image making and regeneration strategy. In addition, Segrave claims that the Games today are turning into 'a global show business, overlaid with celebrity idolatry, commercial interruptions, self-serving promotions, entertainment packaging and a veritable cornucopia of commodity values and fetishes' (2000, p.271). There is a great number of studies that focus on the grand scale and global appeal of the Games, involving hallmark or mega-event theories and the Games' benefits in terms of visitor attractiveness, business and tourist investment. There is also an interest among researchers to investigate the success and scope of the Olympic city as a hallmark or mega-event, in association with city imaging strategies.

According to Getz, a hallmark event is 'a particular class of event that has a unique image or appeal' (1991, cited in Emery, 2001, p.92). Emery, (2001, p.93) whose study focuses on candidature strategies, also claims that today's bidding process involves 'considerable risk and commitment', but it is all part of a well-organised and marketed strategy of hosting a mega-event based on positive impact and imaging. For Emery, today there is also a competition amongst the candidate cities for the most positive, well organised and economically beneficial plan. 'The positive image which events are able to portray to the public, and the media exposure they offer, explains the lengths to which governments and politicians will go to compete to host major events' (2001, p.103).

According to Kotler: 'we are living in times of place-wars' and 'places must learn how to think more like businesses, developing products, markets and

customers' (1993, cited in Hall, 2001, p.168). Hall and Hodges also argue that place marketing is not only the representation of a cultural image, but the 'manipulation and management' of those things which 'make up a community's life, into a package which can be sold' (1996, p.96). They argue that hallmark or mega-events are not new phenomena. 'What is relatively new is the implicit belief of politicians, planners and key industry and real estate players that such events can provide a significant boost to their economies' (1996, pp.97-98). Michael Hall, in a later paper about place imaging strategies in relation to the mega-event concept, argues that 'the hallmark event is different in its appeal from the attractions normally promoted by the tourist industry as it is not a continuous or seasonal phenomenon' (2001, p. 169).

The Los Angeles 1984 Games and the Barcelona 1992 Games are the two examples that most researchers refer to as turning points in setting the criteria of a successful Olympic city in order to leave a positive impact. According to Essex and Chalkley: 'The commercial success of the Los Angeles Olympics of 1984 and the urban transformations associated with the Barcelona Games of 1992 have renewed interest in the event' (2007). The authors also argue that: 'The selection of host cities to stage the Olympic Games has evolved, as the event has grown in stature and status' (2007) and together with it the criteria for becoming a successful mega-event.

The Olympic city has evolved in size, growth, popularity, number of tickets sold and audience size, something that Cashman characterises as a phenomenon of 'gigantism' (2002). After the economic success of the Los Angeles 1984 Games, a main criterion for the success of an Olympic city has been its association with beneficial business plans, such as broadcasting rights, something that as Gratton et al., argue provided cities of major sports events with 'a unique opportunity to market themselves to the world' (2001, p.38).

Image making and place marketing strategies, through the hosting of mega-events, have also been studied in connection with city regeneration projects. For Emery, the hosting of major sports events is a recent phenomenon where 'cities utilise the medium as an economic development tool for urban regeneration' (2001, p.64). Essex and Chalkley argue that the transformations made in Barcelona for the Olympics 'have become regarded as a model for other cities wishing to initiate large-scale revitalisation schemes' (2007, p.24). Horne and Manzenreiter also argue, concerning the hosting of events based on the mega-event concept, that:

'economically it has been viewed as an industry around which cities can devise urban regeneration strategies. Socially it has been viewed as a tool for the development of urban communities, and the reduction of social exclusion and crime' (2006, p.11).

The Olympic city of Barcelona 1992 has been the example most associated with regeneration and also the one that many researchers have focused on. The Barcelona 1992 example proved that the city stands not only as a model for the organisation of the Olympic city as a space, but also, according to Brunet (2005), as 'a model for urban transformation, improved attractiveness and strategic positioning'. Based on its re-invented image, promoting ideal city living, Barcelona welcomed economic activity and initiatives by being represented as what De Moragas, et al., characterise the new 'economic hub for Southern Europe' (1995, p.6).

However, there are also studies that focus on the negative social impacts in the expansion of the Olympic city project, as a strategy for place imaging and as a city regeneration project, referring to problems such as social dislocation and the changing of the city's prioritised needs. Many researchers analyse the negative impacts of Olympic city projects as an act leading to image making and promotion of revitalised areas, focusing both on targeting a certain type of audience and creating environments based on leisure (what

Roche characterises as theme parks). Some of these studies support that the involvement of the Olympic city project with city regeneration and large-scale urban development reflects a reality that is addressed more to consumers of a place's image and less to the priorities in the needs of the citizens (Jefferson-Lenskyj, 2000; 2002; Burbank, et al., 2001; Hall, 2001; Hiller, 2004). Leiper and Hall argue that: 'the Olympics will attract certain types of tourists, but it will certainly repel other tourists' (1993, cited in Hall, 2001, p.171), whereas Burbank, et al., wonder, 'if cities are to be re-imaged into the fantasies of tourists and business executives, what happens to the people who live there?' (2001, p.161).

Monçlus argues that city branding, expressed through regeneration projects, is a response to the 'neoliberal context and the competitiveness between cities, characteristic of an increasingly globalised economy' (2006, p.216). Areas that have gone through regeneration are also the focus of a city's imaging, to show improvement. Michael Hall is another alternative voice questioning the criteria of successful Olympic city imaging based on the mega-event concept. He argues that:

'Imaging a city through the organisation of spectacular urban space by, for example, hosting a mega-event, is therefore a mechanism for attracting mobile capital and people (of the right sort) of a period of intense inter-urban competition' (2006, p.63).

Keller (1999), referring specifically to the Summer Olympic Games candidature, reacts to how today we have 'found the candidature for such a major event on a simple assessment of its chances of success'. After the Barcelona 1992 example, many other cities that followed became linked to regeneration projects, giving the impression that the ugly and deprived conditions of the areas planned for regeneration in the pre-Olympic phase has disappeared.

The changing of priorities that the mega-event concept has set in relation to other societal needs is a subject that many contemporary authors are concerned with. Hall believes that the revitalisation of a place requires 'more than just the development of product and image' (2001, p.132). He also argues that 'the irony is that government, which is meant to be serving the public interest, is instead concentrating its interest on entrepreneurial and corporate rather than broader social goals' (2001, p.132). Likewise, Jefferson-Lenskyj questions the value of the Olympic city bids which promise 'dramatic improvements in the leadup to an Olympic bid while failing to take adequate action under normal circumstances when urban social problems were equally urgent' (2000, p.96). She concludes that 'an Olympic bid committee can persuade many citizens that image is more important than substance (2000, p.97).

The changing priorities in the representation of the Olympic city based on the mega-event concept, but also in strategies of place imaging are subjects that have an important role in my analysis of the Olympic city as reflecting host cities' urban, cultural and social identities. In the 'findings of the postmodern era' (chapter 5), there is an analysis of Olympic city examples where the role of design and architecture has been to represent the Olympic city based on place imaging solutions and concepts of branding places. My thesis engages with researchers that question the urban and social consequences in the representation of a city through a mega-event or other examples of entertainment industry (e.g. theme parks). Therefore, apart from referring to researchers specialising in the Olympic Games project, the thesis refers to studies related to, for example, the representation of cities as brandscapes (Klingmann, 2007), the rise of iconic architecture (Jencks, 2005), urban entrepreneurship (Hetherington and Cronin, 2008) and the rise of landscapes with economic power (Zukin, 1991, 2008).

2.2.4 Research based on the Examination of the Olympic City as the Host of a Media Event

There are also studies that examine the Olympic Games as the celebration of both a global and a media event, due to the increased importance of the experience of the Games as a broadcast image. According to Dayan and Katz: 'Media events are rituals of coming and going', believing that media events examiners 'are situated close to the border between play and reality' (1992, p.119). The host of a media event is not the urban environment but a media controlled environment where '[I]minal periods, evoke the subjunctive, though of what might be, or what should be, rather than what is' (Dayan and Katz, 1992, p.119). Similarly, MacAloon has stated, specifically about the Olympic Games, that a spectacle is 'the relationship between image and reality, appearing and being' (1984, p.270).

The Rome Olympic Games in 1960 were the first to become a live broadcast. According to Lucas, during the 1972 Olympics 'the magic eye beamed pictures to one billion people –three times as many as those who watched the first landing of a man on the moon in 1969' (1980, p.205). Since the Rome 1960 Games, there have been many developments in the technologies of media. Together with these technological developments, advertising through sponsoring developed too. The TOP (The Olympic Partner) sponsorship programme has been reinforced by global advertising and public relations programmes (International Olympic Committee, 1997, *Olympic Marketing-Fact File*). Real (1989) believes that with the increase of television as the main visual experience, the Games have managed to 'wrap history around themselves and, in so doing, create a particular sense of a historical past and its culture' (p.227). Most of the viewers are not at the actual place, but they imagine it through the broadcasted images. This gives a more accurate deadline to the Olympic Games as a time experience, but also a more accurate framework to the Olympic city as a geographical entity.

Lenskyj (2000) highlights the point that the Olympic city as a global experience can be visually controlled. In her reference to the Los Angeles 1984 Olympic city and the separation of the different athletic facilities, she argues that:

‘The great geographical spread was not, of course, ideal from the spectators’ point of view, but it makes little difference how far the events are physically separated from one another if the Olympics are regarded primarily as a television spectacle, on which the medium imposes an illusory sense of place’ (2000, p.142).

Maurice Roche, considering the Olympic city as a globally distributed experience, talks about ‘a periodic compression of social space-time and the promotion of one world awareness’ (2006, p.30). The Olympic city involves its audience with its global shared identity, something that the Olympic Games sponsor companies work to achieve.

The turning of the Olympic Games into a media event and the expansion of the number of types of media involved in the representation of the Olympic city is a very important part of this thesis. In chapter 5, the study will address other theories, not specifically dedicated to the Olympic project, such as ‘simulacra and simulation’ (Baudrillard, 1983; 1997) and the stylistic language of ‘pastiche’ (Jameson, 1991), that help in the interpretation of the role of the Olympic city as a media event, influenced by the possibilities of reproduction and the power of globalisation.

Some of the examples used in the findings of the postmodern era aim to justify Dayan’s and Katz’s (1992, p.119) argument that media events are ‘rituals of coming and going’, and therefore ephemeral, and ‘situated close to the border between play and reality’, and therefore spatial narratives interested in displaying an entertaining and pleasant image of the host place. The thesis discusses studies related to the meaning of global identity and the

rise of global culture. There is a particular interest in examples where the display of a global identity 'camouflages' elements from the host city's local identity, with the choice of which elements should be exposed and which should be hidden controlled through media.

2.2.5 The Olympic City as a Legacy

In the International Symposium organised by the International Olympic Committee in 2002, with the title, *Legacy of the Olympic Games: 1984-2000*, many researchers presented their papers, discussing the positive and negative impacts of the Olympic Games as a legacy. Different aspects by which to analyse the meaning of the Olympic legacy were developed, such as that of an urban and environmental legacy as well as of cultural, social and communication legacies. In this section, there is a reference to some of these presented papers, published in 2003 by the International Olympic Committee, that focus on the meaning of the Games as a cultural and an urban legacy.

According to MacAloon, the Olympic Games are an effort to 'define ourselves, dramatise our collective myths and history, present ourselves with alternatives and eventually change in some ways while remaining the same in others' (1984, p.22). There have been many studies questioning the meaning, the purpose and whether it is worth staging an Olympic event. Most of them, though, recognise that a legacy could mean different things, depending on whether we refer to the period during or after the Games and the nature of the legacy. Some of the presenters, in the International Symposium in 2002, emphasise the meaning of the Olympic Games as a legacy for humanity. Verbruggen (2003, p.25) points at the 'injuries' that the Olympic Games had as an event with political boycotts, bankruptcies and the nationalistic climate of the Berlin 1936 Games, claiming that at present 'the choice of the host cities is more delicate and crucial than ever' (2003, p.26).

Roche highlights the fact that the Olympic Games have become a unique cultural space that provides 'unrivalled opportunities to dissolve spatial and temporal distance, to participate in a notional global community' (2003, p. 292). He suggests that there is a need to 'review and renew the general global cultural perception and standing of Games events' and consider 'how best to maintain this special memorability of Olympic events' (2003, p. 304). Cashman argues that: '[e]very Olympic city has some form of legacy: buildings, monuments, public art, exhibitions, museums, repositories, archives, stamps, souvenirs, memorabilia, plaques and street names' (2003, p.34). Also what Cashman refers to in relation to the meaning of legacy is: 'that is a direct result of the event or period of history and continues to exist after it is over' (2003, p.34). The Olympic city as a short-term legacy, with the value for the moments it becomes consumed, gives way to another Olympic space, of post-use, that has to cover 'practical issues, such as the remains of the Games and the fate of Olympic venues' (2003, p.34).

Similarly, Hiller believes that 'the focus on the post-event impact is "legacy"' (2003, p.102). Therefore, what identifies today's Olympic city validity is the justification of its post-use. He argues that 'whereas the Games are of short duration, the urban consequences of the Games may last forever' (2003, p.102). He also claims that 'design and construction fast-tracking are now the new enemies of consultation and planning (2003, p.103). Hill, a few years before had also referred to the negative impact that the expansion of the Games and the instant development can bring, as: 'Longer term effect may be a breakdown or loss of an individual's sense of place as his surroundings are transformed to accommodate the hosting of an event' (1996, p.122).

Hiller separates the Olympic city period into four phases: the bid phase, preparation phase, event phase and post-event phase. In a Conference presentation in Athens, in 2004, he asks whether 'being an ex-city has any value at all?' arguing that 'the post-Olympic period is perhaps the most ignored phase in the Olympic cycle' because, 'the post-Olympic use of

Games facilities within cities are primarily playing a role of supporting the post-modern turn towards leisure consumption as a marker of urban life' (2004).

Another presenter at the International Symposium in 2002, the architect John Geraint, claims that 'we are moving into an age of mega-cities, when 50% of the world's population will live in urban areas' and that 'stadia are the new "icons" or cathedrals' of them (2003, p.69). For Geraint, the success in creating big events comes from 'quality planning many years ahead of the occasion and consistency of the decision making' (2003, p.72). However, according to a report written in 2001 by the UIA (Union of International Architects): 'The bigger percentage of the Olympic projects are individual projects and they are not part of a coherent overall plan dealing with the redevelopment of the city and its functions' (Technological Institution of Greece, issue 2158, 2001, p.43). There is the belief that the Olympic city does not produce plans for betterment, but images of betterment, brought nearer to the present and to the eye of the spectator.

In the International Symposium in 2002, Tzanoudaki claims that the Olympic city is 'an environment of a mixed nature being both associated with the evolution of the Modern Olympic Games, but also with the 20th century "modern" city project itself' (2003, p.127). It is important to realise that the role of Olympic design and architecture is not merely to serve the needs of the Olympic Games as an athletic event. It is, therefore, important to realise that the Olympic city has been part of a legacy itself and that has evolved, influenced by contemporary cities' needs (political, social and economic) but also benefits. It has also merged with different design ideas and concepts, associated both with the values of modernism and postmodernism. The understanding of the differences between the association of the Olympic city with the values of modernism and postmodernism, helps to a better understanding of the role of Olympic design and architecture, as part of an 'Olympic city' legacy.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I have presented and discussed the relevant literature on Olympic cities from across a range of disciplines (such as architecture and urban geography, media studies and social and cultural studies). My interest has been in looking at different perspectives regarding the examination of the Olympic city as the host of a media and mega-event; as a legacy and a concept stemming from Coubertin's ideas; and, as an idea with many changes in its development as a design concept, a plan and an event. It has also been argued that the available literature dedicated in a critical way to the role of the Olympic design and architecture in the representation of the Olympic city is very limited. For this reason, this study has relied on sources from other disciplines that are relevant to the subject and to the examination of the Olympic city as a representation of the host cities urban, cultural and social identities.

The literature introduced in this chapter is taken from different fields within the Olympic and mega-events studies. However, as it will be analysed in the following chapter and in the section discussing about the theoretical perspectives of the thesis, there is literature, not directly linked to the Olympic studies. There is relevant literature with subjects and meanings (for example subjects such as urban entrepreneurship and brandscapes and meanings such as phantasmagoria and the carnivalesque) that facilitate my discussion in chapters 4 and 5.

In addition, there is literature on particular Olympic Games and Olympic city cases that I have not referred to in this chapter, but I am referring to in chapters 4 and 5 and in the examination of specific cases from the modern and the postmodern eras. For example, the Official Olympic Reports are a useful source, with a record of different decisions taken concerning the organisation and setting of the Games. Furthermore, there are other official publications by the Organising Committee (books and journals), connected

with particular design projects or the promotional and commercial character of the event. In most of these cases, the material can be particularly useful to collect more detailed information, given in a more descriptive and less critical way. For example, for the Olympic cities of Berlin 1936, Munich 1972 and Barcelona 1992, there is a large amount of this kind of literature available, where detailed information can be found from the structure of a building to the design of a mascot.

CHAPTER 3 - Research Methodologies and Theoretical Perspectives of the Study

Introduction

This chapter describes, firstly, the main methodological tools and techniques utilised in the structure and writing of this thesis and, secondly, the key theoretical perspectives that have contributed to the analysis of the thesis' defined aims and objectives. In the first section of this chapter, I outline the main methodological approaches I used in my research. In this section, I also discuss the 'research journey' to my field of study and describe the different procedures and influences that have led to the writing of this thesis. The first section of this chapter, therefore, refers to the types of archival research and to the development of interpretive analytical strategies, corresponding to the key objectives and aims. The second section refers to the key theories and theorists involved in the main arguments of my thesis. These theories are divided into those that are involved in the analysis of Olympic city examples represented in the modern era and those that are examples of visual representation in the postmodern era.

According to Rose: 'The visual is central to the cultural construction of social life in contemporary Western societies' (2007, p.2). In addition, Lister and Wells argue that an analysis, based on visual and cultural studies, has the ability to articulate a range of systematic methods, 'in order to complexly address questions of form, production, reception and meaning while taking account of political issues, institutions and ideological discourses' (2001, p.90). Therefore, in order to interpret the meaning of the Olympic city, as a visual identity but also as a cultural construction of the host city's social life, reflecting its position concerning modern and postmodern ideas and ideological discourses from the late nineteenth century until today, a visual and cultural analysis becomes an essential methodological tool of analysis.

My study draws upon theories from the fields of urbanism, architecture, design, visual communications and media studies. It also involves political and social issues, examining how these become associated with various constructed ways of visibility, influencing the perception of the Olympic city as an urban, cultural and social identity. For example, in chapter 4, in reference to the 'findings of the modern era', I examine how utopian ideas and grand narratives have influenced the Olympic City's visual identity and planning. On the other hand, in chapter 5, in the 'findings of the postmodern era', I examine how spatial narratives and image making plans became the visual tools prioritising the meaning of the host city as a fashionable image.

Lister and Wells argue that in a visual and cultural analysis, 'we understand images as representations' (2001, p.64). Following this argument, this study also involves the analysis of a selection of images that best correspond to and facilitate the arguments of this thesis. My analysis addresses elements of design and form, production, reception and meaning taken from Olympic city visual identities. It mainly involves, however, the analysis of images from Olympic city examples of the postmodern era, since this era is associated with an increase in constructed ways of visibility and of influencing perception.

3.1 Methodological Tools and Techniques

3.1.1 Archival Research and Secondary Data Gathering

This study is based on archival research and secondary data material. As defined in the research objectives (see chapter 1), a key objective of this study is the examination of the visual identity of Olympic cities based on an analysis of a selection of Olympic cities, their design and architecture and the created corporate identity (if any) of the Games. As a result, it has been

necessary to undertake a historical review of archives, publications and documents of the Summer Olympic Games, from 1896 until 2004.

The research material is sourced:

- From an earlier theoretical research project that I had completed in 2001, for the degree of Masters of Philosophy (Edinburgh College of Art), involving the study of five Olympic cities and their relation to Coubertin's philosophy of Olympism. This study became a useful source for this current research. The contribution of my MPhil study, together with the positive impacts of different conferences I attended and participated in will be further analysed in a following section, describing my research journey to my field of study.

- From the archival records, books, journals and conference publications of the 'Olympic Studies Centre' (International Olympic Committee) and the 'Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona'. The archival records include: documents and correspondence of the Olympic organising committees, press reviews, maps, architectural plans, photographs and printed material (tickets, tourist guides, promotional and commercial material), with a focus on the selected Olympic city case studies. This archival research also includes Coubertin's writings and documents related to the establishment of the Modern Olympic Movement, with an emphasis on his writings on a Modern Olympia and the 'Contribution of the Arts'. Another important source has been the records of organised conferences by the 'Olympic Studies Centre' and the 'Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona', from 1996 - today, with published papers by various researchers involved in the Olympic studies.

- From the archival records of Gennadius Library in Athens, drawing information from books, the press, tourist guides and maps in relation to the 1896 Olympic Games.
- From correspondence with local organising committees and Olympic associations, (e.g. the Helsinki 1952 Organising Committee and the Los Angeles '84 Foundation), after requesting information in reference to the organisation of Summer Olympic Games and the role of Olympic design and architecture in them.
- From the attendance and participation in conferences, regarding different approaches towards the role and identity of the Olympic city today, and also the role of cities as hosts of other international festivals and mega sport events with a major visual and cultural impact.
- From visits to the Athens 2004 Organising Olympic Committee (the Image and Identity Department) during the time of preparation for the 2004 Games. These visits involved collection of material related to the current plans and programmes for the promotion of the Olympic city identity.
- From visits to the Olympic sites and public spaces involved in the Olympic festivals, before, during and after the 2004 Games and after taking my own pictures representing the identity of Athens 2004 (one of these pictures becomes a subject of discussion in chapter 5). Furthermore, a range of tourist guides, press reviews, magazines and journals have been collected from 2003-2005.
- From communication and discussion with Haris Yalouris, the editor of the photographic album *D' Olympie à Athènes, Voyage Photographique sur les lieux des Jeux Olympiques* (2005),

and from this collection of photographs (usually taken by amateur photographers) during and around the time of the 1896 Games.

By articulating a range of systematic methods of analysis, such as semiology and compositionality and theories from different academic disciplines, such as urban geography, anthropology and sociology my emphasis has been on theoretical perspectives that use images (or place descriptions) to interpret phenomena of modern and postmodern society and culture. In my investigation of Olympic cities, the selection process of images (or place descriptions) has included everything from buildings and city plans to official posters and souvenirs. The researched material has been analysed in different ways, which are in relation to the following three criteria:

The first criterion is to gather information that conveys the feel of the examined Olympic city. The use of images in this case can give us information about the overall atmosphere of the place, something that as Rose suggests 'it would take pages of writing to describe' (2007, p.247). There is a particular interest in images and texts of that time, found in photographic archives, the Games' official reports, commemorative albums, guide books and the press. These images and texts have an even greater significance when they are compared to pictures and documents providing contrasting information about the same place and time. The information, therefore, that is not included and contradicts the represented visual identity of the Olympic city, also reveals the Olympic city's visibility and helps to identify elements that compose another sight of reality. Sometimes this other sight is confronted in an ironic manner, especially by photographs and texts found in the press, as will be seen in the examination of Athens 1896 (section 4.1). This way of analysis of information is used mainly in relation to examples from the modern era, showing the Olympic cities' efforts to beautify reality and offer an ideal experience of the host place and the event.

The second criterion is to address questions of visual representation and visibility in the analysis of form, visual production and reception, while taking

account of socio-political issues and ideological discourses of the time. In this case, texts and images are not only used to document an aspect related to the Olympic city atmosphere. They are also used to analyse the content and recognise visual elements that justify the ideological discourses of the time. For the purposes of this thesis, the material used is mainly associated with 'the findings of the modern era' and to examples where texts and images represent the values and the aesthetic language of an ideology, often reflecting 'the interests of power' (Rose, 2007, p.75).

Susan Buck-Morss (2000, p.134), in her analysis of the effect that technology had in the promotion of political and social ideals at the start of the twentieth century, recognises 'speed as a decisive factor in media effectiveness'. She acknowledges the fact that new media technology managed to create a direct relationship between the message and the audience it was addressed to. New images and messages in the form of a banner, a poster, a sculpture or a building could move the message out onto the street. In this case, the intention behind the representation is the most important information to take. This intention can characterise a situation where a temporary event, such as the Olympic Games, can become a useful way to propagate new ideas and ideals, often by using visual methods that can enchant the masses.

The third criterion is to read through the images based on what the different media, technologies and image fashions offer as views of the world. Rose (2007) suggests that images render the world in visual terms, but this rendering, even by photographs, is never impartial. In this use of the material found, I aim to show that images are never 'transparent images into the world' (Rose, 2007, p.2). Technology in visual communication has helped the Olympic city to be represented through spatial narratives and to be reproduced through place imaging scenarios. The material used is more related to 'findings of the postmodern era' and is drawn, in addition to the sources already mentioned in the previous two paragraphs, from other

sources such as advertising and promotional material, public advertisement, commercial catalogues and the Olympic Games official sites on the internet.

Finally, another objective in the analysis of the research data has been the selection of the Olympic city cases that are most representative of the modern and postmodern eras. This selection involved a procedure of collecting and contrasting information about the elements implied in the design, management and promotion of different Olympic cities. A review of archival records and documents led to a selection of case studies that had a large impact in the creation of a visual identity. It became essential, for the selected case studies, to search for background information regarding the socio-cultural context of the host place, the process to design the visual identity of the Olympic city (the concept ideas and plans of the designers involved) and the local and international reactions to the represented identity of the Olympic city (e.g. media coverage).

The information found to represent the visual identities of the selected Olympic cities was classified into 'the findings of the modern era' (see chapter 4) and into 'the findings of the postmodern era' (see chapter 5). The findings of both eras were placed into theoretical frameworks and were studied compared to ideas drawn from modern and postmodern theories, from the mid nineteenth century until now (see section 3.2). This analysis has been based on a parallel use of specific Olympic cities, together with elements from the visual identities representing them, and theoretical perspectives related to the meanings of the modern and the postmodern in the representation of city identities. This parallel analysis has therefore aimed to justify the key argument of this thesis which is the transition of the Olympic city, together with the design and architecture ideas representing it, from the modern to the postmodern era.

3.1.2 My 'Research Journey' to the Field of Study

This section describes my personal journey to the selected subject of study which is the Olympic city as a visual identity, examining the transitional roles of design and architecture within it. I am referring to the main influences and positive impacts that have contributed to the writing of this thesis, since I first became interested in the Olympic city subject in 1997, for an MPhil by research study, at the Department of Design at the Edinburgh College of Art.

The title of my MPhil study was *A Need for Symbiosis between Olympic and the Olympic City's Social Reality*. This was the same year that my home city, Athens, had won the candidature for the organisation of the 2004 Summer Olympic Games and only five years after the Barcelona 1992 Games, an example that became known, worldwide, for the success of its achievements in Olympic design and architecture. Several reasons made me choose the Olympic city as a doctoral research subject and a further analysis of the visual identity related to it.

My MPhil study was my first approach to archives and available literature related to the Olympic city subject. The study of the Olympic city, after the Barcelona 1992 Games, had a high political and cultural profile and so did the architecture and the design that represented it. The Olympic city project became associated with urban regeneration and permanent changes to the Olympic city's planning and visual profile, something in contrast with the ephemeral architecture and temporary visual profile of previous examples such as the Olympic city of Los Angeles 1984 (as well as other, mainly N. American, host cities), or the anonymous architecture of Seoul 1988.

The visual identity of Barcelona 1992 gave an emphasis to design, from the corporate image of the Games (logotype, the Olympic mascot, posters, medals, signs and other commercial and promotional symbols) to icons of global architecture and to the revitalisation of neighbourhoods and areas

within the city. It is worth mentioning that the Organising Committee of Barcelona 1992 (COOB '92) has been the only one to produce, since the Berlin 1936 Games, a detailed publication dedicated to Olympic Design, with the title *Olympic Design Barcelona 1992*. It is also the first example that established an Olympic Studies Centre (part of the UAB - Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona) in collaboration with the Olympic Studies Centre of the IOC – International Olympic Committee.

According to the words of the Director of the Olympic Studies Centre in Barcelona, Miquel de Moragas, found in the first pages of the *Olympic Design Barcelona 1992* book: 'the fact that the design is fundamental to the construction of the new international image of Barcelona should not be interpreted as the result of a fad or fashion, but as the result of the multiple factors –social, cultural, technological and economic- that design encompasses' (1992, p.12). The design and architecture for the Barcelona 1992 Games had a mass popular appeal, with articles appearing for the first time in many well known design journals, such the *Olympic Review* and the *Blueprint*, whereas before, the Olympic Games was a subject with which such journals were uninterested in being involved. Therefore, the example of Barcelona 1992 contributed a great deal to the popularisation of the meaning of Olympic design in the decade of the nineteen nineties. It became a pole of interest, with efforts made to interpret the city's new visual profile.

During my MPhil study, Barcelona's popular example earned my interest, in relation to the design identity of both previous but also forthcoming Games too. I found a challenge in the opportunity to search for the design proposals of previous Games, their creators and their symbols of popular signification. The example of Barcelona 1992 also had a major influence in the preparation of Olympic candidatures, such as that of Athens 2004, which was announced as the host of the 2004 Games in the Summer of 1997. Athens 2004 was an example that I could come closer to during the city's preparation stage, by selecting material from the Athens Organising Committee (ATHOC) and by

attending relevant Conferences, such as the *Olympic Games and Architecture – The Future for Host Cities* Conference, a Joint Conference organised by the International Olympic Committee (IOC) and the International Union of Architects (IUA), in May 2001.

The Olympic design as a subject had not been of much interest to other researchers before the Barcelona 1992 Games. The sudden emphasis given to the role of the Olympic city from a design point of view, at the time when I started my research in the late nineties, was also the reason that led me to a research study, focusing on the role of the Olympic city as a design and architecture challenge. During my research, I looked at five individual examples of Olympic cities; the Berlin 1936, the Mexico 1968, the Munich 1972, the Los Angeles 1984 and the Barcelona 1992 Games. My research referred to 'Symbiosis' as a criterion of examining how the city's Olympic projects in design and architecture become associated with the 'ideal' - the interpretation of Coubertin's Olympic ideal.

At the final year of my research I was awarded by the 'Olympic Studies Centre' in Lausanne with the 'Postgraduate Research Grant Programme 2000', offering me the opportunity to stay for three months in Lausanne and collect all necessary material related to my subject, searching in the archives, the images and the publications available in the Centre. I had also the chance to discuss with members of the Research Council, such as Miquel De Moragas and Norman Müller, who had, at that time, recently been the editor of the book *Olympism, Selected Writings of Pierre de Coubertin* (2000), a book with information on Coubertin's aesthetic ideas and thoughts for a Modern Olympia; a source that has been very useful for the writing of my MPhil and PhD theses.

After the completion of my MPhil study, my interest in the Olympic city design continued, by attending and participating in Conferences, not necessarily based on the Olympic city, but on matters of representation of cities' cultural

identities and on hosts of mega-events. In November 2002, a few months after I had started my PhD research, I was invited by the IOC to contribute with a paper to the 'Legacy of the Olympic Games 1984 - 2000', as part of the Session 'Urban and Environmental Legacies'. The title of my paper was *The Modern Olympic City: the Passage from Modernism to Post-modernism in Olympic design* which was published by the IOC-UAB. My paper supported the idea that the passage in visual culture from a modern to a postmodern condition has been proven crucial to the understanding of the shift in Olympic design strategies. It emphasised how the Olympic city reconciled with the new technologies of image reproduction and global communication through the advances of mass telecommunication and digital technology. The paper argued that the postmodern era established a new language of difference in Olympic design and architecture, creating a new sense of locality and rootedness.

Furthermore, during my PhD study, I attended and presented papers at various Conferences. In July 2003, I participated in the Conference: 'The History of the Future: Visions from the Past', held by the School of Historical Studies, of Leicester University. My paper with the title: *The Heroic Celebration of the Utopian Extreme in the Design and Architecture of Mega-events in the Late 1960's and 1970's* was based on examples from International Expositions, World Fairs and Olympic Games that visually expressed the 'utopian extreme', often represented by utopias, autonomous and independent from the surrounding urban and social fabric, and which avoided being turned into activist utopias. The examples of the 1968 Expo in Montreal and the Munich 1972 Olympic Games were highlighted. This presentation helped me to further examine the meaning behind the design ideas for the Munich 1972 Olympic city, characterised by megastructure and lightweight architecture. In my PhD research, the example of the Olympic city of Munich 1972 has been also considered to be an important one and the argument is proposed that it was a periodical focal point, turning against monumental structures and static symbolisms (see chapter 5).

In 2004, 2008 and 2009, I participated in three successful International Conferences based on 'Sports: Economic, Management and Marketing Aspects', which helped me to understand the role of the Olympic city as part of an economic, management and marketing strategy. In all three papers my emphasis has been on the role of the Olympic Games as a visual and intercultural event, but also the evolution of the Games into a media event and a project of postmodern culture. All three papers with the titles: *The Olympic city in its Postmodern Condition* (May 2004), *The Olympic city and its Post-utopian Function* (May 2008) and *The Olympic City as a Postmodern Space Experience* (May 2009) have been published by the 'Athens Institute of Education and Research' (see published papers in the thesis' Appendix).

In 2005, a year after the Athens 2004 Olympic Games, I participated in a Conference organised by the 'Modern Greek Studies Association' in which there was a particular emphasis on aspects of recreation and representation of the modern Greek identity. During this Conference, it was particularly interesting to involve my research with other creative aspects of representation of the modern Greek identity, such as literature, music and poetry. The example of the late nineteenth century Greek writer, Roides, the work of whom was analysed during this Conference, has been useful in my examination of the Olympic city identity of the Athens 1896 Olympics (see chapter 4).

In 2006, a Conference organised by the University of Liverpool, with the title 'Representing Culture - Representing Sports' offered me the opportunity to bring my subject closer to other aspects of representing culture through sports and to learn about the role of other cultural events, of a smaller size, that play a major role in the promotion of a city's local identity, such as the representation of Liverpool as a European Capital of Culture 2008.

In the last two years, two more Conferences contributed to the writing of my PhD thesis. In July 2008, my presentation at the Conference 'The Olympics:

Politics and Protest', organised by the Leeds Metropolitan University, reflected upon Olympic city's present role, questioning how the Olympic City has been involved with aesthetics of excellent marketing and structural display of culture, which could lead to the city's deterrence from its existent urban and cultural identity. The presentation of this paper has helped me to focus on the dystopian consequences of the Olympic city as a heterotopian environment, where tourists and investors often end up deciding not only on the city's development and shape, but also on the manner of life of its citizens.

In September 2010, I participated in the Conference 'Journeys of Expression VII' organised by Leeds Metropolitan University and the Copenhagen Business School. In my presentation with the title *The Olympic City: A Design for a 'Festival of Humanity' or a 'Mega-event'?*, I aimed to explore the differences between the meanings of a festival and a mega-event. The paper not only focused on the expansion in size and popularisation of the Olympic Games, but also on the differences in the visual characteristics between the two terms. The paper concludes, in the examination of the Olympic city as a visual representation, that the term 'festival' has nothing to do with the identity of the Olympic Games today as the Games no longer offer a break from the everyday reality, what Bauman refers to as 'time interlude' (2000, p.98). The identity of Games has more to do with a mega-event, based on prearranged spatial narratives.

My participation and attendance to different Conferences helped me to realise the connection of my subject with many other relevant subjects, such as modern utopianism, cultural representations and national identity approached by different academic disciplines. Although my MPhil research relied mainly on theoretical ideas in design and architecture, my PhD research explores further the roles of Olympic design and architecture within modern and postmodern society and culture. Therefore, my PhD research becomes a multi-disciplinary research where, for example, a modern Olympic

city is not only examined based merely on its design characteristics, but on the connection of these design characteristics with aesthetic ideas of the time and ideologies and also on different criteria (socio-political and economical) that influence the creation of a visual identity.

3.2 Theoretical Perspectives in Relation to the Meanings of the ‘Modern’ and the ‘Postmodern’

A key argument of this thesis is that there is a transition, from the modern to the postmodern era, in the representation of the Olympic city as a visual identity and also in many of the design and architecture ideas involved in the creation of this identity. In this section, I analyse the different theories that have facilitated the justification of my arguments in relation to this transition. This section is divided in two parts; the first addresses theories related to the findings of the modern era and the second addresses those related to the findings in the postmodern era.

For the first half of the twentieth century, there is limited illustrative material (i.e. printed images and photographic pictures), showing the atmosphere and promoted identity of the host city and nation. For this reason, in the examples of Athens 1896 and Paris 1900, the analysis is often based on written descriptions of the visual identity of the city, mainly found either in texts of the time and/or articles in newspapers, and based less often on pictures.

John Berger believes that ‘every image embodies a way of seeing’ (1972, p.2), even a photograph. However, at this first stage the information that we can take from the analysis of a photograph is related to the content of the picture and the ‘site of the image’ (Rose, 2007, p.19). The methods of compositionality can also reveal the intention of the agent, that is, the photographer or the editor of the image. The development in image editing techniques, in fields such as film, photography and the graphic arts, has

offered new possibilities such as altering the physical frame and therefore deciding on what should be included, excluded or highlighted within a picture. Furthermore, in the second half of twentieth century there was a major mobility, production and consumption of images, printed material and objects representing the identity of the Olympic city, found through the press, but also in globally distributed promotional and commercial material.

David Harvey (1989) relates the postmodern with the plethora (and importance) of visual images in postmodern culture, commenting on the 'mobilisation of fashion, pop art, television and other forms of media image, and the variety of urban lifestyles that have become part and parcel of daily life under capitalism' (p.63). The Olympic cities, as multicultural environments often become environments that are less attached to their own visual and cultural representations and instead are defined by signs and symbols of global culture, turning them into 'non-places' (Augé, 1995), as will be examined in Chapter 5.

Postmodernism has become one of the most insistently used terms in cultural debates (Lyotard, 1979; Baudrillard 1983; Harvey 1989; Jameson, 1991; Margaret Rose, 1991; Jencks 1996). My research constitutes a combination of the most influential ideas that have shaped my question related to the transition of the Olympic city into a postmodern idea and form of representation. As my thesis' objective is to show how the Olympic city has turned into a fashionable image, there is an emphasis both on the ways and means that contributed to the creation of a visual identity and also on methods of constructed narratives that contribute to the promotion of the Olympic city in a certain fashionable way.

In addition, there are a number of theorists such as the semiologist Roland Barthes who suggests that identities are floating and that meaning is not fixed and universally true at all times (Barthes, 1977, p.215). This thesis is not an interpretation of images based on semiotical analysis; there are cases,

however, (e.g. in the study of the visual representation of the Olympic city as an image, in section 5.4) where I use Barthes' semiotical analysis. Applying Barthes' theory on visual semiotics is useful in investigating the representational (denotative) and symbolic (connotative) meanings of people, places and things. Barthes (1977) in 'the rhetoric of the image' talks about the way in which seductive or persuasive means are employed to make an argument or to convince us to see things in a certain way. He also talks about discontinuous signs, which have a value because 'they form a coherent whole' (1977, p. 35). The creation of a corporate identity for the Olympic city, as it will be examined in section 5.4, is a way to create an identity representing a place as a coherent whole, often with no reference to the host city's urban, social or cultural conditions.

Additionally, the post-structuralist theorist, Jean Baudrillard, argues that advertising serves as the projection of a semiotic system of exchange of sign values of objects and social orders. For Baudrillard, advertising codes are organised in terms of 'a specific system of satisfaction' (1996, p.176). Promotional messages do not offer a full reading of what the objects stand for, because they want 'to draw attention to the absence of what they designate' (1996, p.176). In the section on the findings of the Olympic city in the postmodern era, the role of advertising and promotion of the identity of the Olympic city is a key subject. The Olympic city is examined as a constructed social and cultural experience and the different persuasive means and strategies, agencies, technologies and formulas of success are identified.

Semiologists, such as Barthes and Baudrillard, believe that images have hidden meanings and that visual representations can reveal information about the ideas and values of the people, places and things represented in images. For example, according to Baudrillard (1996, p.176), promotional techniques have prioritised the idea of 'looking at the message' rather than 'reading a message', for the reason that an image can become illusory,

'create a void' and 'indicate an absence'. Therefore, in the interpretation of arguments within the thesis from a semiological perspective, the aim is to decode the visual elements within an image or a picture and reveal its hidden meanings and absences.

3.2.1 Modern Era: Theoretical Perspectives and Approaches to the Subject of Study

In the 'findings of the modern era', the reading and explanation of images and texts is supplemented with the use of theories related to:

- Utopian ideas that characterised social and urban thinking of the late nineteenth century;
- The offering of a modern city identity, with the aim of enchanting the collective conscience;
- 'creative destruction' (see Harvey 1989);
- 'constructed visibility' (see Giannitsiotis, 2004);
- 'phantasmagoria' (see Benjamin, 1999).

3.2.1.1 Nineteenth and early Twentieth Century Utopian Theories

The Olympic Games provided the opportunity to the host cities to represent themselves in an identity reflecting a change, or even a transformation, from a previous social, cultural and urban condition. Olympic cities, such as Athens 1896 and Berlin 1936, therefore had the opportunity to incorporate utopian thinking and ideologies and to represent themselves as idyllic pictures of reality or to promote themselves internationally with new and progressive identities. Exempt were those examples that represented the Olympic city as a temporary escape from reality, similar to the atmosphere of a theme park. This occurred in connection with the Olympic cities that merged their programmes with those of the International Expositions, such as Paris 1900 and St Louis 1904.

The term 'utopia' first appeared in Thomas More's writing in 1516 to define an imaginary place, based on an ideal commonwealth that brought people to an excellent condition of citizenship in all fields of humanity and civil gentleness. Thomas More's concept of utopia is a combination of two Greek words: the word 'ou-topia' (Mishtooni, 1997, p.vii), a non place or an unreal place and the word 'eu-topia' (Mishtooni, 1997, p.vii), a happy and fortunate place. This literary interpretation of More's *Utopia* offers the opportunity to question whether the Olympic City was envisioned as an improvement from an existing social and urban condition, aiming for the ideal (eutopia), or as an escape from an existing condition, (outopia).

According to Bauman: 'the modern world was to be an optimistic world; a world living –towards- utopia. It was also to be a world believing that a society without utopia is not liveable, and consequently a life without utopia is not worth living' (2007, p.96). The project of modernity celebrated the belief in the realisation of utopia and its translation into spatial practice. Modern society involved new ideas and made the function of eutopia possible, lifting utopia's possibilities of realisation. Kevin Hetherington in his book *The Badlands of Modernity* (1997) compares Thomas More's *Utopia* with the modern utopia declaring: 'that is what modernity has been all about, trying to create the perfect society, by turning the nowhere into the good place' (1997, p.viii).

Another theorist of modernity, Karl Mannheim (1936), in his writings on *Ideology and Utopia*, uses the term utopia 'in the relative sense' (1985, p.196), depending on 'the point of view of a given social order which is already in existence' (1985, p.196). He makes a distinction between utopia and ideology, identifying them both as ideas that transcend the reality within which they occur. Four decades later, Ernst Bloch (1977) in *The Utopian Function of Art and Literature* creates a distinction between 'abstract and

concrete utopias' (1993, p.xxxiii), a distinction that is very useful in order to understand the intentions of a utopian plan.

According to Bloch, the essential distinction between an abstract and a concrete utopia is one of function (Levitas, 1990, p.89). A concrete utopia is straightforwardly associated with the result, it is therefore defined by 'its anticipatory and transformative function and is linked to the future' (Levitas, 1990, p.89), whereas an abstract utopia 'contains the intention towards a better life' (1990, p.89), without doing something to transform it. Both Mannheim and Bloch seemed in favour of utopias that inspire action, but do not create rules or guidelines that lead to concrete utopias in a form of buildings or sites, represented by monuments or symbols of utopianism.

For those who deal with the subject of utopia, in relation to both space and place, it becomes essential to take a position as to whether utopia is accepted as something realisable or not and whether it is envisioned as something that could possibly become part of reality, by taking an active role in changing reality. The Olympic city, stemming from the theoretical sketch of a 'Modern Olympia', is close to Bloch's definition of an 'abstract utopia' and therefore a utopia which, as explained earlier, contains the intention towards a better life. Its transformation into a 'concrete utopia', based again on Bloch's ideas, means the activation of its anticipatory and transformative function. This distinction helps in the differentiation of abstract utopianism, found in Coubertin's writings and ideology and concrete utopianism, found in the attempts of Olympic cities to represent themselves as ideal places. In order to propagate this dominant image of a good society, different means of visual language were used in these examples, from city planning to the architecture of buildings, festive decorations, graphic representations, film and photography, which is also the material investigated in such cases.

3.2.1.2 Theories related to the Enchantment of the 'Collective Conscience'

The thesis also makes use theories in which the experience of the Olympic city, as a modern city, is examined as a 'spacetime (a dreamtime)' (Benjamin, 1999, p. 389). Walter Benjamin examines the idea of the 'collective' (1999, p.389), based on the created 'fusion of individualistic and collectivist tendencies' (1999, p.390). Especially in the cases of Athens 1896 and Berlin 1936, theories related to the enchantment of the public by the Olympic city experience focuses on the emotional effects of visual images. Images and texts are analysed for offering pleasure, for their promise of a dream and for the often ambivalent and contradictory feelings they express, enchanting the public in parallel with representing superiority and power (of a culture, race or nation). For example the application of Germany's and the Third Reich's recreational plans appealed, according to Buck-Morss: 'to the collective in its unconscious dreaming state' (Buck-Morss, 1989, p.312).

Case studies, such as the Olympic Games in Berlin 1936, the hosting of the event also offered an opportunity for the nation to enchant the collective consciousness and convince not only local people but the rest of the world about the development, the progress, the transformation and often the superiority of the German nation and culture. This thesis also relates to theories of collective psychology based on a total control of the people and means for mass propaganda, discussed by theorists such as Benjamin, Kracauer and Adorno. It becomes essential to examine the use of visual ways and means to create a sublime experience and an impression that psychologically embraces the local and the international opinion.

3.2.1.3 David Harvey's Idea of 'Creative Destruction'

For Harvey:

'[T]o be modern is to find ourselves in an environment that promises adventure, power, joy, growth, transformation of ourselves and the world – and at the same time that threatens to destroy everything we have, everything we know, everything we are' (1989, p.10).

The thesis borrows Harvey's idea of 'creative destruction' (1989, p.16), in order to examine Olympic city examples that have represented themselves as reactions to a previous cultural identity or social order, abolishing symbols and visual language (e.g. architectural styles) related to the past. This recreation is based on admiration and dedication to new cultural symbols, but also on absolutism and rejection of any elements from a place's previous identity. The main sources of analysis in this case are photographs, but also reviews from writers and reporters of the time. These sources reflect reactions to both the new and the abolition of the old as well as the contrast between the now and then, assessing whether and how the old has disappeared in visual forms.

The Olympic city as a vision for change became an agent of disruption from an existing situation, which led to the hope for something new. The Olympic city as a project of modernity had many examples where radical changes and transformations within the city represented the start of a new era for the city's future. All three Olympic cities, Athens 1896, Paris 1900 and Berlin 1936, will be examined as cases where transformations took place that represented the start of a new era, but also the conflict among different ideas in relation to how the 'modern' should be visually represented.

3.2.1.4 Giannis Giannitsiotis' Idea of 'Constructed Visibility'

'Constructed visibility' (Giannitsiotis, 2004, p.243) is an idea that will help in understanding that what is visibly experienced as an Olympic city is often based on a recreated part or parts of the city, for the purposes of the event, where visibility is controlled and the viewing of another aspect of the city is

not allowed. Giannitsiotis talks about the constructed visibility of Athens during the Olympic Games in 1896 which was based on: 'the creation of attractive places of visit and everyday gathering, accommodation leisure' (2004, p. 243). With the use of this term, I will also refer to other Olympic city examples of the modern era. This term can also help to reveal elements of juxtaposition of an idyllic reality with visual elements that describe an ugly or hidden picture beside the one representing the Olympic city.

3.2.1.5 Walter Benjamin's Idea of 'Phantasmagoria'

'Phantasmagoria' (Benjamin, 1999) is a theoretical idea that will help in the understanding of both the temporary identity and the festive atmosphere of the Olympic city, where any effort to provide a modern and cosmopolitan atmosphere is based on offering leisure, spectacle and excitement. Phantasmagoria is a term coined by Walter Benjamin in his book *The Arcades Project* (1999), written between 1927-1940, and with particular reference to his analysis of nineteenth century Paris, the 'looking glass city' (Buck-Morss, 1989, p.81). In her reference to Benjamin's phantasmagoria of the modern city, Buck-Morss states that: 'The industrial metropolis became a landscape of techno-aesthetics, a dazzling, crowd pleasing dreamworld that provided total environments to envelop the crowd' (1995, p.84). As it will be further explained in chapter 4 and mainly in the example of the Olympic city of Paris 1900, phantasmagoria is related to how new technology is found in environments of mass entertainment, enchanting the masses through the display of the new but also the entertaining. The Olympic city of the modern era is, in this case, compared to phantasmagoria and the display of the new, in an effort to beautify reality based on festivities and rituals, elements of leisure and mass entertainment.

Phantasmagoria is also examined in relation to the atmosphere of the 'carnavalesque' (Bakhtin, 1984; see also Hetherington, 1997), where there is an emphasis on the city's festive and light-hearted identity that the Olympic

city often accentuated. The term 'carnavalesque' is introduced in Bakhtin's book *Rabelais and his World*, written in the 1930s, where Rabelais' own legendary life story offers carnival imagery and the atmosphere of the carnivalesque. Rabelais is exposed to a system of popular-festive images where 'the old world and the merriment of the new world are combined' (Bakhtin, 1984, p.210). 'Destruction and uncrowning are related to birth and renewal. The death of the old is linked with regeneration; all the images are connected with the contradictory oneness of the dying and reborn world' (Bakhtin, 1984, p.217).

What composes the atmosphere of the carnivalesque is, apart from instant transformations and surprises one after the other, the merge of unrelated worlds of austerity and mockery, images of 'feasting and festivity... of clowns and kings' (Bakhtin, 1984, p.197). This spatiality, merging two unrelated worlds, reflects the 'breaking down of high-low cultural distinctions' (Hetherington, 1997, p.30), found in a selective display of elements of permanent and noble value with elements of a temporary carnivalesque atmosphere.

Phantasmagoric events and festivals with elements of the carnivalesque have a similar attitude and flexibility, to combine festive and light-hearted elements with noble and authentic elements. Therefore, the idea of the carnivalesque is used to describe spaces where festive and light-hearted elements become combined with elements with an enduring historic and cultural value. In this way, 'popular-festive images become powerful means of grasping reality' (Bakhtin, 1984, p.211), a cultural reality that is not related to visual and cultural elements that have a long lasting value. The Olympic festival, in its representation of Coubertin's ideals and in parallel by being involved with phantasmagoric activities, entertaining the public, often offered an atmosphere of the carnivalesque. The example of the Olympic city of Paris 1900 is examined as a characteristic example offering such an atmosphere.

3.2.1.6 Selection of Case Studies in relation to the 'Findings of the Modern Era'

'Case study research is not sampling research' (Stake, 1996, p.4). Stake also claims that 'the real business of case studies is particularization, not generalization' (Stake, 1996, p.8). The case studies examined, both in relation to the findings of the modern and postmodern eras, have been chosen for the particular information they offer regarding the creation of a visual identity. They have also been chosen for showing how this particular identity has affected the general perception of an Olympic city's visual identity. There is emphasis on 'uniqueness, and that implies knowledge of others that the case is different' (Stake, 1996, p.8) in comparison to other examples. However, there are different ways of examining this uniqueness and in this particular study, this happens based on methods and theories involving a visual and cultural analysis.

The selection of the three Olympic city case studies of the modern era (Athens 1896, Paris 1900 and Berlin 1936) is based on the fact that they offer important material in relation to the ideas mentioned in the previous section. These are, therefore, case studies that firstly they have contributed in a different way in the assessment of the role of Olympic design and architecture, in the early stages of the Modern Olympic Movement. They have also produced a visual identity, reflecting different interpretations of Coubertin's modern ideas. Secondly, these cases studies have been identified as efforts to become visually and culturally represented as changing pictures of society, based often on ambitious plans for recreation, or ideas reflecting the socio-political profile that cities or nations wanted to be perceived as belonging to. Finally, they have been associated with the creation of a visual identity where new representational methods in architecture, design and visual communication have been introduced.

- The Selection of the Olympic city of Athens 1896:

The Olympic city of Athens in 1896 was the first city to host the Olympic Games of the modern era and the first to respond to Coubertin's Olympic ideas and to spatially interpret his theoretical model of a Modern Olympia. Athens is a symbol of Classicism, and due to its historic heritage, its archaeological sites and association with the values of the Hellenic world, it was also close to Coubertin's vision to revive the Games. The Olympic city of Athens 1896 becomes in this case an important example to study, as an effort to merge the values of classical past with the present. Athens 1896, in the representation of the city's and the Greek nation's modern profile, created a selected picture of reality, based on constructed visibility, in order to respond to the expectations of the Games as an international and modern project.

In this thesis the Olympic city of Athens 1896 is, therefore, selected to be examined as a visual identity representing a modern nation, focusing on this imposed reconciliation between modernity and antiquity. Athens 1896, taking the opportunity offered by a new international event, becomes an interesting example for its effort to promote itself as part of the modern world and a worthy successor of its classical past, whereas the rest of the world associates it with symbols of Classicism.

- The Selection of the Olympic city of Paris 1900:

Paris 1900 is examined as a contradictory visual experience from all the other Olympic city examples, because of the merging of its programme with the 1900 International Exposition. The characteristics of this event become associated with Walter Benjamin's phantasmagoria. The failure of the 1900 Olympic Games represents the failure of representing the Olympic city as a utopia of escapism based on a theme park atmosphere and a phantasmagoria based on temporary festivities with no connection to the

historic legacy of the Olympic Movement. This examination helps also in the understanding of why, visually and culturally, there was an irreverence of Coubertin's modern vision with the environment that the International Expositions offered.

- The Selection of the Olympic city of Berlin 1936:

I identify the Olympic city of Berlin 1936, an example known today for its dystopian consequences, as the highest moment of utopianism, sublime experience and outcome that reflects the idea of creative destruction. The Berlin 1936 Olympic city represented the start of a new epoch for Germany as a system, an ideology, a society and a culture. The quantity of visual material produced by the Organising Committee for the purposes of the event, as well as that describing the process and purposes for any design decision taken, is enormous. There is a production of books and commemorative albums based on every single process leading to a design project, from the architecture of the stadia and the Olympic Village, to the design of the advertising campaign installed in public spaces. Such a dedication to documented material regarding the visual identity of the city has not been found again until the Barcelona 1992 Olympic Games.

At the same time, I identify the Berlin 1936 Games as the starting point of a period when the advances in visual communication technology facilitated the reproduction of ideas and symbols, but also created a montage of symbolic connotations, although this is something representative of the postmodern era. Indeed, in the postmodern area it will be given a special term - a pastiche of visual ideas. The distinction from other Olympic cities that temporarily changed the city impression, for the purposes of the event, is that they mostly relied on surface changes. On the other hand, Berlin 1936 relied on the city's permanent changes, using the Olympic city as an ideal opportunity to display the aesthetic identity, representing Germany and the

Nazi ideology. In this regard, Berlin took full advantage of the Olympic project's potentiality.

3.2.2 Postmodern Era: Theoretical Perspectives and Approaches of the Subject of Study

According to Rose, 'We understand images as representations, the outcomes of the process of attaching ideas to and giving meaning to our experience of the world' (2007, p.99). The use of the word 'image' comes to describe the meaning of the Olympic city as a representation in the postmodern era. In this representation the interest is not only on the tourist, but also on the global viewer, the spectator, and how they are placed to experience the Olympic city based on technologically advanced (in relation to the modern era) media of representation (television, the internet). Banks, in his analysis of representation in the postmodern era, believes that 'the representation has some kind of intentional force behind it and presumes a viewer or a consumer' (2007, p.15-16). Therefore, another interest in my examination of the Olympic city in the postmodern era is the power of representation found in media strategies and marketing possibilities.

The word fashionable comes to add to the characterisation of the Olympic city as an image with a more ephemeral meaning, but also an identity that relies on the fugitive and at the same time spectacular identity of the event. In the world of fashion there is an emphasis on the producers of images, employing particular strategies, in order to make any representation more attractive and sellable, from the architecture of the buildings to tourist guides and posters, promoting the Olympic event visually.

Furthermore, the idea of transition of the Olympic city, from the modern era to the postmodern era, refers to the following characteristics: Firstly, Olympic city has moved from a time-based to a space-based reality. Secondly, it has moved from a representation of a place to an image, branding the identity of

a place. Thirdly, it has moved from an identity reflecting nations' utopian ideas for change, to spatial narratives that offer other -from the ordinary space experiences ('heterotopias', as it will be examined in the 'findings of the postmodern era', in chapter 5).

In relation to my research objective that tries to show how the Olympic city has turned into a fashionable image, I am interested in theories associated with the advancements in media and communication technology, image reproduction, together with the consequences of this advancement, such as the creation of environments based on simulation and aesthetic pastiche. A significant proportion of theories involve the creation of global identities of spaces. These are examined as identities that become associated with new symbols that global audiences can become familiarised with. Furthermore, I am interested in theories that involve the ephemeralisation of our visual experiences in spaces, hosting temporary events such as the Olympics and the start of an iconic architecture by eponymous design groups.

'Visual technologies do matter to how an image looks and therefore to what it might do and what might be done to it' (Rose, 2007, p.14). Therefore, what becomes important is not to record elements of technological advancement found in the examination of the Olympic city technological development, something that most research is based on. For this thesis, what becomes important is the possibility, through visual technologies, to change and often alter the Olympic city's historic, cultural and urban identity together with its aesthetic and architectural character. This study focuses more on the relation between the aesthetic and the social and how what is visually represented can be a metaphor of a different actual condition. Therefore, other theories that are of great interest for this research are those related to the control of the aesthetic climate of the Olympic city by the creation of a corporate identity and therefore the fragmentation of the Olympic city, both architecturally and aesthetically.

Following this, I specify theoretical frameworks that have contributed to my analysis of the Olympic city in the postmodern era. The group of the first three ideas concerns subjects related to place identities and considerations about the spatial problematic, whereas the group of the following three, is related to the subjects of simulation, creation of visual and cultural identities, based on new iconic values. These theoretical frameworks are:

- The crisis of utopian ideas and visions and the 'meta or grand' narratives that inspired them;
- Fragmentation and the experience of spaces as heterotopias;
- Ephemeralisation and instantaneity;
- Simulations and the creation of an uncertainty between the real and the unreal in visual representation;
- Corporate identities based on visual pastiche of represented images and symbols;
- Global icons in architecture, place imaging and the creation of 'brandsapes' (Klingmann, 2007).

3.2.2.1 A Crisis of Utopian Ideas and Visions

Jean-Francois Lyotard, in his book *The Postmodern Condition: a report on knowledge* (1979), talks about the end of grand narratives of the modern era and their replacement with little narratives' (1984). Lyotard argues that: 'The grand narrative has lost its credibility, regardless of what mode of unification it uses, regardless of whether it is a speculative narrative or a narrative of emancipation' (1984, p.37). Similarly, I suggest that the Olympic cities in the postmodern era are associated with 'little narratives', that have no relation to the philosophical grand narratives of Olympic cities in the modern era, but exist 'among the narrator and what is narrated, narrator and listener (reader)' (Lyotard, 1979, p.42). Grand narratives related to the Olympic city project have been called into question, whether these are linked with the visions of Coubertin or the nation's ambitions for redevelopment.

For Lyotard, 'the decline of narrative can be seen as an effect of the blossoming of techniques and technologies since the Second World War, which has shifted emphasis from the ends of action to its means' (1984, p.37). Based on this statement, I argue that the image of the Olympic city as a means of communication gives emphasis to the effect of representation rather than the content. The way that an Olympic city displays itself as an image depends on the narrator and what is narrated, which is what composes the little narratives.

Morley and Robins are involved in the analysis of particular industries that produce visual images for places, such as 'constructions of Europeanness' (Rose, 2007, p.17), by 'improving mutual knowledge among European people and increasing their consciousness of the life and destiny they have in common' (Morley and Robins, 1993, p.3). Robins believes that 'there has been an imaginative collapse: what was once driven by vision and energy is now driven by affect.' (1995, p. 336). In order to persuade and change people's perceptions, the construction of identity narratives, through place imaging, becomes today's solution. Therefore, 'images become means, instruments for manipulating perceptions. And so images displace ideals' (Robins, 1993, p.306). For example, in terms of the visual meaning of architecture, Robins argues that 'whereas for the early modernists architecture was the medium for expressing a vision of the city, for the postmodern marketers the city exists through a range of other media' (1993, p.306).

3.2.2.2 Fragmentation and the Experience of Spaces as Heterotopias

Heterotopia is a meaning introduced by the post-structuralist theorist Michel Foucault. The concept of heterotopia was coined in a public lecture in 1967, based on the idea of 'other spaces' (1984). Heterotopias were described as 'sites that have a general relation of direct or inverted analogy with the real

space of society. They present society itself in a perfected form...[but] are fundamentally unreal spaces' (Foucault, 1984).

When Foucault introduced the term, he was pointing out 'the various institutions and places that interrupt the apparent continuity and normality of ordinary every day space' (Dehaene and De Caeter, 2008, p.4). He gave the examples of spaces, such as boarding schools, honeymoon resorts, brothels - spaces with invented borders, rather than geographical ones that people naturally identify with. Dehaene and De Caeter believe that: 'In our contemporary world, heterotopia is everywhere. Museums, theme parks, malls, holiday resorts, wellness hotels, festival markets, the entire city is becoming heterotopian' (2008, p.5). Robins similarly argues that: 'If there is now a revival of interest in community and sense of place, this can only be seen in the context of what is in fact the increasing fragmentation and segmentation of urban life' (Robins, 1993, p. 312). The Olympic city, especially since it started to extend and offer narratives of a new community life, became as fragmented as other heterotopian environments.

Foucault argued that: 'space is fundamental in any form of communal life; space is fundamental in any exercise of power.' (Rabinow, 1991, p.252). His theory has a sensitivity to spatial order and examines the spatial problematic as he sees power 'less as something which is possessed but rather as a strategy' (Mills, 2003, p.35). Focusing on the role of space as a key to the constitution of power, in his principles of heterotopias, he identifies the characteristics of spaces that have gained power as strategies, rather than as reflections of people's longings. In my examination, I identify heterotopias as part of the Olympic city spatial problematic, associated with the creation of spaces and the redevelopment of areas within the city that are fragmented, at a social and urban level. The examination of the Olympic city as a heterotopia, I aim to show that today our intention is to invent spaces of alternate ordering. In order to respond to the size, the marketing expectations and the image that will represent it as something spectacular, there is the

intention to address to ‘-other than- the established ways of thinking spatially’ (Soja, 1996, p. 163).

There is also very interesting material in the different interpretations of the term coming from other disciplines, such as urban geography, sociology and critics in urban studies, as it will be further examined in chapter 5. For example, Edward Soja (1996), Kevin Hetherington (1997) and Benjamin Genocchio (1995), have given the term contemporary interpretations. According to Soja, Foucault’s heterotopia ‘sets space against time and against history’ (1996, p.153). Space, therefore, loses its ordinary linearity and everyday pace. Similarly, Genocchio argues that ‘the heterotopia is more of an idea about space than any actual place’ (1995, p.43). When describing today’s distinction between space and place, Soja attached more significance to instant relations and Genocchio to historical ones. In addition to Foucault’s definition of heterotopia, I also consider other theorists, such as Zygmunt Bauman, Fredric Jameson, Kevin Robins, Jean Baudrillard and Manuel Castells, who are involved with related subjects, such as space fragmentation and cultural uncertainty, the end of utopian longing, the creation of hyper-real spaces and spaces as part of a global network.

The chapter on ‘the findings of the postmodern era’ (see chapter 5) shows different examples of spatial fragmentation, most often stylised for global visual consumption, alongside places left without any intervention. Through different visual representations, it shows that otherness is not caused but is invented in order to alternate with other spaces. I recognise an often pretentious role that the Olympic city plays, based on a camouflage of reality, and strategies of branding. The Olympic city as a heterotopian space is based on strategies where, technically, everything becomes possible based on image repertoires and mechanisms of difference. This makes its role flexible and vague, adjustable to an icon shaped reality.

3.2.2.3 Ephemeralisation and Instantaneity

I recognise ephemeralisation as an important characteristic in the transition of the Olympic city into a postmodern experience, with examples that show the Olympic city as a more spatial and a less historic experience but also a more iconic and instant and a less permanent experience.

This theoretical subject is connected to the previous one, concerning post-structuralist and postmodern considerations about space. According to Foucault (1967), 'the great and obsessive dread of the nineteenth century was history', whereas our own era 'seems to be that of space' (1984). Foucault's notion of history is profoundly antithetical to 'those versions of history which were formulated in the nineteenth century and which assumed that human civilisations were inevitably progressive and must necessarily be better than those in the past' (Mills, 2003, p.78).

My thesis also looks at the postmodern theorist, Zygmunt Bauman (2000) and his ideas on 'instantaneity'. For Bauman, 'Instantaneity means immediate, on the spot fulfilment – but also immediate exhaustion and fading of interest' (2000, p.118). Massey also argues that 'instantaneity is spatial, and therefore cannot be temporal' (2006, p.76) and that today 'representation can be understood as a form of spatialisation' (2006, p.27), in reference to the fact that our experiences have become more instant. I similarly argue that, lately, there is an immediate exhaustion of what is seen and visually consumed in relation to the Olympic city and how it is perceived as an environment and as a spatial experience. Although modernity was associated with the utopian dream and with the promise of building the ideal place, instantaneity refers to an immediate fulfilment of dream images.

3.2.2.4 Simulation and the Creation of an Uncertainty between the Real and the Unreal

Visibility becomes an important matter to consider in the postmodern era. Relevantly, image and the way that the Olympic city will be visually communicated have become central parts in the Olympic city's meaning of spatiality. According to Ross, 'once the meta-narratives are revealed as empty, and ultimately arbitrary, we are left with the narratives that reflect the position of the narrator rather than metaphysical ideas or else that reflect the positions of those dominant groups whose interests prosper with such progress' (King, 1995, p.5). The thesis looks at Baudrillard's theory of simulation (and simulacra) defined as a perfect reproduction of the real that threatens 'the difference between true and false and between real and imaginary' (1983, p. 38). The search for the authentic becomes unnecessary as it is the 'duplication of sign which destroys its meaning' (1983, p. 136).

Additionally, according to McLuhan, television has become 'a profoundly involving medium with the audience as environment, the audience as vanishing point, the audience as screen' (2005, p.84). The Olympic city as a media experience is communicated in the way that the audience wants to perceive it. It therefore turns into a commodity, designed and promoted in order to be visually perceived as something unique. Focusing on appearance rather than substance, the Olympic city has relied on the creation of corporate images where image is not only a means to represent reality, but also to represent a fashionable and sellable image of reality. The spectacular, therefore, has merged into the real, and the real is designed based on the spectacular. The spaces created in order to respond to a global audience have to be designed in a unique but global language of visual communication. The creation of a successful global visual experience, lasting for a few days, is the criteria for the building of the Olympic city as an actual space.

3.2.2.5 Corporate identities based on a Stylistic 'Pastiche' of Represented Images and Symbols

In relation to this subject, I look at theories that help in the examination of the Olympic city as a visual representation based on a pastiche of images and symbols, often historically and culturally irrelevant to each other. For the postmodern theorist Fredric Jameson, pastiche is 'like parody, the imitation of a peculiar or a unique, idiosyncratic style, the wearing of a linguistic mask, speech in a dead language' (1991, p.17). Pastiche is, therefore, a stylistic language and a tool which 'producers of culture' (1991, p.17) use as a method, in order to create a unique situation based on a merging together of new and old styles. Jameson uses examples from architecture to describe the new postmodern language of pastiche that often turns towards 'nostalgia' (1991, p.19) for older styles. In this case pastiche also means the loss of the authentic and of what is known as a visual representation of an older style, as 'an inauthentic attitude to place is essentially no sense of place, for it involves no awareness of the deep and symbolic significances of places and no appreciation of their identities' (Relph, 1976, p.79).

The idea of pastiche is further analysed in the 'findings of the postmodern era' (chapter 5) and in relation to Olympic city examples that, with the creation of a corporate identity, invented their own distinctive identities, merging elements from different cultures and different epochs. The analysed examples are drawn from public and venue decorations involved in the Olympic city project, publicity images, and promotional and commercial catalogues.

3.2.2.6 Global Icons in Architecture, Place Imaging and the Creation of 'Brandscapes'

This thematic area is related to the idea that today the involvement of the Olympic city in an aesthetic production has become integrated in urban

branding and place imaging strategies, especially after the Barcelona 1992 Games. Arguments related to phenomena of place imaging and creation of 'brandsapes' (Klingmann, 2007, p.255) are examined in this section. David Harvey argues that: '[c]ities and places now, it seems, take much more care to create a positive and high quality image of place' (1990, p.92). Additionally, Sharon Zukin states that 'image revitalisation has become the new way of promoting change in our living places' (2008, p.xii).

The Olympic city project has turned into a unique opportunity for cities' image revitalisation: the new way of promoting change in our living places through place imaging as it has recognised that 'a city that does not curate its image and manage its story is out of date' (Zukin, 2008, p.xii). Olympic architecture has become an essential tool used by architects to find ways to promote the contemporary image of the city. The thesis examines ideas related to brandscaping (Klingmann, 2007) and iconic building (Jencks, 2005) and design examples that were created for spectacle, guaranteeing the success of the Olympic city as a fashionable and sellable image.

3.2.2.7 Selection of Case Studies in relation to the 'Findings of the Postmodern Era'

In the 'findings of the modern era', the example of the Olympic city of Berlin 1936, has been identified as the highest point of modern representation as a plan reflecting the nation's utopian aspirations. In the 'findings of the postmodern era', although there is an emphasis on some specific Olympic city examples, I am not examining these examples separately. I am instead drawing on elements found in them that can support my different arguments.

As it was mentioned before, the postmodern era is recognised by a mobility and flow of visual ideas and images, with many Olympic city examples taking ideas from previous examples and their strategies of success. It is evident though, that the Barcelona 1992 example is the richest in terms of material

found, related to the roles of architecture and design, in published books, magazines, publications by the Organising Committee (COOB '92), online lectures by the Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona (UAB) and published papers from Conferences. It is the first example that has been associated with major urban transformations for the promotion of its renewed image. After the example of Barcelona 1992, many other Olympic cities (e.g. Athens 2004 and Beijing 2008) tried to follow its planning ideas and image making strategies, adopting similar ideas such as urban regeneration, use of eponymous architects and promotion of a local identity made for global visibility.

The examples that I mostly focus on and identify as relevant to my arguments are:

- The Olympic city of Munich 1972, as representation of a spatially fragmented environment;
- The Olympic city of Los Angeles 1984 as representation of an ephemeral space with a corporate identity which relies on visual pastiche;
- The Olympic city of Barcelona 1992, for its association with regeneration and gentrification plans, in order to promote a globally impressive image of a revitalised local visual profile;
- The Olympic cities of Barcelona 1992 and Athens 2004, for using visual ways, based on a temporary 'camouflage' of reality, to promote a fashionable image of the city, often incapable to be applied into the everyday living.

Conclusion

The aim of this chapter has been the introduction of the main methodological tools and techniques, as well as the theoretical perspectives and arguments

that my thesis has been based on. Firstly, it introduced the tools and techniques involved in the visual and cultural analysis of this subject, together with the main influences and the research journey that was followed, leading to the writing of this thesis. It highlighted the multidisciplinary approach of a study based on a 'visual and cultural studies' analysis and a synthesis of different methods and theoretical ideas involved in visual analysis. The first section of this chapter also referred to the data gathering procedure - the sources that were used and the organisations that were visited in order to gather all necessary information. The second section, by referring to the key theoretical perspectives, has introduced the main theoretical ideas and theories that I have identified as important for my examination of the Olympic city in both the modern and the postmodern eras. It therefore gave a brief analysis of the key theoretical concepts that have been used in the writings of chapters 4 and 5 and also in the analysis of the illustrative material found in these chapters.

This chapter has shown the importance of a parallel investigation of the Olympic city subject based on archival research of Olympic cities from 1896 until 2004 and on a theoretical study involving ideas and theories from the late nineteenth century until now, related to the modern and postmodern city development and also representation as a visual identity. The theoretical framework has been necessary to justify the arguments identified in the findings of the Olympic city examples representing the modern and the postmodern eras. At the same time the use of Olympic city examples has been a unique opportunity to reflect on arguments found in modern and postmodern theories. Furthermore, the study of Olympic city examples and their visual identities, as representative of the modern and the postmodern eras, has been a unique opportunity to focus on the differences in city identities represented in the modern and the postmodern eras.

CHAPTER 4 – Findings of the Modern Era in the Representation of the Olympic City’s Visual Identity

Introduction

In this chapter, I examine the visual identity of Olympic cities that I have identified as representative of the modern era. This chapter associates the ‘modern’ with cities’ and nations’ ambitious plans, projected through the Olympic city’s visual identity, in their representation of the ‘new’, the ‘progressive’ and often the ‘utopian’. It gives a particular emphasis to the study of Olympic cities that were represented as an idealised picture of their urban and social condition, often reflecting ideas and plans for urban, social and cultural recreation.

François Lyotard argues that the ‘idea of possible, probable or necessary progress is rooted in the belief that developments made in the arts, technology, knowledge, and freedoms would benefit humanity as a whole’ (1993, p.48). I, similarly, argue that the Olympic city, in the modern era, became a challenge to the host cities and nations that wanted to show their involvement in modern development and create a space that would become a hope for the possible and the probable.

The selected Olympic city case studies which I examine are chronologically chosen from the first period of the Modern Olympic Movement. Some of them are inspired by Coubertin’s modern ideas but not by his aesthetic plans for a Modern Olympia. Using three specific examples of Olympic cities from the period 1896-1936 - Athens 1896, Paris 1900 and Berlin 1936 - the aim of this chapter is to reveal the characteristics from the visual identity of these cities, together with the means and visual methods that were used to communicate their plans, reflecting the new, the progressive and the utopian. In all three examples I have a particular interest in showing the conflict between more than two identities representing the host city as a modern plan and argue that

the identity chosen to visually represent the Olympic city was not always the only one or the most dominant one.

Furthermore, in this chapter I argue that the Olympic city as a representation of ideas, connected with the modernity, has a strong association with the host nations' own interpretations of the values of the Modern Olympic Movement. The Olympic city is examined as a project connecting the modern age with antiquity, where the modern is associated with the idea of change, and antiquity is associated with the eternal values of humanity.

Both the examples of Athens 1896 and Berlin 1936 (examined in this chapter) tried in different ways to reflect this connection between the modern age and antiquity. In these two examples, which I have identified as characteristic of the modern era, it therefore becomes interesting to consider the visual ways used by these Olympic cities to convince the rest of the world that their plans for change and redevelopment involve a shared effort for world improvement and have an eternal value. In the previous chapter, and in reference to the theoretical framework of examining Olympic city examples in the modern era, the following theories have been identified as essential in helping to interpret the visual identities of the selected Olympic cities, together with the role of their design and architecture.

Firstly, there was an association, in the representation of the Olympic city, with the concept of utopia, aiming to turn the impossible into the possible and to represent itself as an ideal place and as part of an up and coming modern world. Secondly, there was a reference to David Harvey's idea of 'creative destruction' (1989, p.10) and the efforts to recreate a city and a nation, based on the abolition of previous cultural symbols and forms and their replacement by the design of a new visual and cultural identity. Thirdly, I introduced the ideas of 'phantasmagoria' (Benjamin, 1999, p.3) and 'constructed visibility' (Giannitsiotis, 2004, p.243). With these ideas, I showed the connection of the

Olympic city in the modern era with ways that visibility can be controlled, by engaging with the masses visually and culturally.

This chapter is divided into three main sections, examining the visual identities of the Olympic cities of Athens 1896, Paris 1900 and Berlin 1936. The third section, examining the Olympic city of the Berlin 1936 Games, is the one that has been given more emphasis. I have identified the example of the Berlin 1936 Games as the highest point representing this era, as an example that becomes associated with many of the characteristics, analysed in the methodology chapter, which are considered to be characteristics of the modern era, such as 'creative destruction' and the rise of mass utopian planning ideas aiming to enchant the masses.

4.1 The Visual Identity of the Olympic City of Athens 1896

Introduction

This section examines the visual identity of the Olympic city of Athens 1896, with a main emphasis on ways that this identity was turned into an experience based on 'constructed visibility' (Giannitsiotis, 2004, p.243). The analysis of the visual identity of Athens 1896, based on constructed visibility, aims to show the ambivalence between two identities. On the one side is an identity that represents the city based on criteria of how it should be perceived by others (the visitors and foreign admirers of its classical past), an identity also associated with a general climate of Philhellenism in Europe during the time of the Olympics. On the other side is an identity of a city that lacks the basic characteristics as a 'modern capital'.

Some of the findings, from the design and architecture of the city, also involve the representation of the Olympic city of Athens 1896 as a modern place and demonstrate how this modern identity often mixes with elements of

phantasmagoria. In this section, I show how this phantasmagorical identity reveals the exaggeration in the effort to force a modern visual profile and a nostalgic aesthetic character (through Neoclassicism) while, at the same time, contradicts the undeveloped part of the city's urban and social condition. My analysis is based on examples that reflect the ambiguous urban and social condition of the city: a constructed modern identity found in selected parts of the city and an often undeveloped picture of it in its everyday living.

4.1.1 The Urban and Social Identity of Modern Athens in the Late Nineteenth Century

Modern Athens became the capital of the newly formed Greek state in 1833, only sixty-three years prior to the first Olympic Games in Athens 1896. For this reason, the representation of Athens 1896 as an Olympic city reflects the ambitions and the contradictions in the establishment of the Greek state and the recognition of its national and cultural identity by its European counterparts. At the same time, the Olympic Games' revival found grounds in a general climate of interest and admiration, during a century when excavations, one after the other, were unearthing treasures from Greece's classical past. As Maurras states (1929), the Athenians were 'looking for any opportunity to remind of their identity and to display their development' (2000, p.89). The creation of an identity with a main influence from the classical past aimed to attract an international audience, relying on the general climate of interest and admiration for classical times.

In 1834, the German architect, Leo Klenze⁸, was appointed to draw a new master plan for Athens. He promised that, 'all the remains of barbarity would

⁸ Klenze's plan was based on a strategy of clearance but also on the formation of the historic centre of the capital including its major ancient monuments, which was named as historic triangle. The shape of the historic triangle perched above the Acropolis still determines the shape of Athens' historic centre. Sites from antiquity such as the Acropolis, the temple of Zeus, the Panathenaic stadium, the monuments of Hadrian, the Ancient Agora

be removed, and that the remains of the glorious past would be newly revealed as the solid foundation of a glorious present and future' (Smith, 2004, p.49). Klenze's plan involved the creation of a historic centre of Athens, where neoclassical buildings merged with the major ancient monuments and sites. The idea of revival contained the desire to bring the beauty of classical Athens back to life. After Greece's independence from the Ottoman Empire in 1821, and in the course of the nineteenth century, Greece was led to a process of restoration that came to its peak during the time of the first Modern Olympic Games. Llewellyn Smith gives a description of a 'vigorous programme of cleansing restoration and excavating, which extended over decades because of the richness of the material and lack of resources for the task' (2004, p.56).

Fillipides describes the period from 1885-1895 as a time of major public projects, with the development of institutions, but also of industry (1984, p.105). Neoclassicism was not an architectural style of a restored Athens, but of a restored identity of Athens, bringing modern Greece close to its ancient roots of Classicism. It was, therefore, a style suitable to the creation of an identity that would merge past with present. Fillipides argues that Neoclassicism was an architectural style 'closer to its ancient ideal of classical architecture' (1984, p.69) and independent from any more contemporary architectural styles, since the recent past had been rejected, as a time associated with the years of occupation by the Ottoman Empire. The Neoclassic architecture applied in many nineteenth century buildings in Greece borrowed a great number of formal elements from classical architecture, Fillipides, refers to as 'romantic Neoclassicism' (1984, p.90). 'Greek Neoclassicism was influenced by the simplicity of the classical form of architecture and also by the heaviness and grand scale of Roman architecture' (Travlos, 1967, p.25).

were the main components of the city's past, playing an important role in the formation of Athens' new plan (Smith, 2004, p.49).

The decision to build modern Athens in this style in the old city centre, next to the ruins of classical Greece, was based on a clear ideological meaning and not so much on a practical one. According to Georgiadis: 'The dominant ideology in the newly formed independent Greek state was that it constituted the heir and successor of Classical Greece' (1995, p.88). With the renovation of modern Athens in the neoclassical style, a style reminiscent of its glorified past, the architecture of the present would seem to be a continuation from its past. Modern Athens, inspired by the discoveries of its past, adopted the neoclassical style for the architecture of its public buildings and the houses of wealthy families which had returned to Greece after the country's independence. The portrait of nineteenth century neoclassical Athens was created by a few examples of Greek architects trained abroad but mostly by the plans of foreign architects and 'some of the most prestigious international architects with the highest reputations were involved such as: Schinkel, Klenze, Gaertner and the Hansen brothers' (Travlos, 1967, p.22).

Nearer the time of the Olympic Games this effort to re-create the visual identity of modern Athens became more intense with the completion of Hansen brothers' Athenian Trilogy (the University, the Academy and the National Library). Also, built at the same time was Ziller's National Theatre, the Zappeio Megaron exhibition hall and the National Archaeological museum which accommodated historic treasures from the new discoveries of the German archaeologist Schliemann. The decades from 1880-1909 were, according to Skaltsa (1983, p. 389-391), a period when many works improving the city's infrastructure such as roads, railway lines, public transport (first bus in 1886) were done, but also a time when the city's two central squares, Constitution and Concord, were lit, illuminating the public life of the centre during the later hours.

Apart from the areas used for the athletic events, during the time of preparation of the Olympics, 'the time allowed for finishing all those different buildings was short and great apprehensions were again loudly expressed by

the public' (Politis and Anninos, 1897, p.24). There was a rush for the creation of athletic sites, hotels and accommodation facilities. These were necessary to make Athens ready to host the event, even in a time when both the participation and the building requirements were very limited compared to the present day. Although many of these buildings, used for accommodation and leisure, were based on neoclassical style, it was necessary to show that they were contemporary in their provided facilities and services. The increase of the quality and quantity of hotels (such as Grande Bretagne, Hôtel d'Angleterre⁹), but also of cafés and restaurants (Café Capéroni, Beerhouse Goulielmos) showed an effort to adjust to the western standards of a modern city lifestyle¹⁰.

The Panathenaic stadium was the central site of the 1896 Games although other athletic events took place elsewhere, such as fencing in the Zappeion hall, swimming in the harbour of Zea and the marathon which started from the village of Marathon and ended in the stadium. Most projects were completed based on the generosity of benefactors, mainly Greeks who were living abroad and returned to Greece in the early nineteenth century, such as Evangelis and Konstantinos Zappas and George Averoff. The restoration of the Panathenaic stadium¹¹ does not contain any characteristics in its

⁹ Giannitsiotis refers to 3-4 hotels being up to the standards of the western visitors (2004, p. 257).

¹⁰ The Baedeker's and Murray's handbooks, guidebooks drew a sharp distinction between civilised Athens and the rough provinces with precautions against fleas and bedbugs, and mention of buildings that had the convenience of a modern capital, and the list of good hotels, like Grande Bretagne found in Syntagma Square (cited in Smith, 2004, p.139).

¹¹ The renovation of the Panathenaic stadium was funded by Averoff, a wealthy Greek, living in Egypt. The state was bankrupt and the government was opposed to the idea of hosting the Games at the start. The government of Trikoupis which was in power until 1895, a year before the Games, had refused all financial support for the Games, as he knew that the state was bankrupt. Coubertin in his *Memoirs* argues that Trikoupis 'pretended to object purely from the financial point of view, although in my opinion this was not his only reason.' Coubertin later refers to Deliyannis, the leader in opposition who 'had opted enthusiastically for the idea of the Olympic Games' (Pierre De Coubertin. 1997. p.30). King George and the Princes were encouraging the idea, but as Tomkinson states, this gesture might have served 'to convince their often sceptical subjects that the family was now more Greek', since none of the royal family members were Greek (2002, p.59).

architecture that became useful in the structure of the future stadiums. Its restoration characterised it as 'the symbol of the Olympic ideal and of the restored identity of Athens 1896' (Ministry of Culture, 2004, p. 64) with a capacity of 60,000 people.

The Panathenaic stadium was rebuilt on the ruins of the old, in white marble and in the shape of an elongated U - a shape that has not been repeated in any later examples. Mylonas argues that 'it was the first in the modern era, but also the last of its kind' (1952, p.96), before modern stadium architecture was developed to be more suitable for new sports. The Panathenaic stadium is an imitation of the architecture of the Roman stadium of Herodes Attikus that existed at the site. For Mylonas, its architecture will 'remain a jewel of modern Athens' (1952, p.98), on account of the romanticism found in the architecture of the building more than the practical and functional elements of it. According to Tomkinson: The romantic took precedence over the practical even in the detailed forms of the entrance: 'very tall masts had been erected and on them hang standards and escutcheons (coats of arms) and a replica of an ancient tripod on each side' (2002, p.61).

Coubertin romanticised about the Panathenaic stadium which represented a metaphor of his ideal of the scenery of classical times. As Coubertin wrote in *Olympic Memoirs* before the completion of the project:

'The restored Stadium of Athens! How I would love to show you a slide of the state the stadium was back in November 1894 ...and then show you how it now stands, wearing its marble finery, filled with workers busily completing its stands, just as it was in the time of Pericles' (Müller, 2000, pp.573-574).

The Panathenaic stadium, especially for the local community, represented a symbol of modern Greece linked with the classical times. It was, therefore, a new monument of Athens, the architecture of which was inspired by the characteristics of classical architecture. This can be observed in the

descriptions of the local press of the time. For example, a journalist of the weekly newspaper *To Asty* (*To Άστυ*) expresses his enthusiasm pronouncing that the stadium has ‘the magnificence of such a monument which people will admire forever’ (Anninos, 21st March 1896). In his description he also states how he thought ‘it was one of the few world miracles, like the St Peter in Rome or the Pyramids’ (21st March 1896). The journalist compares it to other monuments in history, by also arguing that ‘magnificence is found in its location bringing back to our memory the ancient athletes’ (21st March 1896) and it was a location that people from different parts of Europe and America come to admire. The journalist also hopes that it will become a symbol of national redevelopment declaring that: ‘The stadium is more than a cold marble structure. It is a symbol of all our hopes and promises towards a brand new future’ (21st March 1896).

4.1.2 The Association of the Olympic City with the Ideas of Neo-Hellenism and Philhellenism

The Olympic city of Athens 1896 played an important role in the definition of Athens’ modern identity, based on Coubertin’s ideas to revive an environment inspired by the aesthetics of Ancient Olympia and the country’s classical heritage. The represented identity of the Olympic city was an opportunity to show that the country was in a process of modernisation and transformation of modern Greeks ‘into beings worthy of Pericles and Socrates’ (Anderson, 1991, p.72). According to the words of Politis and Anninos at the *Official Olympic Review* of the 1896 Games: ‘We may predict that the champions of modern Hellas will prove themselves more and more worthy of their illustrious ancestors’ (1897, p.25).

Gourgouris describes modern Greece as ‘the historical brainchild of nineteenth century Philhellenist Europe’ (1996, p.157). Philhellenism for Gourgouris is a word synonymous to a fantasy that constitutes ‘a desire – the desire for civilisation as the anthropocentric dissolution of a myth’ (1996,

p.127). The first Modern Olympic Games in Athens in 1896 took place in a climate of Philhellenism associated with the study of Neo-Hellenism¹². The Olympic Games revival was not only the first effort in realising Coubertin's vision, but the first environment engaging with the values of a new identity and language, of Neo-Hellenism, which draws its inspiration from the study of Hellenism. The Olympic Games became synonymous with the realisation of a myth, based on the environment that would revive the values of Hellenism, and the classical ideals in a modern festival of humanity and culture.

Coubertin described Hellenism as 'the cult of humanity in its present life and its state of equilibrium... this was a great novelty in the mentality of all people and of all time' (Müller, 2000, p.566). Hellenism was Coubertin's source of inspiration for the Olympic Games revival, whereas Neo-Hellenism became his source for the popularisation of the Olympic ideal, aiming at finding its purpose in the environment of the Olympic city of Athens 1896. According to Coubertin: 'Neo-Hellenism is the language of the national dream-thoughts, or more precisely, the textualised thoughts of the nation's dream work' (Müller, 2000, p.566). Neo-Hellenism, for Coubertin, was not only a language addressed to the Greek nation; it was a language addressed to a wider spectrum of nations and communities. It was a utopian concept, mainly perceived by its foreign or distant admirers as a continuation or revival of Hellenism as a philosophy of life.

The hosting of the Olympic Games was an opportunity for the Greek nation to declare its national dream-thoughts (see Gourgouris, 1996) based on a concept, Neo-Hellenism, that received international admiration because of its connection with values from the past. Athens' association with the values of Neo-Hellenism has to do with the creation of an identity that was a characteristic of the Olympic city 1896 and was built based on a re-imagination of its classical past. Anderson, in his seminal work *Imagined*

¹² According to Alexiou 'Neo-Hellenism having been appropriated by German classicists from the late eighteenth century, to refer to the revival of classical studies in the West' (Alexiou, 1986, p. 5)

Communities, examines the vision of nations with efforts to be distinguished by 'the style in which they are imagined' (1991, p.6). Anderson characterises Greece as one of the countries that 'began to imagine themselves as awakening from sleep' (1991, p.195). In a similar manner in his examination of Greece as a modern nation, Gourgouris states that 'every nation is instituted by the particular society that imagines itself as a nation' (1996, p.16).

Gourgouris argues that 'the nation of Greece exists and will only exist insofar as the Neo-Hellenic national fantasy is still at work' (1996, p.38). Neo-Hellenism, therefore, becomes a fantasy, expressing a desire to create a modern civilisation where the values of the new stem from the values of the old. The first Olympic Games were seen as an opportunity to express this fantasy, treating the Olympic event as the representation of the start of a new era for the nation and as a chance to externalise this utopian thinking abroad.

4.1.3 The Creation of a Modern Identity of Athens 1896 based on a 'Topos of Architectural and Sculptural Ruins'

Athens still had to restore its modern identity, based on a 'topos of architectural and sculptural ruins' (Leontis, 1995, p.40) and on what the archaeological discoveries had brought to the surface. Calotychos, referring to Greeks' trust in the creation of an identity based on images of sublimation of Athens' distant past, states: 'Greeks are reclaiming their place in the modern world with a new lease of confidence' (2003, p.288). The building of the identity of modern Athens, based on the admiration for the archaeological discoveries and the culture of the city's classical past led to a visual representation of the host city, based on two contrasting urban identities: Travlou (2001) argues that in Athens there were contrasting images of a landscape split between two epochs. Ruins and antiquities evoked the place's past splendour on the one hand; mosques and caravan-serais (Ottoman-style mansions) on the other.

This landscape of ruins is based on a blind admiration of the past, giving an opportunity to re-imagine the present, based on an idealised notion of the past. For the West, Greece's landscape was not an alien terrain, but a legacy absorbed and integrated within the matrix of their own civilization (Travlou, 2001). The environment of Greece in the late nineteenth century was, for the West, a product of a modern myth. It seemed as if the ancient ideal, in the form of a myth, found a new time territory, erasing the history of the recent past, and this was something that agreed with the psychology of its distant admirers.

For example, Calotychos' describes Freud's reaction when he first stood in front of the Acropolis and reacted to a landscape that for him almost seemed unreal: 'So all this really does exist, just as we learnt at school' (1904, cited in Smith, 2004, p. 65). Similarly, Travlou explains how the Parthenon, the symbol of modern Athens, has become a western myth, an artefact appreciated for how it looks in a state of decay, instead of how it used to look with its contemporary cultural context (Travlou, 2001). According to Gourgouris, 'to Europeans the ancient Greek ruins were only symbolic capital; they were legendary marks without a present life whatsoever' (1996, p.147). The creation of an international identity for Athens, that wished to gain recognition worldwide, led to a stereotypical image that seemed almost unreal.

The restored identity of Greece and in particular of Athens, inspired many romantic writers of the nineteenth century such as Byron, Shelley and Chateaubriand who 'searched for new, dream-like places to stage their writings' (Travlou, 2001). According to Travlou (2001): 'Romantic travellers, thus, transformed and mutated Greek landscape ...with places that stimulated their readers; imagination, places real but at the same time out of reach for the majority of the period'. Leontis also argues that, in the modern period, artists, diplomats, and scholars travelling from France, Austria,

Scandinavia, and especially Britain had 'conjured up a different spiritual landscape in their descriptions of this place' (1995, p.41).

The identity of contemporary Athens was reflected through symbols of the past that symbolised nostalgia and admiration for a re-imagined past, something that can also be observed in articles from the foreign press during the time of the Games. For example, there is a description by a foreign correspondent of *The Times* of London about the classical monument of the Parthenon, claiming that: 'The Parthenon is more beautiful than the Eiffel Tower, more interesting than the Gigantic Wheel' (6th April 1896, cited in Tarassouleas, 2003, p.50), comparing it to the Eiffel tower and to an observation wheel (designed by Ferris), for the World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago in 1893. What is interesting is that the journalist seems to rediscover the value of the Parthenon as a monument, by comparing it with monuments of modernity, found in other international events, such as the International Expositions. The historical gap between monuments of the classical age and modern monuments disappears. As it will be seen in a following section, during the Games, the Parthenon and the whole hill of the Acropolis was illuminated, with lights constantly changing colour, something that gave to it a modern appeal, because of the use of technologically new lighting effects. The illuminated Acropolis in this way became easily compared to modern monuments of the time and not to other historic monuments.

4.1.4 The Olympic City Visual Identity Based on 'Constructed Visibility'

This section argues that texts found in the guidebooks and newspapers of the time near the Olympic Games, lead to the experience of a selected image of Athens' reality. The guidebooks on the city of Athens, near the time of the Olympic Games, emphasised the visitors' experience of the city, based on what has already been described as 'constructed visibility' (Giannitsiotis, 2004, p.243). Athens offered the unique opportunity to make into reality the

experience of 'constructed visibility', revealing the picturesque and hiding the devastatingly ugly. In the Athens 1896 case, the identity of representation of the city concerned 'what should the foreigners experience and what they should not' (Giannitsiotis, 2004, p.243). Texts and pictures addressed to the foreigners highlighted the good parts of Athens, mostly at the capital's centre and close to the archaeological sites of Athens' historic centre.

During the times of the Olympic Games, tourism became more organised with agencies such as 'Thomas Cook' in Great Britain and 'Stranger' in Germany, becoming responsible for the transportation and installation of foreigners in Athens. Organised tourism was active during the time of the Olympics, but was based on a prescheduled experience of spaces to visit. According to Smith: 'The group tourism associated with Cook grew in the 1880's and 1890's... stopping off for visit at Delphi, Delos and Athens, and hearing lectures by eminent scholars' (2004, p.161).

According to Travlou, guidebooks 'portray a fragmented city whose present history is missing and whose urban landscape is reduced to few routes, directing tourists to the historical sites' (2002, p.112). In her analysis of guidebooks from the mid nineteenth century until today, Travlou refers to an identity of Athens presented as both picturesque and devastatingly ugly, due to the inefficiency of its services, but presented mainly as based on its 'glorious past' (2002, p.97). For example, *The Practical Guide to Athens and the Environs* by Baedeker belongs to the travel guides that reveal the city 'as a place of leisure and fun' (Giannitsiotis, 2004, p.284), but at the same time warns about the possible disappointment of the visitor on his arrival to Greece, stating that: 'The foundation of Athens is lost in the darkness of prehistoric times' (Olivier, 1896, p.9).

Baedekers's guidebook describes different journeys 'from the Royal Palace to the Acropolis and from the Royal Palace to the Theseum (Olivier, 1896, p.15), passing from all the major archaeological sites and monuments (Hill of

the Nymph, Pnyx, Monument of Philopappus). It also creates a journey to modern Athens passing from the new public buildings of neoclassical order (The University, The Roman Catholic Church, The Polytechnic School, the Zappeion). The visitor who follows the advice of the guidebooks has the impression that he should follow specific journeys, 'linking the main roads from Constitution square to Concord square' (Giannitsiotis, 2004, p.291), whereas narrow and dark streets, a few meters away from the main ones, do not appear in the guides. According to Smith, the Baedeker's and Murray's guidebooks 'drew a sharp distinction between civilised Athens and the rough provinces' (2004, p.139), with two contrasting images including sites to visit and not to visit.

Figure 4.1 shows a picture from Stadiou Street, one of the main boulevards of modern Athens and of neoclassical mansions, that the visitor was advised to visit in the tourist guidebooks¹³. In streets like Stadiou, apart from street cleaning and naming of streets, 'trees and plants were being planted, archaeological sites were being aesthetically framed and night lighting was being improved' (Giannitsiotis, 2004, p.271). However, outside the imaginary barriers of this fragmented experience of space, there was a reality of 'the chaotic environment of the non-selected to show parts of the city' (Giannitsiotis, 2004, p.274) and the non lit public areas and roads. 'Only a small distance away from the centre somebody could come across a city lacking the basics' (Ministry of Culture, 2004, p.60).

Just a few meters away from Stadiou Street, in Hermou Street, as shown in Figure 4.2, there is another portrait of an Athens that lacked money and infrastructure and showed the city's incapacity to develop as an international

¹³ This picture is taken later, near 1906, by an amateur photographer. It shows the lighting (the arches of flaming gas-lights) that had been installed during the time of the Olympic Games 1896 and also the neoclassic mansions on the left side of this picture. This picture is sourced from the Photographic album *Olympie Athènes, Voyage Photographique sur les lieux des Jeux Olympiques*, (Kallimages, 2005).

presence with modern status¹⁴. The city of Athens, based on conflicting images of its identity, is described by Roides¹⁵, in his writings on the 1896 Olympic Games, as 'images of extreme and anarchic urban development' (Dimiroulis, 2004, p.31). In these contradictory images of the city's urban identity, Roides (1896) describes how 'houses in a form of sheds start being replaced by neoclassical mansions' (2004, p.46). 'Roads for promenades have been occupied by sellers selling their products on the street, butchers displaying the slaughtered meat on the pavements' (2004, p.46), as figures 4.1 and 4.2 demonstrate.

Roides describes an Olympic city with a mixed profile, referring to central places like Adrianou Street in Plaka, where the mixing of different classes leads to contrasting behaviours. An interesting pair of sketches were displayed in a local newspaper *Ta Olympia* (9th March 1896), a few days before the start of the Games, showing the discomfort of Greeks in the modern and cosmopolitan atmosphere of an international event, such as the Olympic Games. The first sketch is described as 'The arrival of the foreign visitors' (fig 4.3) and the second one as 'The decoration of Athens' (fig 4.4). The first one shows the visitors' arrival, most of whom had a stylistic appearance suitable to the cosmopolitan atmosphere of an international event. However, in front of the queue is the figure of a Greek man that is not conforming with the accepted behaviour and appearance expected of a modern European. His appearance is more reflective of 'the savage, barbaric remnants of the traditional, peasant communities that emerged' (Verinis, 2005, p.141) from the occupation of the Ottoman empire.

The second sketch in a sarcastic manner refers to scenes composing the 'decoration of Athens', describing again an unacceptable behaviour in its comparison to the cosmopolitan environment that other modern European

¹⁴ This picture is taken in 1896 by an amateur photographer and it is sourced from the Photographic album *Olympie Athènes, Voyage Photographique sur les lieux des Jeux Olympiques*, (Kallimages, 2005).

¹⁵ A Greek writer of the time, with his writing identified by a sarcastic manner.



FIG 4.1

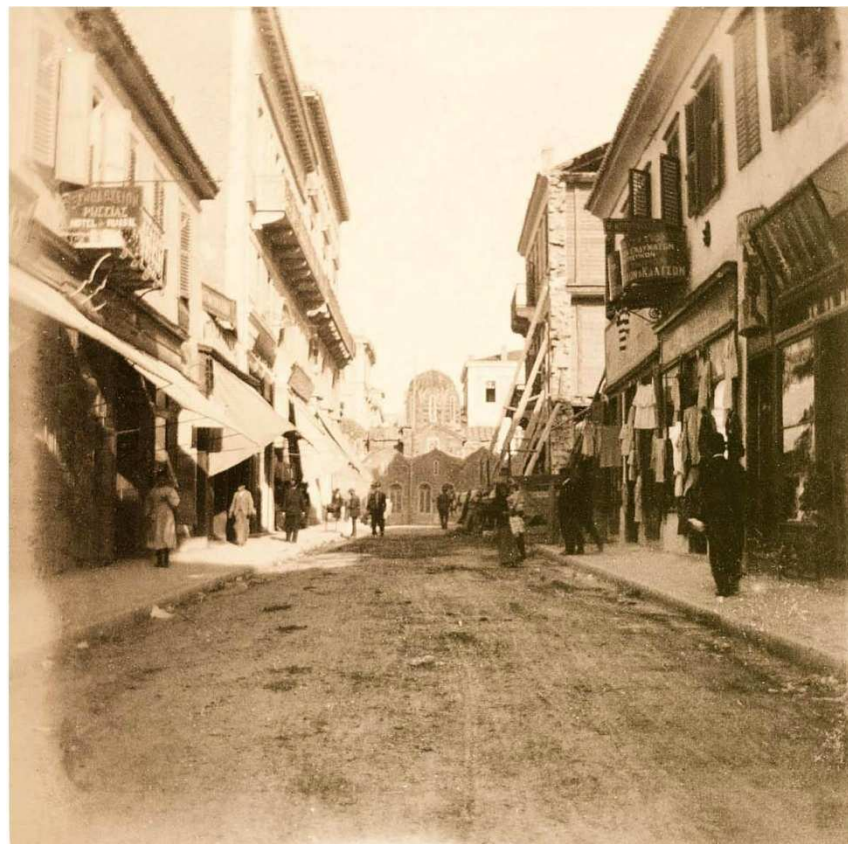


FIG 4.2



FIG 4.3



FIG 4.4

capitals could offer. This sketch agrees with Roides' earlier description of displayed slaughtered meat on the pavements, together with other everyday street activities and jobs, not suiting the modern profile of a European capital that Athens wanted to associate itself with.

4.1.5 The Olympic City of Athens 1896 and its Identity of Phantasmagoria

The Olympic Games as a festival, represented as a 'phantasmagoria' (Benjamin, 1999, p.3) changed the habits of the everyday life for the duration of the Games, breaking the conflicting atmosphere between the activities during the day and night, and bringing together people from different cultures, but also from different classes. In the case of Athens 1896, there is an atmosphere of phantasmagoria found in the city's festive character. As it has already been mentioned in the methodology chapter and in reference to theoretical framework of analysis of Olympic cities in the modern era, phantasmagorias are associated with the creation of 'total environments to envelop the crowd' (Buck-Morss, 1995) and also with visual methods to enchant the masses. In the case of Athens 1896, the creation of an atmosphere of phantasmagoria became a weapon with the ability to enchant the public, especially the local people, and make them aware of the city's changes into a modern city profile, as well as their induction to a modern way of life.

According to Skaltsa, towards the end of the nineteenth century, the central squares and the roads for promenades belonged mainly to upper classes (1983, p. 439). The lower classes would come to the centre only during festivals and celebrations and likewise they came for the festivities related to the Olympic Games. An article about the different activities of Athens at night, published in the newspaper *Ta Olympia* a few months before the start of the Games, described how 'a different world, different customs and thoughts, and new ideas rise in the streets of Athens during the night'. The

article describes another side of the city and 'of night working, of joy and seduction, of crime and card playing' (*Ta Olympia*, 11th November 1895).

The overshadowing of these activities and habits by the festive activities of the Olympic Games, that took place day and night, revealed a new identity for the city that only lasted for the duration of the Olympic event. During the time of the Olympic Games, 'everyday a crowd of people was covering the streets, the coffee shops, the restaurants and the hotels of the city which had turned into a constant festive atmosphere' (Ministry of Culture, 2004, p. 86). However, although people from every class were part of the same festival, they were separated into two groups: those who had the money and the opportunity to enter the stadium and the venues organised for the event and those who viewed the events for free from public spaces and landscapes surrounding the venues. When the Games began, according to the description of Llewellyn Smith, inside the stadium, at the sides, there were empty spaces 'but the surrounding hills were covered with spectators, keen to watch for free' (Smith, 2004, p.161). His description clearly shows the two different types of audience. It also reveals that the athletic events were experienced differently by two different groups of people.

The Acropolis was lit but also lighting of central streets and public spaces changed the city's profile giving life at night, something that was celebrated through Olympic city events taking place during the night. An example of these festive events was the 'Venetian night' organised on the 5th day by the Mayor and the Corporation of Piraeus, with the lighting of 'Venetian lamps of all shades and colours' (Politis and Anninos, 1896, p.91), alongside the harbour and also on the main streets and squares. The *Official Olympic Review* often describes the transformation of space into a fairyland, due to the effects of light. It is described as follows:

'The whole town seemed enveloped in a mass light. It was as if one found oneself suddenly transferred into a fairyland. Myriads of flaming gaslights

were; this splendour was enhanced by begalic fires' (Politis and Anninos, 1896, p.91).

A similarly enchanting atmosphere can be found in the description of the 7th day torchlight procession in Athens. Before the start of the procession 'the streets and principal squares brilliantly lit up with gas or electric light, were already filled' (Politis and Anninos, 1896, p.102). When the procession started and 'the torches and lanterns were all lighted, the whole Athena street presented, seen from above, a mass of moving lights. It was like a picture from a fairyland' (Politis and Anninos, 1896, p.103). The route selected for the procession was also based on 'constructed visibility', fragmented into areas that should be viewed and areas that should not be viewed; it passed only through the central streets surrounded by the main neoclassical buildings of modern Athens. According to the *Official Olympic Review*:

'The sight was a particularly pretty one, when the procession marched up Stadiou street under the arches of flaming gas-lights. The houses and public buildings, splendidly decorated...Constitution square with its luminous arches and its garden, decorated with Venetian lamps of various colours offered a very animated spectacle' (Politis and Anninos, 1896, p.103).

With street and building decorations, the stadium and other selected areas within the Olympic city were transformed into beautiful and cosmopolitan urban sceneries, turning the space of the event into a 'phantasmagoric spectacle [with] a European air coming into the city of Athens' (Giannitsiotis, 2004, p.256). Based on Smith's description of Athens of the time, 'all the public buildings were draped in bunting; multicoloured streamers floated in the wind; green wreaths decked the house fronts' (2004, p.156). Also, according to the *Official Olympic Review*: 'The whole spaces before the stadium, the roads leading towards it and all the surrounding hills presented by this a living mass of densely packed spectators' (Politis and Anninos, 1896, p.52). The decorations were applied to the spaces linked with the

event, but also to the streets leading to them, creating a net of circulation that was part of the Olympic city experience, even during the hours when there were not any athletic events.

This temporary identity and experience of the city of Athens based on a created atmosphere of phantasmagoria, was made to last during the Games. In an article published the last day of the Games, the sad feelings that the end of this phantasmagoric atmosphere brought are revealed. According to this article: 'For the last time yesterday the city enjoyed the superb spectacle of an illuminated Acropolis, and the immortal rock was flooded with light, constantly changing colour' (*Estia*, 2nd April 1896). It is interesting also to refer to an article from *The Century Magazine*, by Coubertin, after the Games questioning what this event has left. According to the article:

'It is interesting to ask oneself what are likely to be the results of the Olympic Games of 1896, as regards both Greece and the rest of the world. In the case of Greece, the Games will be found to have had a double effect, one athletic, the other political' (Coubertin, November 1896).

Further on, the same article refers to the urban legacy and what the Games left to the city. Coubertin claims that: '[T]he stadium is not the only enduring token that will remain to Athens of its inauguration of the new Olympiads: it has also a velodrome and a shooting-stand' (Coubertin, November 1896). This article shows Coubertin's realisation that Olympic Games is something more than a festival of humanity teaching people about the ideas and values of Olympism. It is also something more than a temporary phantasmagoria. In the case of Athens 1896, the created visual identity of the Games was also a way to signal and display the country's modernisation. This was achieved, both with association of this identity with the values of Neo-Hellenism (mainly for the foreign visitors and admirers), but also with the display of elements of phantasmagoria (for the local people), in an effort to associate Athens with the urban identity of a modern European capital.

Conclusion

This section examined the Olympic city of Athens 1896 together with the efforts to create a visual identity that would reveal a new profile for it as a modern capital. The Olympic city project became a challenge to the host city and nation to show its involvement in modern development. In parallel, it became a challenge for the host city to associate itself with a dream image reviving the glorious moments of its classical past and with the realisation of a myth, the one of classical Greece. This section examined elements from the Olympic city's visual identity reflecting the host city's ambitious plans to restore its own identity, giving emphasis to how this identity was juxtaposed with a picture of the city, reflecting an uglier site of the city's everyday urban and social conditions. In the case of the Olympic city of Athens 1896, the importance was on the representation of the host city to the eyes of its foreign admirers who had associated modern Greece with the realisation of a myth. For this reason the end of the phantasmagorical atmosphere that the Olympic Games brought, revealed, together with the sad feelings, this other site of the city's urban and social realities.

In the case of the Olympic city of Paris 1900, examined in the next section, the importance was on the display of an impressive and phantasmagorical atmosphere, without references to past cultures and civilizations. On the other hand this phantasmagorical atmosphere was based on the display of novelties, representing the realisation of an earthy modern paradise and not of a myth. In Paris, the modern capital that based its modern profile on the organisation of many temporary festivals, such as the International Expositions, the celebration of a festive event reflected dream images associated with an ephemeral and entertaining site of the city's urban and social life. The end of one phantasmagorical atmosphere would be soon superseded by ideas for the creation of a new one.

4.2 The Visual Identity of the Olympic City of Paris 1900

Introduction

This section examines the visual identity of the Olympic city of Paris 1900. In contrast to the Olympic city of Athens 1896 in which case the Olympic Games had played an important role in display of a new identity of Greece as a modern country, in the case of Paris 1900 the hosting of the Olympic Games was of no such importance. The Paris 1900 Olympic Games were integrated into the planning and programme of the 1900 International Exposition. This is evident in the way that the Olympic city was visually represented, based on an identity that displayed a phantasmagorical atmosphere of Paris, which relied entirely on its role as the host of the 1900 International Exposition.

In relation to the hosting of International Expositions, Paris had already given 'the impression of holding some degree of monopoly, implying for France a national role which was hers by right' (Borsi and Godoli, 1978, p.25). The visual identity of the Paris 1900 Games showed an aspect of the Olympic Games based on its celebration as a temporary event that the phantasmagorical atmosphere emphasised. It also revealed an identity for the celebration of the Olympic Games oblivious to Coubertin's modern ideals and distant to the character of the Games as a revival of the Games in antiquity. As a result there was a conflict between two visual identities representing Paris 1900: the one that characterised the phantasmagoric atmosphere of the 1900 International Exposition and the one that showed the elitist and unpopular site of the 1900 Olympic Games.

This section begins by examining the urban identity of Paris at the end of the nineteenth century and how it had established a certain visual identity through a series of International Expositions that were taking place. It also shows Coubertin's expectations of Paris' visual identity for the hosting of the

1900 Games, in comparison to the visual representation of the 1900 International Exposition in an atmosphere that offered thematic eclecticism and leisure based on technological advancement in entertainment industry.

This section gives a particular emphasis to the conflict between the identity of Paris as the host of the 1900 International Exposition, represented as an object on display, and the Olympic city of Paris 1900 in the elitist identity that Coubertin had envisioned it. The characteristics of this conflict also reflect the characteristics of another conflict - a conflict between, firstly, the role of the Olympic city as a celebration of a temporary event in a phantasmagorical atmosphere that characterised modern cities as new and technologically progressive environments and, secondly, the role of the Olympic city based on how Coubertin had interpreted the meaning of the 'modern' in relation to modern cities' development.

4.2.1 The Visual Representation of Paris, as the 'Capital of the Nineteenth Century'

Benjamin's analysis of the *Arcades Project* describes Paris, as the 'capital of the nineteenth century' (1999, p.11) and as a place prioritising its role as an object on display, the 'exposed city' (Buck-Morss, 1993, p.309). The exposed city was an identity for which Paris had already gained recognition, as the host of another four International Expositions in '1855, 1867, 1878 and 1889' (Borsi and Godoli, 1978, p.25). The impression gained with the completion of the Olympic Games in 1900 was something foreign to Coubertin's primal vision of revival. Coubertin described the organisation of the Paris Games as 'a vulgar glorified fair, exactly the opposite of what we wanted the Olympic Games to be' (Coubertin, 1997, p.60).

According to Buck-Morss, in the nineteenth century, 'capital cities throughout Europe, and ultimately throughout the world, were dramatically transformed into glittering showcases, displaying the promises of the new industry and

technology for a heaven-on-earth- and no city glittered more brilliantly than Paris' (Buck-Morss, 1989, p.81). The city's changes, based on Baron Haussman's¹⁶ plans, were characterised by Benjamin as actions of 'strategic beautification' (Benjamin, 1999, p.90). Haussmann changed the city's planning by creating plans based on large boulevards and impressive building facades, 'mainly along the axis running through the Place de la Concorde and the Hôtel de Ville' (Benjamin, 1999, p. 123) in the centre of Paris. His plans, however, are often characterised as efforts to enchant people and nations by turning the city experience into a mass spectacle. Paris had turned into a phantasmagoria in the display of the new, becoming part of public life, especially during the time of the Expositions. 'The splendour of the modern city could be experienced by everyone who strolled its boulevards, and parks, or visited its department stores, museums, art galleries, and national museums' (Buck-Morss, 1989, p.81). However, Benjamin's dialectical images, found in his descriptions of Paris' nineteenth century urban and social conditions, expose two sites of urban life where stores, panoramas and winter-gardens are dialectically opposed to images of hunger and loneliness (Buck-Morss, 1993, p.324).

Benjamin characterised Paris as an 'object of luxury and curiosity, better than of use...an object of admiration and envy to foreigners, unbearable for its inhabitants' (Benjamin, 1999, p.401), since behind the beautiful main street building facades was the condition of the nineteenth century 'slum city'¹⁷. After the middle of the nineteenth century, under the supervision of Baron Haussmann, 'Paris displayed a visual profile of a modern world capital, full of life and away from any threats of social revolution'¹⁸. It became the example

¹⁶ Haussman was a French civic planner whose name is associated with the plans for the modernization programme of Paris, commissioned by Napoleon III between 1853-1870.

¹⁷ Peter Hall's characterisation of the nineteenth century industrial city with families living in one room tenements and unhygienic conditions, referring to the cities of Paris, London, Berlin and New York between 1880 and 1900 (1998, p.14).

¹⁸ According to Benjamin 'Haussman's activity is linked to Napoleonic imperialism' and that 'The true goal of Haussman was to secure the city against civil war'. 'Widening of streets

of a city changing its appearance like a theatre stage, following the rhythms of technology, trade and fashion and portraying new styles of everyday life and order. For Benjamin, Haussmann 'estranges the Parisians from their city. They no longer feel at home there and start to become conscious of the inhuman character of the metropolis' (Benjamin, 1999, p.12).

Alfred Picard¹⁹, who has been called a 'determined republican director of an exhibition entirely dedicated to modernity' (Findling and Pelle, 2004, p.29), was involved in the merging of the programmes of the International Exposition with the 1900 Olympic Games. Picard had high ideals about his mission and in a declaration to Jules Sansboeuf, one of the organisers of the 1900 Games, had stated that: 'The 1900 Exposition must be in the philosophy and spirit of the new century, reflect the magnificence of France, and show the past and future based on progress' (Drevon, 2000, p.11).

Alfred Picard, the General Commissioner of the Paris Exposition, was in constant disagreement²⁰ with Coubertin's ideas after the decision to include the Games into the programme of the 1900 Exposition²¹. Winter describes Picard as an 'impresario of cultural and commercial extravaganza' (Winter, 2006, p.28). In Picard's mind, the site of an event represented the spirit of an epoch based on instant impressions of development, whereas Coubertin believed in a different type of progress, learning from previous epochs and mainly from antiquity.

By the time of the 1889 International Exposition in Paris, 'the excavations of Ancient Olympia had generated deep fascination in Europe' (MacAloon,

is designed to make the erection of barricades impossible, and new streets are to furnish the shortest route between the barracks and the workers districts' (Benjamin, 1999, p.12).

¹⁹ Alfred Picard was the Minister of Commerce, Industry and the Colonies and Commissioner-General of the 1900 Paris Exposition.

²⁰ Picard resented the revival of the Games in an older style. For example he resented Coubertin's insistence on the idea of reconstructing Ancient Olympia in modern Paris.

²¹ The decision to include the Games into the 1900 Exposition had been taken in November 1893 (Drevon, 2000, p.15).

1980), something that had inspired Coubertin's plans for reconstructing Olympia in the 1900 Olympic Games, in the hope that 'such glorification of sport would focus attention on the Olympic Movement and promote internationalism through athletic competition' (Mallon, 1998, p.5). Coubertin was looking for concrete ideas that would show the meaning of the ancient spirit in modern times. He had envisioned a Paris environment that would be 'in the framework of the modern world, with the ancient spirit that was to breathe life into them' (Müller, 2000, p.574).

The organisation of the Games passed into the hands of the 'Union des Sociétés Françaises Sports Athlétiques', which, with the collaboration of Picard, led to the organisation of a sports competition rather than of an Olympic Games competition.²² Coubertin believed Picard 'was averse to taking over somebody else's idea' (Coubertin, 1997, p.59) and therefore interpreted the identity of the Games in his own way, which differed from Coubertin's in the visual outcome of the event and the type of spectators in attendance. In the organisation of the second Olympic Games in Paris, he thought that a new value would be added to the Games. He had stated that the athletes 'in Athens they had come in contact with antiquity in its purest forms. Paris should show them the Old France with all its traditions and finest settings' (Coubertin, 1997, p.60).

Due to his involvement in the teaching of sports and of the values of Olympism, Coubertin was opposed to quick development, favouring a long lasting value of actions. For him, quick development was a sign of uncertainty. In his writings on *The Evolution of France under the Third Republic* he had argued that: 'too much uncertainty weighs upon our destinies' (Bowden, 1898, p.xi). He believed that 'the Third Republic has regarded itself as the heir of all France, [describing it as] a vicarious narrative of the principal events in the political and general history of France since 1870' (Bowden, 1898, p.vi). He related the Third Republic to values of

²² The athletic event was advertised as 'Concours Internationaux d'Exercices Physiques et de Sports' without including the word 'Olympic'.

automatic progression. In his writings he talked about the progress of humanity being opposite to industrial progress. He described this progress as 'the forward march of humanity is so slow, so impeded' (Bowden, 1898, p. xii). For him industrial progress would not necessarily lead to perfection; he stated that 'progress is relative...without the public thing coming to perfection' (Bowden, 1898, p. xii), the opposite, then, of what the environments of the International Expositions wanted to achieve, as displays of progress.

4.2.2 The Visual Identity of Paris as host of the 1900 International Exposition and of the 1900 Olympic Games

The visual identity of the spaces included in the 1900 Exposition were linked with technology, progress and displayed images of 'phantasmagoria' (Benjamin, 1999, p.3), 'which a person enters in order to be distracted' (Benjamin, 1999, p.7). Through the Exposition's visual identity we can learn about an environment where the priority is following the rhythms of fashion, from the design of the buildings to the design of the exhibited objects of industry. We can also learn about the merging of an event with new ways of entertainment and leisure based on technology, forming a utopian environment that could be characterised as an escape from the rhythms of everyday urban and social reality. The International Exposition environments, such as the one of Paris 1900, had become a main way to educate the crowds how to become consumers of images and products by combining public activities with urban entrepreneurship.

When the programme of the 1900 Olympic Games merged with the one of the 1900 Exposition, Picard's idea consisted of classifying sports 'into the various sections of the fair programme' (Mallon, 1998, p.7). All different sports would be held in different parts of the city and a few of them next to the exhibition venues, like 'fencing next to the Palais des Expositions' (Mallon, 1998, p.7). Coubertin in his *Memoirs* writes that 'sportsmen were horrified to see that skating had been put in the cutlery section, rowing in

lifesaving, sports associations in social welfare' (Coubertin, 1997, p.7). The Games started a month later than the Exposition (Drevon, 2000, p.35). The region Bois de Vincennes, away from the centre of Paris, was the area where the only sporting facility, the Velodrome, was built²³. The stadium had a capacity of 40,000 spectators and 'was also the stadium of the Games' (Drevon, 2000, p.34) in a visual character that reminded of an 'English style garden party' (Pointu, 2005, p.35).

In contrast to the sectioning of the Olympic Games 'the heart of Paris was dedicated to the Exposition, from the Champ-de-Mars Esplanade to Gare d'Orsay, passing from Les Invalides and the river La Seine' (Drevon, 2000, p.33). The Olympic Games, apart from being spread in space, were also expanded in time, with a duration of more than five months. In Coubertin's (1910) theoretical sketch of Modern Olympia, he said it would be 'inconvenient to have [the buildings for the Games] separated by any distance' (Müller, 2000, p.257) and he wanted the surrounding landscape to inspire different plans. What the Olympic city of Paris 1900 offered was exactly the opposite from his expectations. No particular architectural projects were dedicated to the Games and the sites were spread in different parts of the city. The visual identity of the Olympic city was overshadowed by the visual identity of Paris as the host of the 1900 Exposition, also in matters of architecture and planning.

The 1900 International Exposition celebrated the construction of three main buildings in the centre of the city, but also many festive activities and celebrations of local and international interest. The architecture of the main buildings involved in this Exposition were not displayed as landmarks of new materials and technology to the extent of those in the 1889 Exposition, which saw the building of the Eiffel Tower. The Exposition's main highlights: the Grand Palais, the Petit Palais and the Pont Alexandre III were 'of masterly eclecticism and demonstrate a similar freedom, especially in the sculpture

²³ Track and field events were held at the Racing Club of France in the Bois de Boulogne (Findling and Pelle, 2004, p.30).

and decorative arts' (Borsi and Godoli, 1978, p.36). The Pont Alexandre III, was an ironwork 'completely masked by Louis XVI friezes, cartouches and festoons in cast iron' (Borsi and Godoli, 1978, p.36). The Grand and the Petit Palais were eclectic in style, reminiscent of older eighteenth century French architecture, and were also 'characterised by formal planning and rich decoration' (Iwarere, 2005, p.6).

Mandell (1967, p.123) argues that the architectural character of the event was an outcome of the aesthetic ideas of the School of Beaux-Arts, as all the architects whose projects were executed for the exposition had diplomas from the official *École des Beaux-Arts*. Borsi and Godoli also talk about a deliberate renewal of composite style architecture with a mixture of Greek, Louis XV, Louis XVI and Art Nouveau' (Borsi and Godoli, 1978, p.25) in the architecture of the buildings. The 1900 Exposition created a mixed environment with the use of older style elements, giving styles such as Baroque and Rococo, which had a long lasting value, a short lived impression. Mandell also argues that 'in terms of colour, richness of allusion, size and above all, novelty for its own sake, rivalry was ubiquitous and forced' (1967, p.124).

Rearick states that Expositions were 'fun fairs; Vying with the official pavilions were commercial entertainments such as panoramas and cafés –concerts inside and around the fairgrounds' (Rearick, 1985, p.119). The eclectic style in the Exposition's architecture created an environment of thematic eclecticism but also of escapism to leisure activities, spaces representing different epochs and different parts of the world. Although most pavilions used prefabricated iron and glass in their construction, the exhibition did not adopt an industrial character. All available surfaces were covered with every sort of ornament, something that Mandell characterises as an 'exaggerated and banal ornamentation' (1967, p.124).

This thematic eclecticism is possibly the reason why the 1900 Exhibition 'did not leave behind it the memory of an elegant, cosmopolitan carnival' (Jullian, 1974, p.199). The 1900 Exposition also favoured grand spectacle with 'wonderland sights' (Rearick, 1985, p.132), such as illuminated boats on the Seine, 'light shows at the sparkling Palace of Electricity' and artificial landscapes, where trade fairs with a folk character were set such as the 'Swiss Village' and the 'Old Paris' (Rearick, 1985, p.139), offering illusionary trips to other places and other epochs.

4.2.3 The Conflict between two Visual Identities

The merging of the Paris 1900 Olympic Games 1900 with the 1900 International Exposition did not only lead to a conflict between two different types of events and between their representatives. It also led to the realisation of the conflict characteristics between two different visual identities. As observed in figure 4.5 and, as it has already described in the previous section, the athletic events took place in environments reminiscent of the traditional English gardens, although some of the events, such as fencing, were hosted in the same spaces as the Exposition. This picture shows the limited audience watching the event, the random way of seating, as if 'picnic activities are combined with watching sports activities' (Pointu, 2005, p.35).

On the other hand, in figure 4.6, in a sketched image, another activity is shown - part of the Exposition's entertaining program not far from where the fencing was taking place. It is the cinema experience, designed by Raoul Grimoin-Sanson, called the 'cinéorama where the spectators stood in a balloon nacelle and took a soaring movie tour of the world' (Rearick, 1985, p.44). By reversing the direction in which the successive frames are projected, the illusion was created that the balloon was descending and landing. The projection of the film gave a strong impression that 'they were actually flying over the city' (De Vries, 1971).



FIG 4.5

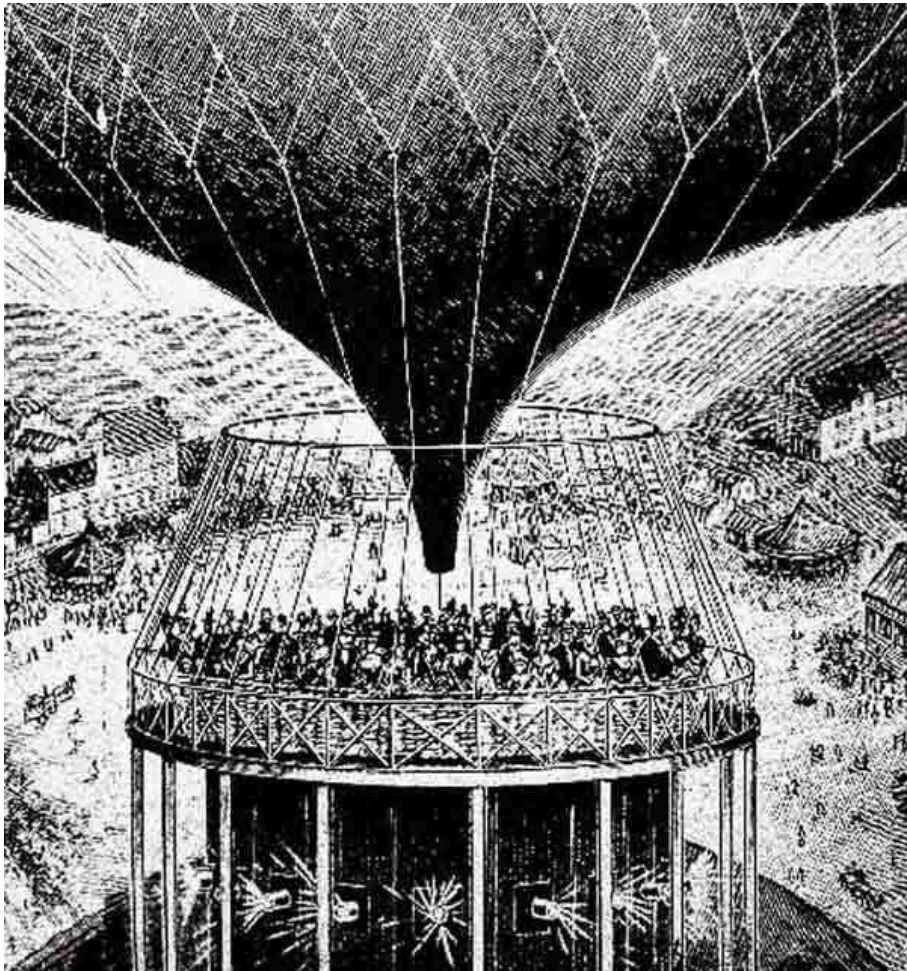


FIG 4.6

Rearick argues that, 'the panoramas and cinemas offered what the Exposition itself did: a tourist's view of distant and immense scenes, full of variety and activity striking different from everyday life in Paris 1900' (Rearick, 1985, p.119). He also adds that: 'Paris, a mecca of pleasures, multiplied its attractions a hundredfold by hosting universal Expositions and inviting the world to enjoy them' (Rearick, 1985, p.119).

The cinéorama reflected the identity of the event as an escapist trip from reality. Escaping to utopias represented by thematic fantasy worlds, such as the cinéorama, is not only associated with the offering of visual pleasure, but with an effort to take the masses away from the view of reality and of any political or social issues associated with it. According to Rose 'Fantasy is between the conscious and the unconscious;' (Rose, 2007, p.131). In these constructed fantasy worlds such as the cinéorama, 'the unconscious is given some sort of temporal, spatial and symbolic form' (Rose, 2007, p.131) and the experience offered is intentionally fragmented. However, this fragmentation did not contrast the ugly parts of the city with the picturesque parts, as in the case of Athens 1896, but the parts offering visual pleasure, curiosity and excitement, built to create a fantasy world, with the ones of ordinary everyday reality.

Another major difference between the visual identity of the Olympic event and the environment of an Exposition has to do with the type of people these two events appealed to, or what type of people their initiators wanted to be associated with. In the French society of 1900, sport was an activity for the aristocracy, associated with military officers (Pointu, 2005, p.38). Nine years after the Paris 1900 Games, Coubertin declared that the Games were organised 'for the elite...the elite among spectators, men and women in society, diplomats, professors, generals and members of the institute' (1997, p.60). Although he wished for the popularisation of the Games, he did not want an identity of the Games associated with an atmosphere of the crowds and an environment of mass attendance. This can be seen in his writings

arguing that: 'From the artistic perspective, not only is the shape and colour of the modern crowd ugly, but it is difficult to provide everything that the crowd needs to control it: bleachers, enclosures, barriers, tickets windows, etc' (Müller, 2000, p.268). He refers to the crowds as a 'hideous, hulking mass', suggesting that they will not 'ruin the aesthetic as long as they are well distributed within it' (Müller, 2000, p.268).

In opposition to Coubertin's ideas that events with the role of a spectacle should not be attended by the masses, the 1900 International Exposition was the most popular of its time, visited by fifty one million people who mainly 'belonged to the lower bourgeoisie' (Lorrain and Jullian, 1974, p.199). Based on Lorrain and Jullian's description: 'From the heights of the Trocadero to the end of the Champ de Mars, a human tide, an ocean of curious heads remains transfixed, engulfed by the sheer mass of the various groups, awaiting the promised spectacle. These crowds! You couldn't separate them with a pin!' (Lorrain and Jullian, 1974, p.33).

André Drévon argues that in order to understand why Paris 1900 ignored the meaning of the Olympic city, 'we have to forget the popular image of the Games today in order to understand an époque that the same idea was totally unknown' (2000, p.11). Paris 1900 is an example that helps us understand why the phantasmagorical atmosphere and the escaping-from-reality environment of the 1900 International Exposition was irrelevant to Coubertin's modern ideas of the Games' revival linked with ideals from the classical past. Possibly the relationship between the two identities –of the Olympic Games and the International Exposition- does not seem as conflicting based on today's standards, as the Olympic Games have become an event addressed to the masses, engaging visually with themes in order to offer a phantasmagorical spectacle. It could, therefore, be argued that the contrast between the representation of the Olympic city as a temporary and escaping- from-reality environment and Coubertin's elitist environment is not

as large as it was in the modern era. The example of the Olympic city of Paris 1900 is the evidence of it.

Conclusion

This section analysed elements from the visual identity of the Olympic city of Paris 1900, aiming to reveal the city's involvement with a phantasmagorical atmosphere connected to the organisation of the 1900 International Exposition. It showed how the meaning of phantasmagoria was expressed through efforts of enchanting the masses, based on the display of novelties and on the offering of a festive atmosphere of escapism, full of optical illusions and mass entertainment activities. In the following section I examine the Olympic city of Berlin 1936, an example that also, through the hosting of the Olympic Games in a festive atmosphere, aimed to enchant the masses, however by means of the creation of a very different visual identity. The atmosphere of the Olympic city of Paris 1900 can be identified more with plans to create a 'outopia', an escape from an existing condition, whereas the Olympic city of Berlin 1936 can be identified more with plans for improvement from an existing social and urban condition, a eutopia (see section 3.2.1.1), associated with Nazi idealism.

4.3 The Visual identity of the Olympic City of Berlin 1936

Introduction

This section examines the visual identity of the Olympic city of the Berlin 1936 Games. The Olympic city of Berlin was characterised by monumentality, austerity in its design and architectural forms and a design language that was rich in rituals and festivities. It reflected the ideas and values of the Nazi ideology and appeared to have come closer to Coubertin's expectations of an Olympic event and his modern ideals, as at the closing

ceremony Coubertin characterised the Games as: 'a powerful and rich memory! Above all the memory of beauty, focusing on the torch relay process, and the magnificent celebration at the monumental stadium on the first night of the Games' (Müller, 2000, p.521). The Olympic city was based on a well organised and methodologically designed visual identity, ranging from the stadia architecture to the posters and the promotional programme of the event, which aimed to enchant the public and particularly the German people.

As mentioned earlier, the Olympic city of the Berlin 1936 Games is examined as the highest point of the modern era, characterised by a visual identity that reflected the principles of the Nazi ideology and displayed the ambitious plans and ideas of a new regime under Hitler's leadership. This section examines the ways that these ideas and plans were visually represented, by using the Olympic Games as an opportunity for the nation to present the start of a new era for Germany.

This section starts by setting the scene of the changing social conditions and cultural identity of Berlin from the late 1920s to the early 1930s under the influence of the Nazi ideology. It then focuses on the changing architecture and design character of Berlin's urban identity and also on the role of Olympic design and architecture which aimed to enchant the masses by reflecting the values of Nazism and the start of a new epoch for Germany as a modern culture and nation. I analyse the design language of German Neoclassicism in the architecture of the stadia used by the leading regime as a visual weapon to indicate the start of a new epoch socially and culturally. However, I also examine the ambiguities found in the visual identity of the Olympic city of Berlin 1936: On the one hand, there is an aesthetic language that represented, through German Neoclassicism, the sacred, the eternal and the universal found in classical forms. On the other hand, there is also another aesthetic language (antithetical to the principles of German Neoclassicism) of a modern metropolis that reflected the new and modern

design forms, functionalism in architecture and displayed a technologically progressive picture of the city.

Finally, this section focuses on the creation of an association between Ancient Olympia and modern Berlin, reflected in Leni Riefenstahl's film *Olympia*. I examine the visual characteristics that identify this association, revealing the effort to show a similarity between the values found in the Olympic Ideal and the values aspired to by the Nazi ideology.

4.3.1 The Creation of a Cultural Identity Based On the Nazi Ideology

Hitler was appointed Chancellor in 1933 and became Führer (Supreme Leader) in 1934. In the mid 1930's the new vision of Germany under the ideology of Nazism made the majority of the German population, and especially young people, feel enthusiastic about Hitler's ideas and the benefits of National Socialism. Despite many dictatorial incidents, such as the abolition of all free unions, terrorism and the lack of free press, it seemed that the masses were attracted to Hitler's ideas and visions. Hitler's ideas convinced a large part of the German population that their life was getting better at that time, having overcome the big problems of unemployment and poverty, characteristics of the previous decade, ideas 'distinguished more by propagandistic considerations' (Mason, 1993, p.127).

Landsberger describes how: 'Murders and manslaughter, one every three days, uproars and cocaine are the sociological comforts of the metropolis' (1929). There is an early Nazi statement at the end of the 1920's, describing the city as a 'melting pot of all evil...of prostitution, bars, illness, movies, Marxism, Jews, strippers, Negro dancers' (Miller-Lane, 1968, p.155). This social identity of Berlin becomes a subject that the Nazi ideology grew out of to clear the city 'of all evil'. According to an article published in *Germany-The Olympic Year 1936*:

'The necessity for political and material reform became more and more urgent. Political murders became a daily occurrence. The records of crime assumed alarming proportions. Moral depravity was also on the increase' (*Germany, The Olympic Year 1936*, 1936).

The German public became faithful to the political and social order that Hitler restored and identified it as 'a saviour and creator of culture' (Mandell, 1971, p.139). After a period of depression between 1918 -1933, the mid-thirties was a time when Germany seemed to have conquered many of its social problems, which had been caused by widespread unemployment, affliction with crime and starvation. This effort to restore a new political and social order became more intense near the time of the 1936 Olympic Games, in order to give good impressions to the foreign visitors of Germany, as the land of 'social and political peace' (Mandell, 1971, p.140).

The ideology of Nazism was constantly alert to means of exalting the nation and was turning against any other vision that threatened its spread. These threats could have come not only from the political world in the form of ideologies, such as Marxism and Communism, but also from the world of arts, in the form of movements such as the Bauhaus and the avant-garde art, 'related to radical politics' (Bury, 2007, p.6), as the constructivists were in the USSR²⁴. Berlin in the early 1930's became the last home of the Bauhaus²⁵, of aesthetic ideas associated with the development of modern architecture as a style and of modernisation process mastered by means of design. Despite this, there were not many buildings in Berlin from the creators of the Bauhaus. The designs of Mies, Gropius, Taut and Erich Mendelsohn offered a legacy of an 'innovative choice of materials, such as coloured glass, windowed surfaces, reinforced concrete, brightly painted walls' (Kaes, et al.,

²⁴ Avant-garde is often associated with efforts to achieve a new socialist utopia, such as with the constructivist art in the USSR. (Bury, 2007, p.6)

²⁵ Berlin was the last home of Bauhaus, from 1932, until the Nazis closed it in 1933 and forced its participants into exile.

1995, p.430), an aesthetic language applied in later decades in modern cities' architecture.

Avant-garde art, according to Reed, kept alive: 'the image of human suffering, exploitation and poverty beneath the glittering surface' (2007, p.79), turning art into a message, urging social change. A distinctive example of the Nazis putting an end to the avant-garde art is the exhibition held one year after the Olympic Games, in Munich in 1937, under the title, *Degenerate Art (Entartete Kunst)*²⁶, with the collection of works that Nazi officials had purged from a German museum, considering them to be degenerate. The scope of the exhibition was to feature works of the avant-garde, 'as examples of corruption, insanity, degeneration and cultural bolshevism' (Hitler, 1937). Hitler took the opportunity to promote his ideas of a new German art stating that 'art can in no way be a fashion' (1937) and that there is a need of 'a German art, and this art shall and will be of eternal value, as are all truly creative values of people' (1937).

Hitler believed in the meaning of historical time and this explains his support of Neoclassicism, as it will be analysed further on. For him: 'The more recent art epochs of humanity have not been created by the Arabs, Germans, Italians, French etc., but are only appearances conditioned by time' (1937, cited in Kolocotroni, et al., p.561). For example, he argued that 'Greek art was not formed by the Greeks, but by a certain period which formed it as their expression' (1937, cited in Kolocotroni, et al., 1998, p.561). Also, in one of his speeches, Hitler proclaimed the Aryan race as a successor of the Ancient Greek race, stating that the Olympics provide 'a perfect occasion for pointing out the kinship and cultural similarities between Periclean Athens and the 3rd Reich' (cited in Hart-Davis, 1986, p.52).

²⁶ 650 pieces of work were removed of artists such as: Otto Dix, El Lissitzky, Laszlo Moholy-Nagy, the last one an important member of the Bauhaus school. The exhibition began in Munich and travelled to another eleven cities in Germany and Austria.

4.3.2 The Nazi Ideology and the Enchantment of the Masses

Enchantment of the masses describes Hitler's aim of convincing his people of the superiority of the German nation and race. In the Berlin 1936 Games, the enchantment of the collective conscience went hand in hand with a total control of the masses following the party slogan: 'the common good before the individual good' (Warner, 1983, p.80). This meaning of the collective, at the same time, meant the loss of individuality, leading to the creation of an Olympic city with rules and orders that everybody had to adhere to.

The German Jewish thinker, Siegfried Kracauer (1928), in the *Cult of Distraction* (1995), gives a critical look at Germany during the Weimar years, a climate in which 'the group individuality is only valid so long as it fosters the realisation of the idea to which it is subordinated' (1995, p.154). Kracauer describes a climate where it is believed that: 'The individual does generate and proclaim the idea, but it is the group that bears it and makes sure it is realised' (1995, p.154). Walter Benjamin also examines the idea of the 'collective' (1999, p.389), based on the created 'fusion of individualistic and collectivist tendencies' (1999, p.390). Similarly, Adorno gives a description of the collective stating that: 'people who blindly slot themselves into the collective already make themselves into something like inert material, extinguish themselves as self-determined beings' (1967, p.6).

With the development of Nazism as an ideology for the nation, efforts to enchant the masses were addressed to the bourgeois and mainly to the youth. In *Mein Kampf*, Hitler's autobiography, Hitler reveals his belief in superiority of classes saying that 'rather than bringing down the higher classes (as in socialism), a society should lift up its lower classes' (1925, p. 339). According to Ernst Bloch, 'Hitler, Hitlerism, fascism is the ecstasy of bourgeois youth: this contradiction between strength and bourgeoisie, between ecstasy and the most lifeless nationalism makes the movement into a spectre' (Bloch, 1995, p. 430).

Hitler's ideology, based on the creation of a collective dream as an extension of the personal dream, was emphasised in any of the plans related to the country's improvement, such as the country's infrastructure. It was also reflected in any events displaying national power, such as in the case of the 1936 Games in Berlin. When Hitler was asked by an audience of construction workers in 1939, 'why always the biggest?' he gave the following reply: 'I do this to restore to each individual his self-respect' (cited in Peter Hall, 1998, p.199). This self-subjective admiration that characterised people as part of a group could be related, as Adorno acknowledges, to Freud's Group psychology.

Freud has examined 'what psychological forces result in the transformation of individuals into a mass' (1991, p.135). He believed that: 'If the individuals in the group are combined into a unity, there must surely be something to unite them, and this bond might be precisely the thing that is characteristic of a group' (1991, p.135). The Berlin 1936 Olympic project, both as the nation's future investment for power and as a celebration of power, created a utopian image of a nation, based on the unity of individuals into mass. It corresponded to 'Freud's definition of a group as being a number of individuals who have substituted one and the same object of their ego and have consequently identified themselves with one another in their ego' (Adorno, 1991, p. 141).

The organisation of the Olympic Games of Berlin 1936, has been followed by a great amount of publications related to the Games' architectural plans and design projects (such as for the site of Reichsportfield and the Olympic Village) and also festive and cultural events associated with the identity of the Games. It is interesting to note that in most of these publications there is an emphasis on Hitler as the person authorising any decision taken regarding Olympic projects. For example in a small booklet published by the Organising Committee with the title *Olympic Village (Das Olympische Dorf 1936)* with

plans and pictures from the Olympic Village, the first picture shows Hitler and his collaborating team visiting the site.

In other cases there are pictures from the public, showing their admiration and dedication, reflecting the strong bond between Hitler and his people. Based on a journalist's description in the course of the Olympic event: 'A feature which shook strangers was the hysterical adulation accorded to the Führer wherever he went: men who saw him yelled themselves hoarse, women gave piercing screams, wept with excitement, fainted (Hart-Davis, 1986, p. 160). Adorno explains that the bond between the leader and his followers can be found in the 'libidinal pattern of fascism' (1991, p. 141). That leads to an entire technique of authoritarian fascist demagogues. This libidinal tie of the people with the leader, promoted in everything from magazines to albums dedicated to the event, made the idea of the collective and the dedication to the leader even stronger.

4.3.3 German Neoclassicism in Relation to the Idea of 'Creative Destruction'

In this section, I argue that the representation of the city of Berlin in 1936 in its adoption of German Neoclassicism is associated with what is characterised by Harvey as, 'creative destruction' (1990, p.16). I argue that German Neoclassicism had an important meaning in the representation of the identity of Berlin 1936, mainly with the aim to reject any elements from the city's previous visual and cultural identity. Therefore, German Neoclassicism, although it is related to classical principles and forms, was established as a representational aesthetic language based on the abolition of modern design references, such as the one of the Bauhaus School.

The idea of creative destruction helps, therefore, in the understanding that the visual identity of Berlin 1936 associated with German Neoclassicism was based on absolutism and rejection of any elements from Berlin's previous visual and cultural identity. Hitler aimed for the creation of a new identity for

Germany that would characterise a reborn nation with no ties with its recent past. German Neoclassicism was an aesthetic language that mainly aimed to indicate the beginning of a new era for Germany. Regarding Hitler's position on architecture, according to the architect and theorist Leon Krier: 'Hitler did not wish to copy historic styles, but to create a new style which was itself to become historical' (April 1986, p.33).

In the discussion of Athens 1896, Greek Neoclassicism was examined as a style inspired by the simplicity of the classical form of architecture, reminiscent of Athens' glorified past. The engagement with the language of classicism was not something new for the city of Berlin either. Berlin is also known for its neoclassical architecture from the early nineteenth century, with famous architects such as Karl Friedrich Schinkel, who 'relied more on the elements of Greek architecture' (Moffett, et al., 2004, p.420).

However, German Neoclassicism in the 1930's was not in the same climate of development as classical architecture in Europe and America, under the influence of romanticism, a century before. Benjamin Warner, in his interpretation of German Neoclassicism as a style, states that it acted as a 'counterweight to the tendency of the Aryan mind to become abstract and alien to reality' (Warner, 1983, p.75). Classical forms were treated as something sacred, eternal and universal, but at the same time were representative of an unvisited past. Although Greek Neoclassicism of the nineteenth century was based on a sublimation of the ancient form, German Neoclassicism was different; it re-created symbolic language of Neoclassicism based on abstracted visual forms.

German Neoclassicism was a re-created style; it was influenced by Classicism as a superior style of all times and by the modern, in the sense of a changing vision, and the start of a new epoch. 'In Berlin 1936 modern architecture was prohibited' (Wimmer, 1976, p.34) and, although the modern was rejected as a word, it appeared in an 'arid stripped down Neoclassicism'

(Scobie, 1990, p.2), where the forms were plain with no ornamentations or decorations, similar to modern forms.

The German neoclassical style was a later expression of Neoclassicism in the early twentieth century. It was established as an expression of symmetry, clarity and mathematical certainty, opposed to the dominating style of Modernism which was criticized as subhuman and as a Jewish Bolshevik invention (Lehmann-Haupt, 1954, p.120). 'Hitler had an admiration for Spartan racial purity and militarism that did not extend to the Doric style in architecture' (Scobie, 1990, p.14). He was an admirer of Imperial Rome, based on 'its efficient militarism, which enabled it to conquer the world' (Scobie, 1990, p.2). Rome's architecture was a reflection of the power and of its achievements as an empire. He was, therefore, an admirer of the architecture of Rome, as a means to promote power and not to impose its characteristics of form, reflected through its 'monuments that bore everlasting witness to Rome's power and achievements' (Scobie, 1990, p.2).

Hitler visually interpreted national and racial power into architectural forms, giving an important role to the architecture that would represent the identity of his new plans, based on his ideology. Hitler (1937) affirmed that 'the new buildings of the Reich were to reinforce the authority of the Nazi party and the state and at the same time provide gigantic evidence of the community' (cited in Scobie, 1990, p.47). According to Todd Kohr: 'Massive, monolithic and commanding, the Olympic stadium was consciously designed, both to evoke comparisons to the Coliseum in Rome and to impose its will on all who set foot on its grounds' (2003, p.2).

Albert Speer's ideas on German Neoclassicism were also the inspiration of the leading architect of the Olympic Games, Werner March. Speer was in charge of the project to 'rebuild Berlin based on the image of grandeur of Paris in the late nineteenth century' (Buck-Morss, 1989, p.328). His visions and plans for the capital of the new Reich were based on open public

spaces, monuments and boulevards, and of most importance for Hitler, these places offered points for vast public ceremonies for collective action. Speer's plans of Germania were 'to affirm the privileged cultural identity of the German Volk' with Via Triumphalis being 'part of Speer's plans for Germania' (Neil, 2004, p.33).

According to Harvey, Albert Speer, 'may have actively attacked Modernism's aesthetic principles in his resurrection of classicist themes, but he was to take over modernist techniques and put them to nationalist ends' (1990, p.33). Based on his own rhetoric 'monumental simplification of masses' (Borsi, 1987, p.29), Speer created a neoclassical style that could last in time. He simplified classical forms and applied new methods and materials which could guarantee the buildings durability. Also, when a decision had to be taken about what materials would be used to build the new stadium, Hitler told Werner March, the architect of the stadium, that the outside of any new German stadium should 'be clad not with concrete, but with natural stone' (Hart-Davis, 1986, p.48). The stone was a natural material, associated with the architecture of buildings of a classical style, whereas concrete was associated with modern architecture.

The organisers chose to recreate a past style, Classicism, with an architecture inspired by the architecture of antiquity, and the scale of monumental buildings, found in classical Rome. A representative example of this type of architecture is the central stadium at Reichsportfield, designed by Werner March. According to Meyer-Künzel: 'March looked for inspiration to the historical models of antiquity, such as the Coliseum in Rome, and to the contemporary stadium structures' (2007, p.171). The scale and architecture of the stadium, with its austere character, more resembled the Roman rather than the classical Greek architecture. The stadium at Reichsportfield was a characteristic example of modern Neoclassicism with stone pillars and colonnades of severe modern lines surrounding and supporting the structure of the building.

The colossal dimensions of both Roman and Nazi neoclassical buildings came, in a way, to emphasise the insignificance of the individual lost in the architectural scale of the building. Examples, such as the Coliseum of Rome and March's central stadium design, were based on a similar monumental character and grand scale of architecture, suitable to accommodate their people and celebrate or glorify the ideology of victory of the ruling regime. Figure 4.7 shows a picture of Hitler with the architect of the new stadium, Warner March, with the newly built stadium as their background. This picture was published in a commemorative album, *The Olympische Spiele Berlin 1936*, written by Dr. Gerhard Krause, head of the bureau of the German Olympic committee and printed in 1936 by the Limpert Verlag.

What is interesting is this picture's compositionality. The two leading figures, of Hitler and March, are in a bigger scale at the front of the picture, represented in a leading role in relation to the architecture of the stadium which is the subject of the article. The background shows the interior of the building, filled with people and the exterior, bearing a lot of similarities to the Coliseum in Rome, as both buildings are composed of rows with little openings, without any detailed ornamentation and are grand in scale, in comparison also to their detailed features. The picture has the title 'Olympic vision became reality' and is combined with the following text: 'The vision became reality as the leader and his collaborators planned it. For sixteen days, the lovely stadium, that was built based on the design of Prof. Werner March for the German people, stood in the midpoint of the world interest. Daily it was filled with a hundred thousand enthused people, up to the last seat' (Krause, 1936).

Another interesting element in this picture and also in the picture of figure 4.8, is the representation of building projects as gifts to the German nation. As Walter Benjamin argues in the *Arcades Project*: 'Construction plays the role of the subconscious' (Benjamin, 1999, p.391), with reactivation of mythic



FIG 4.7

forces that organise the collective psychology. The design of vast public areas and triumphant monumental buildings was part of Hitler's planning ideas to promote his nation's superiority. The picture in figure 4.8, found in the *Guide Book to the Celebration of the XIth Olympiad Berlin 1936*, displays the amount of earth excavated, building stone, cement and iron used for the building of the site at the Reichsportfeld. The newly built site is compared with the size of Berlin in 1688, an illustration of which is on the top right of this picture.

The built site is not made to represent a separate utopian environment, contradicting reality itself, as in the case of Paris 1900 with the design of phantasmagoric thematic parks. On the other hand, it presents the Olympic projects as utopian tasks agreeing with reality by offering jobs to a lot of people. In the text that follows this picture it is written: 'A mighty project providing employment in excavation and construction. Created for the Olympic Games and the German people. 2500 German workers completed this gigantic task in 34 months' (*Guide Book to the Celebration of the XIth Olympiad Berlin 1936*, 1936, p.15). This sketched picture therefore has a strong symbolic role, displaying the gift of the leader and of his regime to the people.

4.3.4 The Symbolic Design Character of the Berlin 1936 Olympic City

In addition to the architecture, the surroundings of the stadium buildings and the decorative elements were of a strong symbolic character, designed in order to accommodate festive ceremonies and rituals, but also in order to represent the identity of the Games with their design. What appears particularly interesting is that the symbol of the Games in 1936, the Olympic Bell, was an actual object – a sculpture, winning out over the earlier proposed symbol of the Reich Eagle and the Brandenburg Gate. Although it appeared as an illustration and a sign in commemorative albums, tickets and stamps, it was designed as a sculpture with emphasis on the material used



FIG 4.8

and the characteristics of its form. Figures 4.9, 4.10 and 4.11 are taken from different sources but are presented together, in order to refer to different meanings of the Olympic Bell as a symbol.

Figure 4.9 shows the Olympic Bell as a sculpture, made by the artist Boehland and the sculptor Lemeke. In this particular picture Adolph Kiefer, the American swimmer, is photographed in front of it. The picture, which belongs to the IOC archives, emphasises the Bell's symbolic character and use as a monument. The Olympic Bell was not only a standing sculptural form, but it had an important role as part of the Triumphal Procession of the bell. This was a ceremony during which the Bell made a triumphal procession, travelling from Bochum to Berlin, and then through the main squares and boulevards of the city, until reaching its final destination and elevation to the Bell Tower. The Bell Tower was the highest point of the Reichsportsfeld and its bell was connected to a winding wheel, which was in turn swung by an electric motor (*Official Olympic Report*, 1936, p.111).

The structure of the Bell Tower, which could be seen from the entrance of the site, was a plain slender tower, 76 metres high. It was built, according to a design by Werner March, for the housing of the Olympic Bell, but at the same time it was dedicated 'to the memory of the German youth that died in 1914 in Langemarck, in World War I, as inscribed on the tower's walls. It is the only symbol of the Olympic Games that involved political issues in its design, only a few years before the start of World War II. It is in irony to its symbolic identity, as figure 4.10 shows, that the Olympic Bell was unearthed by British troops in 1956, after it 'had been buried for safety after the war' (IOC Archives, 1936 Games scratch book).

The picture in figure 4.11 is chosen in order to show the reproduction of the Olympic Bell on magazine covers, stamps and souvenirs and also its popular use as a reproduced image in Germany and abroad. This particular picture is from an Austrian magazine of Sport, *Sport in Österreich* (August 1936),

dedicated to the 1936 Olympics. The front cover has the picture of the Olympic Bell, positioned so that the engraved message around its rim, 'I summon the youth of the world', is displayed together with the Eagle, the symbol of the third Reich, and the Olympic rings, the symbol of the Modern Olympic Movement. The Olympic symbol is combined with an illustration of the world sphere, where there is an obvious association of the bell with the engraved motto. In this front cover there is a mixture of symbols: Germany's national symbol (the Eagle), international symbols (the sphere and the Olympic rings) and the Olympic Bell which is a new symbol with a merged international and national character.

What also becomes interesting is that the Olympic Bell, bearing an austere and monumental identity, became a subject for reproduction for commercial purposes. Although this is a characteristic of design symbols representing Olympic cities in later decades, as it will be discussed in the findings of the postmodern era, the visual identity of the 1936 Games was also associated with the popularisation of symbols as fashionable images. The *Guidebook to the Celebration of the XIth Olympiad* (1936, p.54) refers to a production of small bells in glistening white, by the company Staatliche Porzellan-Manufaktur and bought at shops, as souvenirs of the Games. Their purpose, as the guide describes, is 'to keep the Olympic ideals fresh in the mind and to preserve memories of the Eleventh Olympic Games' (1936, p.54). The emphasis is, therefore, on the meaning of these souvenirs as something memorable and not as consumed objects with a temporary meaning (as it will be seen in the examples of the postmodern era).

4.3.5 Paradoxes in the Visual Identity of the Olympic City of Berlin 1936

The 1936 Games and the Olympic city of Berlin are mainly examined in association with the nationalist, monumental and aesthetically austere character of the Games associated with German Neoclassicism, the symbols of the third Reich and the rejection of ideas and forms of modern architecture



FIG 4.9



FIG 4.10

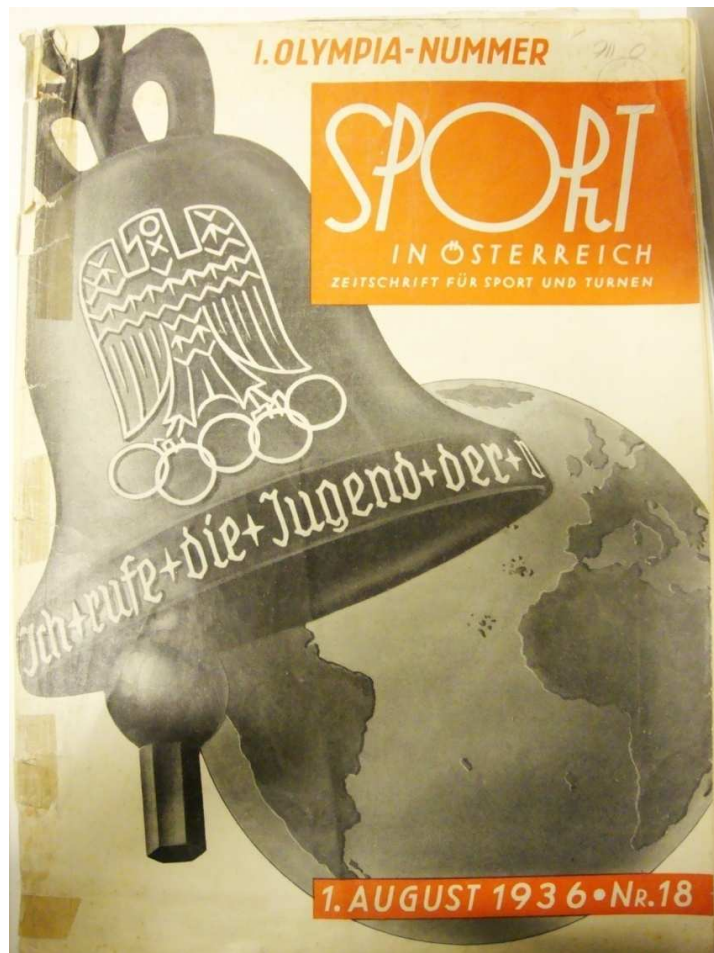


FIG 4.11

and design. There are, however, a few paradoxes to this general association of the Berlin 1936 visual identity identified with German Neoclassicism and with a strongly symbolic aesthetic language, which I have identified and analyse in this section.

There was a visual profile of Berlin that wanted to be seen as 'the head and the soul of the German Empire' (Berlin Official Tourist Association, 1936, p.3), using the words found in a tourist guide, *Berlin and its Environs*, published the year of the Games by the Official tourist association. The guide displays a contemporary identity of Berlin where 'autos and trams, hotels and cafés, electric signs and flower stands combine into a mighty symphony of the modern city of millions' (Berlin Official Tourist Association, 1936, p.4). It is a guide that, as it indicates at its second page, is a 'special service for Berlin's foreign guests' and like the guides described from Athens 1896, leads the tourist to an experience based on a 'constructed visibility'.

However, this experience mixes the contemporary with the historic identity of the city, suggesting visits to a variety of sights from the National Gallery to the Radio Tower and trips to a range of destinations from the historic city of Potsdam to places such as Niederfinow, a ship hoisting structure, which the guide characterises as 'a wonder of technology' (Berlin Official Tourist Association, 1936, p.14). The front cover of this guide has the title 'the scene of the Olympic Games' but the cover illustration shows nothing related to the architecture of the stadia. Instead the focus is on an electricity pylon having as its background a scenic landscape of forests where the Games would be held. This visual identity, represented through the Olympic city project, showed a contemporary and technologically progressive profile of Germany. The symbols of this contemporary identity are electricity pylons, metal structures, roads and not examples from modern architecture or art.

Another visual profile, remote from the classical influences, can be seen in the design of the Olympic Village, where characteristics of modern

architecture based on the principles of functionalism were applied. However the emphasis in these examples is not on the style of architecture itself, but on the good operation that the design of the area and the buildings offered. Muñoz, in his published paper, 'Historic evolution and urban planning typology of Olympic Villages', examines this paradox found in the architectural style of the Olympic Village of the Berlin 1936 Games, which he characterises as the 'opposite to Reichsportfield Olympic urbanism' (1996, p.41).

According to Muñoz, the architecture and planning of it involves ideas of the 'efficient house' (1996, p.40) which he compares to the minimal house ideas, with a style which 'from the type of housing to the furniture emphasised ...comfort, simplicity and cleanliness...' (1996, p.41). 'The Olympic Village was 'built by the military and was intended for military purposes after the Games' (Meyer- Künzel, 2007, p.179). Meyer-Künzel even compares the Village entrance and the Olympian's housing 'with the barracks at Dachau, Auschwitz and Majdane' (2007, p.165), highlighting the insignificance of the building form as type of monument or symbol.

The aim in the design of the Olympic Village was to create a small community reminiscent of the simplicity of life in the German countryside as 'the ideal Nazi city was not to be too large, since it was to reflect pre-industrial values' (Scobie, 1990, p.38). The Village functioned as a small community with shops, a restaurant, a post office, a bank, an information office, workshops, electricians, and locksmiths, being available in the area. According to the published book by the Organising Committee, part of which was dedicated to the Olympic Village project: 'Every house in the Olympic village bears the name of a German town, and the streets have been named after the German provinces (*Guide Book to the Celebration of the XIth Olympiad*, 1936, p.98). Wall paintings and artistic photographs reveal the beauties of the German landscape. However the same book emphasises the importance of functional space and architecture. For example it is mentioned

that 'each house was designed in very functional way' (*The Olympic Village*, 1936, p.82-83).

The association of the Olympic Village architecture with the rules of modern architecture can be supported with another observation in the Olympic Village design, found in the use of elements of a modern language in the interior of the rooms. Figure 4.12 (*Das Olympisches Dorf*, booklet) shows the basic furniture arrangement in straight lines, free from patterns and wall ornamentations. The furniture used is also structured in straight lines and on the wall there are wall lamps, resembling Marianne Brandt's design for the Bauhaus School. The design of the room is not based on a random selection of furniture. It is interesting how the *Guide Book to the Celebration of the XIth Olympiad* dedicates three pages to information on the design of 'the Olympic dwellings', with details on what the rooms contain and the display of a 3D sketch model (fig 4.13) describing the rooms' interior arrangement.

The rooms' description is also found in *The Olympic Village (Plan, Construction, Administration, Village Organization)* book, also published by the Organising Committee. This book highlighted that: 'All houses are identically equipped. All residents will find in them a simple, healthy and quiet woodland home' (1936, p.15). However, apart from simplicity, there is not anything from the interior of this room that brings to mind a woodland home, especially if this is compared to the restaurant of the Village which was ornamented with hanging chandeliers in rustic style and representations from farmers' lives drawn on the walls. However, it should be added that in the eating area the imitation of rustic interiors is combined with elements of modern design, such as the ceiling lamps hanging above the dining tables. The modern design and architecture represent function and good operation, but the symbols in this design identity are the rustic decorative elements.

Another paradox is found in the promotional campaign and graphic design identity in public spaces and on buses, resembling the composition and the



FIG 4.12

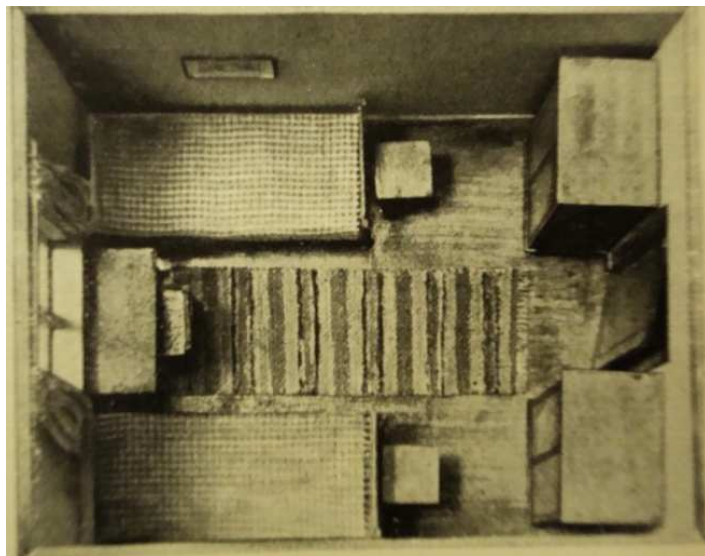


FIG 4.13

aesthetics of the Bauhaus style. There was the publication of a monthly magazine with the title *International Advertising Art*, with analytical description of the design for advertising during the time of the Olympics. Figure 4.14 shows a picture of one of the many posters produced for the underground stations by the work of 'a community of graphic artists work in the studio of the United Transport Advertising who are certainly familiar with their special tasks' (Frenzel, 1936, p.18). The emphasis of graphic artists is on 'advertisements which capture the attention of the public waiting on the platform and even how passing passengers endeavoured with curiosity to ascertain the intention of an advertisement' (Frenzel, 1936, p.18). According to them, 'the graphic seeks for a striking and impressive symbol, but it is only seldom that the synthesis of contents and form is a success' (Frenzel, 1936, p.19).

The use of yellow in this particular advert and the production of 'a very condensed black and white effect' (Frenzel, 1936, p.18) in other ones, together with the geometrical composition of signs and lettering, are influences from the Bauhaus and the crisp visual composition found in the new approaches of advertising art of the Bauhaus School. What is also important to refer to and compare is the aesthetic language found in these promotional design projects and other graphic design projects such as the Official poster of the 1936 Games. The official poster has a strong symbolic character, with an abstracted figure of the Aryan body - an 'unsmiling muscular male Aryan dominating the poster' (Tomlinson, 1997, p.116) which however does not satisfy the rules of composition in graphic design. The magazine comments on the design of the official poster of the 1936 Olympic Games stated that it: 'graphically, is a failure' (Frenzel, 1936, p.18).

However, the official poster was not the only example where there are symbolic connotations in relation to Germany and the Aryan race; this is also found in other advertising examples. In the *Guide Book to the Celebration of*



FIG 4.14

the XIth Olympiad, there is a whole-page advert for Persil washing detergents (fig 4.15). Again in this picture, based on montage, the abstracted in form Aryan body dressed in white athletic clothes is the figure of an athlete, jumping over the 'Persil logotype'. In this example there is a dominance of white, associated with the clean, found in the logotype, the athlete's clothes and his fair hair. The muscular figure which is dominant in this picture creates a connotation that possibly this athlete is also a winner. According to Rose: 'Looking carefully at images, then, entails, among other things, thinking about how they offer particular visions of social categories, such as class, gender, race' (2007, p.7). The fact that the sketched figure in this advertisement is a white man with Aryan characteristics is not a coincidence.

The examples referred to in this section have been analysed in order to show that some sectors in design and visual representation were entirely influenced by the Nazi ideology and its imposed aesthetics such as the imitation of the grand scale in classical forms or the relation of the Aryan body with power, whereas other sectors did not. Although in sectors such as painting, sculpture and architecture, the abolition of modern forms was evident and often paradigmatic, there were also examples, such as the examined cases of advertising art and room interiors of the Olympic Village, characterised by modern design. It therefore becomes evident that in some cases the symbolic language used in the promotion of ideals related to the Nazi ideology was targeted based on people's psychology. The aim in the use of this symbolic language was that people would perceive the right message related to the visual identity that represented the German nation, culture and ideals. For example, the stadia, the public spaces dedicated to organised festivities and rituals, were the places where this symbolic language was applied. In contrast, in places such as metro stations and accommodation dwellings, the emphasis was on the functional role of design, and not the symbolic one.



FIG 4.15

4.3.6 A Visual Identity based on Organised Festivals and Rituals

This section examines the Olympic city's visual identity based mainly on the character of the organised festivals related to the Games, but also the decorative elements applied in those festivals and organised rituals. The focus in this section centres around the effort to merge the values of the Olympic ideal with the values of Nazi ideology, as well as how this merging was visually represented.

One of the main protagonists in the organisation of the aesthetic character of the Berlin 1936 Games was Carl Diem, a member of the IOC (International Olympic Committee) and an historian with great interest in Hellenic civilisation. In a climate where the major excavations were taking place by German archaeologists, Carl Diem created symbolic associations between the Olympic Ideal and the Berlin 1936 Olympics Games. The ritual and festive character of the Olympic event is very often associated with the festive and ritual character of the ancient Olympic Games. In an article in the newspaper *Volkischer Beobachter*, the newspaper of the 'National Socialist German Workers' Party', Coubertin is characterised as 'one of the greatest educators the world, whose ideas have conquered'. The article continues by highlighting that 'thanks to the powerful and enthusiastic will of the Chancellor Adolf Hitler, the Games will take place in 1936, in a glorious festival'. The article finishes by wishing that 'May Coubertin's ideas never be extinguished!' (*Volkischer Beobachter*, 3rd April 1936, p.5).

The success of the Berlin 1936 Games as a strongly national and aesthetic project, gave the fascist regime an enormous boost, politically and morally, by the creation of festivals and rituals that impressed and enchanted the masses. The Grunewald Racecourse, the site that had earlier been chosen for the organisation of the Games in 1916, turned into the location for the 1936 Olympic project, the Reichsportfeld, situated at the most elevated point of Grunewald. The construction of new roads, and the provision of access to

the underground and railway station, became essential in order to connect the site of the Reichsportfield with the centre of the city. The space that was produced was easy, accessible, visible and therefore confident in its provided visual identity. Although it was segregated as a site from the city centre, it was connected through its architecture of grand scale and monumental character, but also through roads that not only made access easier for the visitors, but also facilitated the organisation of rituals which joined Reichsportfield with the city centre.

The separation of the site from the city centre helped create an identity of a space representing an ideal community. However, its close link with the centre meant that this ideal site was not far away from reality either. As described in the *Official Olympic Report of the Olympic Games Berlin 1936*: 'The approaching visitor sees the large open square paved with white and red flagstones and lined with flagpoles along its entire length. The square slopes upward, and at the highest point is the stone structure of the stadium. In the centre are two towers, 156 feet high. Between them, the five Olympic rings are suspended' (1936, p.110).

Berlin 1936 was a ritual spectacle, based on a total control of any sign that would affect its affirmative character. The plans involved not only the cleaning and painting of dwellings and streets, but also the removal of any sign of racial mistreatment or violent behaviour. The Olympic city of Berlin 1936 is characterised by Meyer-Künzel as an 'unprecedented level of ritualisation' (2007, p.174). Via Triumphalis functioned as a ceremonial boulevard, ten miles long, connecting the central streets and squares of the new and old parts of the city, passing through the colonnaded Brandenburg Gate and eventually reaching the sporting complex of the Reich Sports Field. Public squares and streets provided a space suitable for the assembly of vast numbers of party functionaries and other group gatherings. From the one end of Via Triumphalis to the other there were rows of large Olympic flags mixed with banners of equivalent size, holding the black swastika. 'The decoration

of the Lustgarten square was in the hands of Albert Speer and the Brandenburg Gate, the symbol of the city of Berlin, was decorated with swastika flags and green garlands' (*Official Olympic Report*, 1935, p.457).

There was a coherent visual identity in all parts of the Olympic city experience, without any possibility of coming across a different sight of reality. The difference, however, from any other previous experiences of Olympic cities is that there was a different scale and a decorative exaggeration in everything involved. At the same time there was an absolute order, from the saluting and the movement of those involved in the parades, to the lining of the streets with the decorative banners. There was nothing to resemble the environments of phantasmagoria and 'carnavalesque', found in other examples as there was no involvement of other type of thematic festivals, leisure activities not focusing on the subject of the event.

If there is a suggestion that the visual identity and the festive environment of the Olympic city of Berlin 1936 were utopian, this has nothing to do with the ideas of a utopia trying to escape from what identifies reality. On the other hand, the Olympic event tried in every possible way to promote that what is experienced in the Olympic event is part of everyday reality. There is also a reference to Coubertin's idea of the Olympic Games revival, characterising it as utopian. In the newspaper *Völkischer Beobachter* (3rd April 1936, p.5) the Olympic ideal is compared to a utopia in an argument that 'It differs from the various utopias, that always recur and try to move humanity into something new'. The article also argues that the meaning of the Olympic ideal depends on whether it is 'in the hands of such people, similar to the people who originated it' comparing Hitler's Germany to a well balanced society led by the ancient Greeks.

4.3.7 An Olympic City Identity based on Juxtaposed Images of Ancient Olympia and Modern Berlin

Another important element in the visual identity of the Berlin 1936 Olympic city has to do with the effort to compare and also to create an ideological bridge between Ancient Olympia and Modern Berlin. The juxtaposition of present with past, and of Modern Olympia with Ancient Olympia, becomes evident in Riefenstahl's film work, *Olympia* (1938). With this award winning film and a prior to it, *Triumph of the Will* (1935), Riefenstahl captured moments from the torch relay process and the Games. She became known for 'inventing the sport film as art' (Mandell, 1971, p.xv) and for leading to a fusion between film and authentic moments of reality. The first part of her film, the *Festival of Nations*, is not a simple documentary. It is a montage of a time and space journey from Ancient Olympia to Berlin 1936.²⁷

The camera, in a creative way, associates the ancient athletic body with the physical perfection of an Aryan body. Images representing action and the male body were a core part of Riefenstahl's films reflecting the 'fitness of the Völk for military service and labour' (Roche, 2000, p.116) and demonstration of body culture, found in the Olympic city's mass parades, festivals and rituals. Hoffmann, a critic on the role of the Riefenstahl's work as a tool for political propaganda, argues that in *Olympia*, 'unattractive bodies are eliminated from the film in order for Riefenstahl to focus, relentlessly on attractive –mainly Aryan-bodies' (1993, cited in Guttman, 2006, p.76).

Figure 4.16 is the picture used for the poster and also for the front cover of the book dedicated to the film. What is interesting in the composition of this poster is the association of Olympia with Berlin 1936, in a juxtaposition of images from present and past. Half of the poster is a visual representation of

²⁷ The film captures images from the torch relay process, from the lighting of the torch at Ancient Olympia, then the camera moves to the run and the arrival of the fire, 'its appearance in the stadium, Hitler's official inauguration of the Games, the grand opening ceremony, the athletic events themselves' (Hart- Davis, 1986, p.241)

ancient Greece (and not of Ancient Olympia as the picture taken is not from the site of Olympia) and the other half, of the Berlin 1936 Games with a picture of the stadium. Riefenstahl has used montage techniques, where the shadows from the columns of the ancient temple metaphorically 'illuminate' the Berlin stadium. 'Olympia Berlin' are the only words on the poster which have a double meaning, referring to the title of the film, but also to a trip in time from Ancient Olympia to modern Berlin.

The work of the photographer Leni Riefenstahl is an eclectic representation of scenes from a ritual ceremony with a strong juxtaposition of images of present and re-imagined scenes of the classical past. The association between symbolism from present and past taking place in these revived mass rites had the advantage of accepting everything that was promoted as something sacred. The body sublime, recognised in Riefenstahl's films, can be related to Nietzsche's ideal model of superman (Übermensch). Superman represents Nietzsche's idea of the perfect man, determined by different qualities 'as long as they are used for the purpose of affirming culture' (Blain, et al., 1993, p.130). In the recognition of the body as sublime, the body is no longer flesh as in the religious conception, 'but it is taken up again in its materiality as narcissistic cult object or element of social rituals and tactics' (Blain, et al., 1993, p.130). Riefenstahl's film was the perfect way to subconsciously create feelings of Aryan superiority: a superiority which, by Nietzsche, is excused as a matter of reaching excellence.

In Riefenstahl's film work the Aryan body is recognised as part of a sublime visual experience. However, apart from the sublimation of the human body, there is a strong reference to Berlin as a capital of rituals and mass festivals. The Olympic city is represented as something sacred, with images from Hitler's Youth assembled and lined up, which according to Hart-Davis 'appeared to have been specially selected for their Aryan physique' (1986, p.150). Just before the arrival of the flame, the perfectly organised assembly



FIG 4.16

of Aryan supermen bodies were standing 'rank upon rank dead straight' (Hart-Davis, 1986, p. 151) with an impressive setting as its background of 'neo-classical buildings loomed dark and massive, framing the vast crowd' (Hart Davis, 1996, p. 152).

Riefenstahl (1937) characterised the Olympic festival as a festival 'of youth, a festival of beauty' (1994). Later, Riefenstahl's film was criticised as a triumph of racial propaganda, not only for the sublimation of the body –and its connotation to Aryan race superiority- but also for the way it captured moments of the militaristic type of preparations for the event and the 'massed volkisch gymnasts' (Hart-Davis, 1936, p.242) and its references to a well disciplined and prepared military body.

Riefenstahl (1937) was the creator of a utopian experience through her camera work and she stated that: 'These images are more beautiful than reality' (1994). According to Benjamin: 'Even the most perfect reproduction of a work of art is lacking in one element: its presence in time and space, its unique existence at the place where it happens to be' (1968, p.220). Pictures are not pure reflections of reality and what is evident in Riefenstahl's work is the start of an era where camerawork methods and montage techniques can construct visibility. This is because of 'the photographer's skill to recognise the decisive moment, both when taking the picture and in the process of selection editing' (Lister and Wells, 2001, p.69), something that is a key characteristic of the postmodern era, characterised by images of simulation and representation of reality in a constructive way.

The difference, however, with Riefenstahl's work is the power to convince people of the association between the image in the picture and reality. Today this association is instantly questioned, as the plethora of methods and techniques in image reproduction makes us relate the picture to the agency of its production, believing that 'aspects of its compositionality contribute towards its way of seeing' (Rose, 2007, p.20).

Conclusion

This section has examined the visual identity of the Berlin 1936 Olympic city reflecting the principles of the Nazi ideology and representing the often utopian plans and ideas of the new regime towards modern development and social renewal. The findings from this Olympic city example have been compared to Harvey's idea of 'creative destruction' with design and architectural elements representing the start of a new epoch for Germany and with the abolition of elements from its recent past. Another aim of this section has been the analysis of characteristics of German Neoclassicism and its relation with the nation's utopian aspirations and the interpretation of the values of Classicism. At the same time, this section also focused on the paradoxes in the design language found in elements from the visual identity of Berlin 1936, such as the graphic signs made for the city's public transport.

Finally, this section has shown the immense effort to create a visual identity for the Olympic city of Berlin 1936 that, apart from reflecting the regime's ambitious plans for development and change, was apparent in many different fields in arts, design and architecture. From city planning ideas and architecture to the design of souvenirs and the making of Riefenstahl's film, the elements chosen to represent the visual identity of Berlin 1936 had a very symbolic character but also aimed, in visually persuasive ways, to enchant the masses with the principles and values of Nazi ideology.

Chapter's Discussion and Conclusion

This chapter examined three distinctive examples of Olympic cities in the modern era from 1896 to 1936, recognising the example of Berlin 1936 as the highest point of this era. In all three examples, I examined the representation of the Olympic city as a construct, designed to represent an idyllic picture of the host city's urban and social identities. I focused on design elements from

the host cities visual identities that promoted some aspects over others from the host city's urban, social and cultural life, together with the ways that these elements were displayed aiming towards the enchantment of the masses. For example, in the case of Athens 1896, the display of a modern identity inspired by the climate of Philhellenism and expressed through the aesthetic language of Neoclassicism. In the example of Paris 1900, celebrated as part of the 1900 International Exposition, the host city was visually represented in an atmosphere of phantasmagoria, offering an experience of escapism from everyday reality. Finally, in the example of Berlin 1936, characterised as the highest point of the modern era, the Olympic city was examined as an opportunity for the host city and nation to conceptually construct and visually communicate a utopian picture of new Germany inspired by the principles of Nazi ideology.

In all three examples, there was an interest in highlighting certain aspects of the host city's urban reality and to overshadow (juxtaposed) urban, social and cultural reality of the host city. For example, Athens in 1896 was represented as a reconciler of two distant epochs, modernity and antiquity, reflected in its visual identity as an Olympic city. This identity came in conflict with another view of reality, an underdeveloped one, concerning its urban and cultural development. The concern though is whether this uncertainty in the definition of the city's new identity stabilised its undefined character as an identity always represented in an effort to reconcile its present with the heroic identity of its past.

However, the effort to display certain aspects of the host city's urban and social life was more immense in the representation of the Olympic city of Berlin in 1936. The visual identity of Berlin 1936 relied on design ideas and plans that managed to enchant the collective conscience and convince not only the German people but the rest of the world about the superiority of the German nation and race. The representational identity relied on visual means in an effort to enchant not only the German people, but also the universal

opinion through the staging of an impressive event that reached 'an artistic and festive zenith' (Mandell, 1971, p.xii).

This identity relied on a range of means of visual representation, from the architecture of the buildings to available promotional and advertising material. Although in Athens 1896, signs of a different, 'uglier', view of reality could be discovered alongside the Olympic city identity, in Berlin 1936, this 'ugly' view was not visually obvious. The visual experience of the 1936 Games worked in a way to eliminate any thoughts of the dystopian consequences found in fascist ideas.

It is evident that by the time of the Olympics, concentration camps had already been established and according to information found in Duff Hart-Davis' book *Hitler's Games*: 'Esterwege Concentration Camp would offer naïve Olympic guests a splendid chance to see what the true Germany is like... The place was cleared up the day before, and the victims of maltreatment were taken away' (Hart-Davis, 1986, p.129). An article in the *New York Times* (11th July 1935) has the title 'Anti-Jewish signs down for the Olympics. Hitler promises to remove the placards during the Winter and Summer Games'. Similarly in another article by the *New York Post* (November 7th, 1935), it is stated that Hitler assured that signs such as 'Jewish not invited – Jewish not wanted' will be taken down and 'nothing will be done to hurt the susceptibilities of persons of any religious belief or race'. However, in the article there are the concerns that this 'doesn't mean that the brutality and brutalism of the Hitler regime will be ended. It doesn't mean that plans for running a huge propaganda exposition in favor of Nazism in conjunction with the games will be cancelled'.

These articles described another sight of reality that could not be easily seen through the positive and festive character of the visual identity of the Olympic city, that even Coubertin had confirmed. When Coubertin was asked by a French journalist about the use of the Berlin Games for the transmission of

propaganda, his reaction was: 'What? The Games disfigured? The Olympic Idea sacrificed to propaganda? That is utterly wrong! The wonderful success of the Berlin Games has served the Olympic ideal magnificently' (Müller, 2000, p.521).

The Olympic city of Berlin 1936 is possibly the most characteristic example of Olympic cities in the modern era that led to a questioning of Olympic cities associated with mass utopian ideas and plans in relation to city development. In reference to the fall of mass utopia, according to Buck-Morss: 'If the dreamed-of potential for social transformation remains unrealised, it can teach future generations that history has betrayed them' (2000, p.xi). Modern utopia has been associated with the possibility of its realisation and has disappointed its followers. After World War II, the disappointment of the social dream in the name of Nazism created a general climate of doubt towards utopian ideas. 'The vision of a long lasting plan for the city of Berlin and the use of modern Neoclassicism were characteristics of an Olympic city that was not created to last for two weeks, but to herald the plans for the city's and the nation's envisioned future' (Tzanoudaki, 2010, p.152). In the postwar years and in the Olympic cities that followed, although there was still an emphasis on the plans of the host cities and nations towards modernisation, their visual identity was away from an 'austere, strongly monumental, futuristic, heavy and long lasting character' (Tzanoudaki, 2010, p. 152) of the 1936 Games identity.

Examining the visual identity of the Olympic city of Berlin 1936 today, it is easier to highlight those visual elements that showed signs of authoritarianism, racial polarisation and symbols of German superiority. There is a transition to an anti-monumental type of architecture in the postmodern era (as will be seen in chapter 5), supported by lightweight architecture and playful forms. This transition has created an even bigger contrast in the visual representation of Olympic cities today with the symbolic language, associated with the Nazi ideology, of the 1936 Games. As it will be examined in the following chapter, this association, between an ideology and

the creation of an aesthetic language to represent it, is not a characteristic of the postmodern era. Olympic design and architecture have a more global identity and scope and are no longer a way for nations to express their aspirations and utopian ideas for their future development.

CHAPTER 5 - Findings of the Postmodern Era in the Representation of the Olympic City's Visual Identity

Introduction

In this chapter, I examine the visual identity of Olympic cities that I have identified as representatives of the postmodern era. This chapter incorporates ideas from postmodern cultural theory (e.g. Lyotard, 1979; Baudrillard, 1983; Jameson, 1991), examining how the Olympic city has changed in relation to the meanings of space, time, novelty, urban transformation and visual and cultural representation. In my examination of design and architectural examples from Olympic cities of the postmodern era, starting mainly from the nineteen seventies onwards, the meaning of 'post' is associated with the idea of the Olympic city moving away being a paradigm of modernity.

The term -post-, can have, according to Margaret Rose, a possible variety of definitions, meaning 'subsequent to or later than the modern' (1991, p.ii). In my analysis of the representational role of the Olympic city in the postmodern era, the "postmodern" is more associated with the 'later than the modern' and with the fading of certain characteristics, meanings and values that were essential in the representation of the Olympic city in the modern era (Baudrillard, 1983, Jameson, 1984; Lyotard, 1985²⁸; Bauman, 1987; Hassan, 1987, Harvey, 1990; King, 1994). These fading characteristics, meanings and values that I have identified as important in the examination of the Olympic city in the postmodern era, are:

- The association of the Olympic city with ideologies, utopian plans and grand narratives of the modern era. I argue that the postmodern era represents a new phase where the display of the utopian aspirations

²⁸ Lyotard (1985) suggests that 'the post indicates something like a conversion: a new direction from the previous one' (Docherty, 1993, p.48).

of a nation or a city has been replaced by a temporarily displayed fashionable image of the host city.

- The association of the Olympic city architecture and design with monumental forms and national symbols, aiming to become part of a time legacy, representing the start of a new era for the host city and nation. I argue that in the postmodern era the visual identity of the Olympic city is not necessarily connected with the new, but with the different, based on design elements and a created aesthetic atmosphere (what will be analysed as Olympic look and corporate identity) that give a distinctive character to the host city.

- The importance in the representation of the Olympic city as a live (and not broadcasted) experience, where rituals and festivities associated with the Games gave an important role to the decoration of public spaces and buildings. I argue that the emphasis given to the Olympic Games as a broadcasted experience in the postmodern era has changed the priorities given to the visual identity of the Olympic city, from an urban experience relying on street rituals and festivities to 'a rush of images from different spaces almost simultaneously, collapsing the world's spaces into a series of images on a television screen' (Harvey, p.293).

- This chapter supports one of the key objectives of this thesis: to argue that the examination of the Olympic city as a transition from the modern to the postmodern era helps in understanding the role of design and architecture today and the Olympic city's involvement in strategies of city imaging and hosting of a mega-event. 'Today, the success of an Olympic city is based on quantitative criteria and it has turned less to a place that accommodates the Games and more to a product' (Tzanoudaki, 2010, p.166). The success of an Olympic city is counted in numbers (numbers of visitors, numbers in spectatorship,

numbers in sponsorship, numbers related to local redevelopment and infrastructure). This amounts to a moving away from Coubertin's modern ideals and plans for a Modern Olympia, but mainly from an era (the modern era) where host cities were inspired by their own ideologies towards a perfect society and conditions of good living.

- Television brought the Olympic city experience into people's homes. The Olympic city became part of a global visual experience and a global network of cultural exchange. Today, the Olympic city is no longer trying to present itself as a new experience based on a homogenous meaning of novelty and progress or to search for the eternal values that formed modern utopian proposals. It has expanded in size and popularity. However, I argue that not only has the Olympic city expanded as a space and developed into a popular event, but more importantly the Olympic city has depreciated as a time experience, as a utopia and a grand narrative.

For Hetherington, modern cities were based on 'an ideology of progress (2008, p.279)'. When a city was chosen to host the Olympic games, an effort was made to create an environment as a host city that would make it known worldwide as a modern capital based on progressive ideas. For example, the Olympic city of Athens 1896 made an effort to be perceived as a modern place, despite the fact that for the rest of the world it was important for its historic heritage and its classical past. Apart from being identified as a symbol of the nation's rebirth, the Olympic city was represented in a way that would bring the city and the nation confidence in its new identity as a member of the modern world. The Olympic city in the modern era, despite a duration of only a few weeks, was built to demonstrate its importance as a legacy in reforming society and the values of humanity.

Another key objective of this chapter is to argue that the modern conception of city design and planning involves ideal plans and design proposals leading

to large urban and social transformations, whereas the postmodern conception involves representations of well branded and packaged images of urban spaces, used mainly to transform (Olympic) cities into spectacles. For the Olympic cities in the modern era, the interpretation of the 'ideal' focused on different cultural and social ideas of what could form a perfect society and, therefore, the Olympic ideal became a subject of nation's individual interpretation of it. This interpretation, although not necessarily influenced by Coubertin's model of a Modern Olympia, often became associated with the vision and formal characteristics of other ideologies, usually of a national character, as was seen in the cases of Athens 1896 and even to a greater extent in the case of Berlin 1936.

My main objective in the characterisation of the Olympic city as a transition into a fashionable image is to show that today's criteria of development and differentiation are based on invented spatial narratives and instant visual experiences, which have limited the development of any qualitative criteria that could turn the Olympic city into a good example and an ideal model of society and humanity, as Coubertin had envisioned. Bauman argues that 'in contemporary dreams, however, the image of progress seems to have moved from the discourse of shared improvement to that of the individual survival' (2007, p.103). Progress today has become synonymous with a global competition, with 'a desperate effort to stay in the race' (Bauman, 2007, p.103). Therefore, the Olympic city today is an effort to show that it is not 'being left behind' (Bauman, 2007, p.103) in global competition, by engaging with the symbols and codes that are globally recognised as innovative and fashionable, usually found in the design proposals of eponymous designers and the products of globally well known firms.

I argue that today there is a misuse of the Olympic city as the carrier of the good, with the replacement of the ideal with the spectacular, the fashionable and the exciting. There is a tendency to camouflage an often ugly social and urban reality with the representation of the Olympic city as a place based on

image narratives of a place, or spatial narratives, offering spectacle and temporary excitement. Mahoney (2007) finds that spatial narratives characterise the identity of the contemporary city. He claims that 'almost anything one does in a city takes place and becomes a spatial practice that shapes, and is shaped by, the social, economic, political, or cultural space of the city'. Similarly, Morgan (2008), in his book *Spatial Narratives* (using examples such as BMW/MINI brandspaces and the Home Couture flagship store), refers to these environments that create interior worlds, what he calls 'spatial narratives', whether in the temporary setting of a trade fair or in a permanent building.

My aims in the following paragraphs, related to the transition of the Olympic city into a fashionable image, but also the role of the Olympic city design and architecture in the postmodern era, are:

- to show that what distinguishes Olympic cities as postmodern urban examples is that they create a feeling of being somewhere else apart from what is known in the ordinary life. The Olympic city as a heterotopia (Foucault, 1967) represents the spectacular and is represented by symbols of global recognition, offering excitement and a fashionable image of urban reality for a few days. It is often built as a brandscape and offers different -every four years-, spatial narratives, not necessary linked with the identity of the city and culture that hosts the event.
- to show how fragmentation in the Olympic city, caused by the surrounding environment, makes it possible to visually represent the Olympic city as a compact and ephemeral space. As a result there is a total control of the Olympic city experience, based on its own rules of excitement and differentiation and often an abolishment of public space psychology.

- to analyse the effects of the Olympic city expansion and growth in the representation of the Olympic city globally and how big transformations, impressive changes and star architecture have turned the city into a fashionable item for global viewing and consumption. Furthermore, to show that with the representation of the Olympic city as a fashionable image, an Olympic city identity can rely on design elements that can impress globally. These elements are often based on a stylistic 'pastiche', and therefore a visual mix of represented historical or cultural characteristics from different places and times.
- to show how today we create design proposals for the Olympic city, in order to promote it as an urban and cultural experience, based on well branded images which can be globally recognised, impress and sell. By focusing on the creation of a global and sellable image for a city, the design criteria for success are based on what could satisfy the global viewer and not the local community.

5.1 The End of the Grand Narratives and the Comparison of the Olympic City to a 'Heterotopia'

This section examines the characteristics of the Olympic city in the postmodern era, comparing it to a 'heterotopia' and also examines the end of the grand narratives, characterising the modern era. As it has already mentioned in the discussion about the theoretical approaches to the examination of the Olympic city in the postmodern era (chapter 3), heterotopia has been introduced by the post-structuralist theorist Michel Foucault. It was a theory and term coined in a public lecture in 1967, based on the idea of 'other spaces' (*Architecture-Mouvement-Continuité*, October 1984). In this section, I compare heterotopia with the visual identity of the Olympic city in the postmodern era, arguing that the atmosphere of being somewhere else, in a different space, is a construct. It is based on invented

spatial narratives led by the current trends of visual culture and images of spaces that would be of global interest.

In this section I also associate condition of the Olympic city today, as a heterotopia, with the end of grand narratives and utopian ideas that had often influenced the design identity of Olympic cities in the modern era, such as Athens 1896 and Berlin 1936 (inspired by the values of Neo-Hellenism and the Nazi ideology, respectively). I highlight that the rise of Olympic cities as 'heterotopias', reflects the end of the Olympic cities as design plans based on a vision of an idyllic picture of the host city, culture and society.

Siebers argues that 'the postmodern vision of utopia finds the image of heterotopia' (1994, p.7). For Siebers, 'utopia is not about being no-where; it is about desiring to be elsewhere' (1994, p.6), which recognises the importance of the utopian in the modern era. Therefore, the comparison of the Olympic city to heterotopia is also in relation to the fact that the Olympic city is no longer inspired by the ideas and ideals of grand narratives, associated with national ideals and utopian plans.

Foucault (1967) associates heterotopias with utopias and mainly with the negation of the latter. He had characterised heterotopias as 'counter-sites, a kind of effectively enacted utopia in which the real sites, all the other real sites that can be found within the culture are simultaneously represented, contested, and inverted' (*Architecture-Mouvement-Continuité*, October 1984). For Foucault, utopia is a mirror: something unreal but that reflects 'society itself in a perfected form, or else society turned upside down, but in any case these utopias are fundamentally unreal spaces' (*Architecture-Mouvement-Continuité*, October 1984). On the other hand, heterotopias have been observations 'sketched out as real existing places of difference' (*Architecture-Mouvement-Continuité*, October 1984).

A definition of heterotopias that is relevant to my comparison with Olympic city examples in the postmodern era has to do with the recognition of spaces represented as alternate experiences, in order to offer excitement and escape from the ordinary. Hetherington defines heterotopias as 'spaces of alternate ordering' (1997, p.viii). Also, for the postmodern theorist Edward Soja, in his examination of what he calls 'thirdspace and the geohistory of otherness' (1996, p.154), heterotopias are something more than spatial interpretations of difference. 'They are not just other spaces: to be added on to the geographical imaginations and spatial experiences, they are also other than the established ways of thinking spatially' (1996, p.163). Additionally, for Genocchio, heterotopias represent both variety and heterogeneity and 'are variable and constituted and formed, over and against a homogeneous and shared spatiality' (1995, p.38). King also, by emphasising the idea of heterogeneity, argues that heterotopias are 'created spaces of life at its most intense and real heterogeneous' (1996, p.123).

Heterotopias are created spaces and can be based on invented spatial narratives, where the key element is the space itself and its impression as something different. This characteristic, of invented spatial narratives, is also the characteristic that I have identified as important in my suggestion that the Olympic city in the postmodern era is a heterotopia. For Banks, the idea of narrative in visual analysis is the 'intentional organisation of information apparently presented within –for our purposes- an image or sequence of images' (2007, p.14), referring to the meaning the narrative has today. I, therefore, suggest that the focus in the creation of a visual identity of the Olympic city today is on the building of a narrative rather than being inspired by it. The utopian ideas and plans promising social and urban development, come today in opposition to spatial narratives, based on promises for temporary moments of excitement and, therefore, an intentional organisation of space based on the objectives of the narrator and the image maker.

In my description of the Olympic city as heterotopia, I recognise it as spatiality aiming to be elsewhere, based on pre-scheduled spatial narratives. In the following section, I examine the Olympic city as heterotopia, in association with the design of Olympic cities as fragmented space experiences enclosed within their borders. I identify Munich 1972 as the first Olympic city to introduce this type of planning with many others following its example in the recent decades.

5.2 The Olympic City as a Fragmented Spatial Experience – The Example of the Olympic City of Munich 1972

This section examines the Olympic city as an oversized and fragmented spatial experience, taking into account phenomena such as the end of monumentality, the introduction of lightweight architecture and the creation of compact and artificial spaces, usually in the form of gigantic parks. Based on the example of Munich 1972, with a specific focus on the design of the Olympia Park, this section compares the Olympic city to a heterotopia where the idea of public space has been replaced by an artificial open space and ‘a gigantic sport site’ (*L’ illustré*, August 1972, p.32). My line of argument is based on a selection of a few specific pictures from the representation of the Olympic city of Munich 1972 as a plan and identity offering a new type of urban entrepreneurship.

Foucault (1967) contrasts heterotopias with public spaces, arguing that the ‘heterotopic site is not freely accessible like a public place’ (October 1984). He refers to heterotopias as places isolated by barriers of opening and closing, which seem to replace the role of public places as open and accessible in all parts. The Olympia Park was the chosen site of ‘Oberwiesenfeld’, a previously undeveloped area expanding over three million square metres and located only three km away from the centre, was the chosen site for the construction of the Olympia Park. ‘Non plan, an

experiment in freedom' (cited in Van Schaik and Prestel, 2004, p.100) was the title of an article in *New Society*, a journal published in 1969. The article referred to the concept behind the urban planning and building of new projects in Germany's big cities like Munich. The design for the Olympia Park followed the idea that the Games and the city 'must bear the image of the times' (Kramer, Autumn 1970, p.125), turning against the monumental architecture, which seemed the right way for Munich to visually oppose itself to the image of a strong monumental character that the Berlin 1936 Games had left. The selection of a new site, blending landscape and architecture into a whole, consisting of artificial hills, a lake and pathways, formed an artificial landscape of a well proportioned park.

The intention to create an autonomous design language was projected into the Olympic City's architecture, planning and promotional identity, encouraging the creation of an anti-monumental and international environment with clear territorial barriers, but also an individual and distinctive visual identity. The characteristics of its visual identity, found in its design and architecture, contradicted the historic identity of the city of Munich. According to Lucas, the Olympic city appeared as 'a spectacular, futuristic city of sport, concentrated outside the main city' (1980, p.205). It was a miniaturised city environment with nature incorporated in 'parkland scenery' (Kramer, 1970, p.110), as one of its main components.

In figure 5.1, a picture is presented of the scale model of the Olympia Park, designed by Professor Gunther Behnisch and his partners who were awarded the first prize in the architectural competition for the design of the Olympic site hosting the 1972 Games. The scale model shows the emphasis given to the representation of the Olympic city as a compact space. Within the park, the roof with its 74,800 square meter tent had a dominating role covering the Olympic stadium, Indoor Sports Hall and Swimming Stadium. The use of lightweight structures, the creation of a large tent roof that covers and formally links different facilities together, along with the lack of any

decorative elements with historic symbolism, were the characteristics of the design of the Olympia Park.

The tent roof, designed by Frei Otto, was characterised by the organisers as the Olympic city's landmark, 'the main feature of the Munich Olympic skyline and the showpiece of the Munich Games' (Organising Committee for the XXth Olympiad in Munich, *Diplomatic document, Constructions for the Games*, 1972). Unlike the monumental architecture found in the modern era, especially in the Berlin 1936 Games, in Munich 1972 a design plan based on landmarks came to signify the meaning of an architecture based on current trends in building structure. Otto's design of the roof carried the spirit of the spontaneous and aimed to create a show in the form of a large multicultural party. He was a follower of experimental architectural theories and techniques. He believed that 'buildings cannot and should not be rigid structures, into which we must be squeezed, but must be along with us, a living growing environment which eventually should be replaced' (Drew, 1976, p.9). He also believed that 'the trouble with concrete and brick is that they take a long time to put up, a long time to knock down, and when they are down, all you have is a pile of rubble to shift' (cited in Van Schaik and Prestel, 2004, p.72).

The distinction of the identity of a place based on experimental forms in architecture and building technology, is something already known since the modern era, with examples such as the Eiffel Tower, as symbol of modern architecture for the 1896 International Exposition in Paris. However, in the postmodern era, as Harvey describes, space is 'independent and autonomous, to be shaped according to aesthetic aims and principles' (Harvey, 1990, p.66). According to the organisers of the Munich 1972 Games, 'the Olympic area is nevertheless intended to give each individual the feeling that he is not swamped but participating independently in a scene of meaningful order' (*Olympia in München*, 1971).

From the aesthetic language behind the design scheme, described in figure 5.2, I am making a comparison with a picture, also taken from the Olympia Park, presented in a special issue of the Italian journal *Epoca* (Brera, et al., August 1972). The issue was dedicated to the Olympic Games and architecture of Munich 1972. The picture in figure 5.2 shows a panoramic view of the park under the title. '[T]he youth of the world under the magical tent' (Brera, et al., August 1972, p. 4-5). It is interesting that the picture involves some compositional characteristics that zoom into people's life inside this park, buying souvenirs and visitors approaching the venues from different directions, passing through an amusingly changing landscape composed of the lake, the hills and the different athletic installations.

The article following this image argues that 'for some architects, the tent is represented as the most daring structure conceived in this postwar period, something that is not only a symbol of the Games, but is a design that will end up being copied all over the world' (Brera, et al., August 1972, p.6). In this case, this article refers to a new aesthetic language in lightweight architecture that became suitable for events such as International Expos and festivals in the following decades and is still popular nowadays.

In the early seventies, what was called 'throwaway architecture' (Cook, 1970, p.124), found a new direction for architecture representing 'the soft, flexible, transient, and the responsibility of the users' (Eaton, 2000, p.219) and replacing 'the hard, permanent, rigid, domineering, and under the control of the architect' (Eaton, 2000, p.219). Construction technology suggested ways to create temporary spaces (for example, structures with pneumatically distended membranes). Rowe and Koetter argue that experimental proposals are identified with a design language justifying a 'disregard for context, distrust of the social continuum' (1978, p.38). Frei Otto's design is a reflection of a visual language and a spatial narrative that tries to persuade its viewer about the identity of a place in a park-like setting with the promise of 'happy and light hearted Games' (Brera, et al., August 1972, p.6).

The third picture, in figure 5.3, a sketched image published at the Spanish journal *La Actualidad Española* (14th September 1972) comes in contradiction to the previous two pictures of the Olympia Park. Ironically, the Olympic city of Munich 1972 was the first to create a strong atmosphere of heterotopian space inspiring a happy and cheerful atmosphere, and the one seriously marked with a terrorist incident, after eleven Israeli Olympic team members were murdered by the Palestinian terrorist group of Black September. The Olympic city of Munich 1972 wanted to offer an 'other than' experience from what was happening in the world political scene. In 'a time of many political and social contradictions'²⁹, the Olympic city, as a fragmented spatial experience, wanted to leave politics outside its borders.

For the Munich 1972 Olympic city an identity was conceived that was intended 'to lend visual expression to the meaning of the Games; a psychological atmosphere has been prepared in which open-mindedness and humanity are self-evident without declarations' (*Olympia in München*, 1971). However, the Olympia Park and its symbolic roof, as seen in the picture, come in contradiction to what their design symbolised. Graham argues:

'If the Olympics cannot be effectively excluded from international terrorism, if it is not possible to surround the Olympic Village and Games with an absolutely reliable fence, then the Games cannot continue to exist as an oasis of peace totally severed from the political, racial, and religious strives and struggles of the real world' (1976, p.307).

²⁹ The year 1968 had marked a turning point in international relations. The United States' involvement in Vietnam had become so unpopular and the incoming 'Nixon administration announced the program of group withdrawal and rejected a United States role as a world policeman'. The Cold War was a divider in international relationships, and the Olympic Games were proved a contest of prestige. During the 1972 Games, Sergei Pavlov, Russian Minister of Sport, gloated that in 10 sports the Russians were the best and in 15 others were ahead of the Americans and Pravda asserted that the results 'show to the entire world the triumph of the personality liberated by socialism'.



FIG 5.1



FIG 5.2

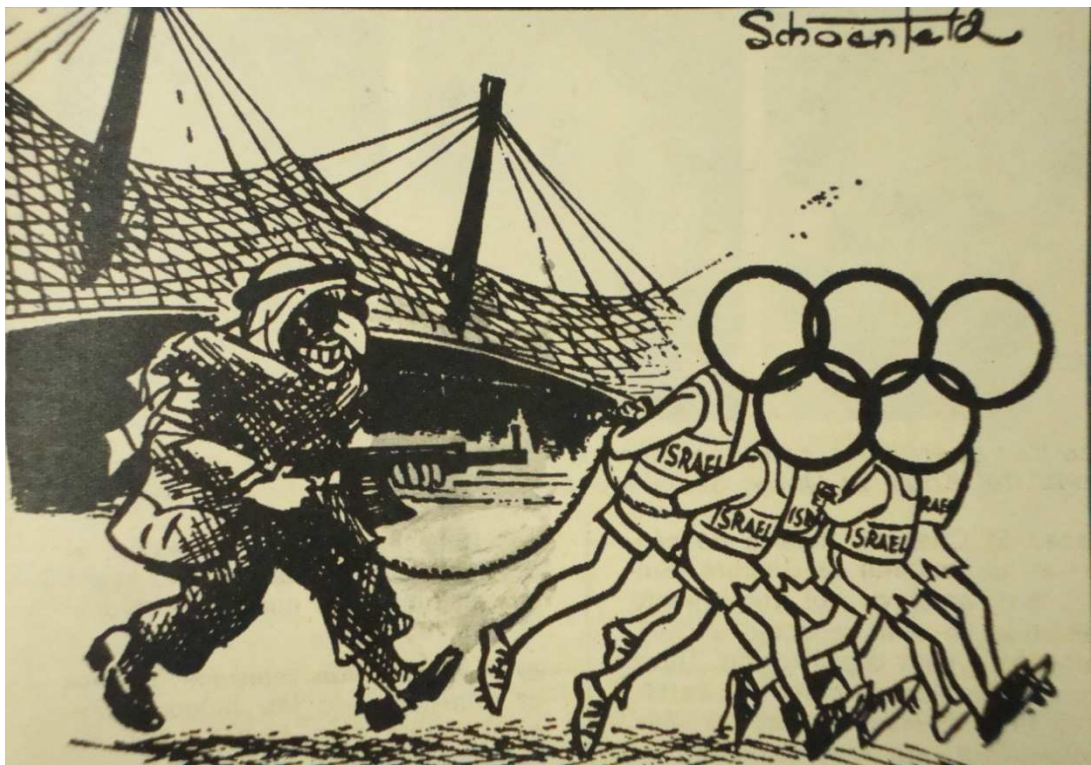


FIG 5.3

The heterotopian site of Munich 1972 proved that creating an Olympic city as a fragmented experience can only represent narratives of a peaceful world, rather than the reality of being part of it. After the Munich 1972 incident, the Olympic cities have become more heterotopian, more fortified and more fragmented than ever, with security systems and absolute control of who enters the sites being a big part of the city's organising agenda. For example, Athens 2004 was the first Olympic Games after the September 11, 2001 attacks, making concerns about terrorism much higher. Greece increased the budget for security at the Olympics and police officers patrolled Athens and the Olympic venues during the Olympics. The Olympic Village and the venues of the Games started looking like guarded cities.

Hiller argues that the contemporary city has become 'a series of fortified spaces in which individual and groups seek protection' (2004, p.45). Therefore, 'tremendous urban resources are given to everything from undercover surveillance to crowd control' (Hiller, 2004, p.45). Bauman argues that fortified and closely guarded buildings or complexes that have the goal of: 'separating, keeping away and barring the entry of strangers, are fast becoming one of the most visible aspects of contemporary cities' (2007, p.72). The guarding of heterotopian spaces, such as in the case of the Olympic city venues, in addition to being a security measure, also makes people today feel psychologically secure; they feel that they are amongst the right type of people and in a safe environment.

Bauman also argues that: 'Fences divide otherwise uniform space into an inside and an outside, but what is inside for those on one side of the fence is outside for those on the other' (Bauman, 2007, p.76). Places that create this type of polarisation turn their own territory into a target. According to Dehaene and De Caeter, 'closing means excluding the public, a delineation of otherness and a closure vis a vis public space while the opening is an opening onto the public domain' (2008, p.5). Therefore, spaces based on

fragmentation also mean the distinction and exclusivity of who enters, how one acts, how one moves through the space and how long one stays.

5.3 The Olympic City as an Ephemeral Space Experience

This section will examine the Olympic city as an ephemeral space experience. It is based on the Olympic city of Los Angeles 1984 as an example that put an end, not only to monumentality in the Olympic city design and architecture, but introduced ephemeral design solutions with an interest in offering instant entertainment and instant consumption of services and products.

Clarke gives a definition of urban entrepreneurialism to describe a 'symptom of a society dedicated to an increasingly ephemeral existence' (2008, p.128). The Olympic city of Los Angeles made a start in the creation of the Olympic city as part of an entrepreneurial experience which has turned out to be economically beneficial for the city and the Games, especially after the bankruptcy of the Montreal 1978 Games with money spent on the building of permanent facilities. For Clarke, 'consumption involves using up, wearing out, wasting away' and 'the conversion of every durable into an ephemeral form' (2008, p.128). In the Olympic city which was built as a consumption based environment, the architecture and the design of the facilities were converted into ephemeral forms and all activities (from watching the event, being involved in other leisure activities, to food and product consumption) gave an instant pleasure, tied with the commercial benefits of the event.

The Olympic sites designed for mass entertainment and mass consumption can be compared to other postmodern spaces, such as big shopping malls and leisure centres. These spaces are providing people with a shared experience, with the use of a corporate aesthetic language, offering unique opportunities for sponsorship. Zukin discusses the meaning of liminal urban

spaces, especially in the 1980s and in environments that have a commercial character, but have 'replaced political meetings and civic gatherings as arenas of public life' (1991, p.51). The Olympic city of Los Angeles 1984, an experience based on visual consumption, hides its pure commercial identity with the creation of thematic parks in an identity that 'links the mass public and private elites in a visual organisation and consumption' (Zukin, 1991, p.50).

According to the Organising Committee of the 1984 Games: 'It was the first time in history that there had been a non-monumental design concept for the Games and it fit the climate' (*Official Report of the Games*, 1984, p.256). Here, the meaning of the non-monumental became synonymous to transient facilities spread in different parts of the city. The difference, in comparison to the Munich 1972 Olympic city which also used lightweight structures opposed to monumental architecture, was that the sites were temporary in their use, often due to the utilisation of already existing facilities. Furthermore, there were only temporary changes to the used buildings, which at the end of the event were dismantled, leaving no evidence of their existence as spaces. For example, students' residential halls of three different University campuses were converted into Olympic Villages. The University of Southern California was the largest of the three Villages, equipped to handle the needs of the athletes, while the University of California, Los Angeles, was converted into a temporary site, with restaurants, coffee shops, bars and discos.

According to the 1984 Games' organisers, 'everything associated with the Games must have a fresh, festive look to it that conveys the temporal qualities of the event' (*Official Report of the Games*, 1984, p.253). The used facilities and buildings were camouflaged with layers of effect including the symbols and colours of the corporate identity or the symbols of the sponsoring brands, managing to offer to the city a new temporal identity, made to last only for short while. Figure 5.4 shows how 'modular, strong, flexible, portable, easy to erect and cheap' (*Official Report of the Games*,

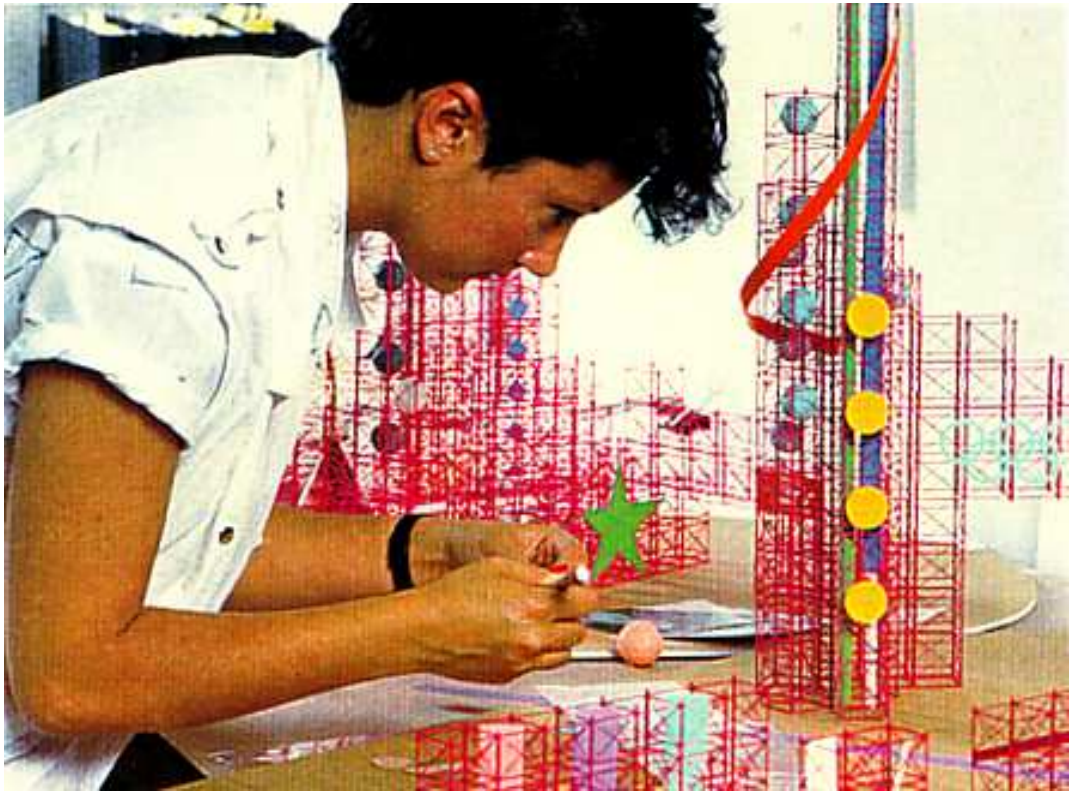


FIG 5.4

1984, p.256), the architectural profile was that the organisers wanted to achieve in the representation of the Olympic city of Los Angeles 1984.

The use of temporary prefabricated structures, and lightweight and easy to construct materials, led to geometric and simplified shapes, adjustable to the different needs of the sites. These structures had no decorative role, in the sense of creating a picturesque identity for the city. Signs on the structures were used to inform and direct the crowds, so that movement and circulation within the sites would operate well. Figure 5.4 shows a member from the design team working on the building of a model for an Olympic site. In comparison to the model seen in figure 5.1, built for the Olympia Park, the design language of ephemeral structures shown in this picture is not based on landmarks. It is a design identity characterising all different types of Olympic sites, relying on texts and codified ideograms in order to make the identity of the event distinctive and recognisable.

The design of this ephemeral architecture has nothing aesthetically unique to offer, such as the stadia-monuments of the modern era, or the landmarks in examples such as Munich 1972. This design creates an environment similar to the 'non-places' which Augé (1995) describes as non-anthropological, ahistorical and non-relational spaces found, for example, in the big supermarkets, where there is an invasion of space by text (1995, p.96). 'Non-places...have the peculiarity that they are defined partly by the words and texts they offer us' (1995, p.96). The interest is not in the creation of an autonomous and independent site as in the case of Munich 1972, but in the design of the provisional structures, the walkways and roads, the direction signs and the commercial signs such as one of the 'Mc Donald's International Invitational Swim Meet' signalling the entrance to the swimming sports activities of the 1984 Games.

In some of sites, for example the 'Mc Donald's Swim Stadium', the structure borrowed the name of the sponsoring company. Commercial sponsors would

provide the money to stage the Games and in return 'they would be entitled to use the Olympic symbol as a logo with which to attract the consumers who would be either watching at home or at the Games themselves' (Cashmore, 2000, p.203). In the Los Angeles 1984 Olympic city example, there were five main sponsors who covered the expenses for the construction of the park and in return requested facilities in it. For example, the 'American Telephone and Telegraph' constructed a prefabricated calling centre. 'American Express' built a re-decorated drive-in bank and a currency exchange corner. In addition, a few companies decided to fund the building of permanent or temporary facilities and in return their products or services were advertised and promoted for the duration of the Games.

In the experience of the Olympic city as a commercial place, familiarity with space becomes synonymous to the recognition of it through a world-known brand name. Augé speaks about the visitor's experience of places that become familiar when 'he falls with relief on sanitary products, household or food products validated by multinational brand products' (1995, p.106). Klingmann also believes that 'brands are no longer bundles of functional characteristics but a means of providing the customer with a certain identity' (2007, p.36). In this case the unfamiliar space becomes a familiar 'worldwide consumption space' where a 'company logo is a reassuring landmark' (Augé, 1995, p. 106-107), such as the one found at the entrance of the 'Mc Donald's Swim Stadium'.

The rapid and constant changing of the images they provide is another characteristic of ephemeral spaces such as the one of Los Angeles 1984. Everything is designed to prevent wasting time and to offer constant entertainment based on commercial activities. At the same time, ephemeral spaces encourage a visual language of a global culture, the values of which rely on the constantly changing marketing image of a brand that has a leading role in the sponsoring of the event. The Olympic city, therefore, culturally engages with the aesthetic principles and aims of the commercial

world, encouraging people to become consumers of images and products by combining the buying process with entertainment.

5.4 The Visual Representation of the Olympic City as an Image

In this section, I examine the Olympic city as an image by analysing the ways and means of its visual representation and also its role as a tool of visual communication in a global network based on a design identity that people can become familiar with globally. I argue that today the Olympic city as an image, emphasising its representation as part of a promotional campaign or an advertisement, is the basis of its visual identity at a global scale. Image creators rely on the ability of image technology to focus on how the Olympic city appears rather than how it actually is.

In this section, I place an emphasis on the possibilities we are given by communication technology (for example: printed images, television, and internet), to turn the Olympic city into an image where its appeal becomes more important than its actual existence. I argue that the global image of the city sets aesthetic rules for the Olympic city design, in order to correspond to a visual identity as part of a wide global network.

In my analysis of the Olympic city as a fashionable image, my aim is to show the role of design and architecture in the visual representation of the Olympic city, what this means and how it differs from the visual means of representation of the Olympic cities in the modern era. I, therefore, examine characteristics such as the creation of a corporate identity and an 'Olympic look' for the Games, applying the theoretical ideas of simulation, stylistic pastiche and place image making strategies. I also examine the meanings of city branding and star architecture in global city competition.

Leontidou, et al., argue that we have moved 'from welfare planning for residents to urban decoration for global tourism' (2007, p.88). We believe our

lives are better because of the images that make us believe things are improving. This section also examines how the image of the Olympic city prioritises the value of its global appearance and fashionable imaging above its function as a social and urban entity. I argue that today the role of image is no longer just to create a good atmosphere, but has now become to promote the city based on a temporary spatial narrative that will be of world interest.

5.4.1 The Olympic City as an Image and as a Product of Simulation

The aim of this section is to show how in the Olympic architecture of the postmodern era, buildings become design objects with the potential to turn into fashionable images, that people can recognise and feel familiar with. Strong visual characteristics help in the creation of an image of difference and uniqueness. The visual representation of Olympic cities, with buildings based on their iconic appeal and architecture based on its fashionable impact, started changing the role of the Olympic architecture and design. This can be observed as early as in the 1952 Olympic city in Helsinki. The stadium Tower for the Helsinki 1952 Games, designed by Yrjo Lindigren and Toivo Jantti, was used as the symbol of the Games. Although its function as a radio broadcasting station was of less interest, its image was found on the design of tourist guides, souvenirs, metal badges and stamps reproduced worldwide.

One of the buildings that became a subject of reproduction was Frei Otto's roof tent, the characteristics of which have been analysed in the previous section. In this section, I analyse the meaning of Frei Otto's design as a symbol and as a design element used for simulation. Figure 5.5 is a characteristic example of an advertisement for a product in which architecture is used predominantly for its interest as image reproduction. Frei Otto's roof tent and the telecommunications tower built for the Munich 1972 Games are placed together, in the background, in a composition together with the design of a pair of Adidas shoes in the foreground. The

advertisement was a full page image in the French magazine *Miroir de l'athlétisme* (August-September 1972), supporting the French athletes in their participation in the 1972 Games. Adidas was the official sponsor of the French team.

As analysed in the previous section, the uniquely shaped giant tent was a symbol of the 1972 Games but also of contemporaneity, of youth, of open-mindedness and of humanity. The particular picture in figure 5.5 emphasises the structural characteristics of the roof and the innovative methods of lightweight engineering. Therefore, it becomes a symbol of technical innovation, uniqueness, and reliability, characteristics that the product next to it –the pair of adidas shoes –absorbs.

Baudrillard believes that the consumption of products should be understood primarily as the consumption of signs, sharing Barthes' view that 'the object is polysemous, i.e., it readily offers itself to several readings of meaning' (1994, p.188). The domination of today's culture by a media society has led to the institutionalisation of the image of the object, and in the present example the image of the structure, through advertisement.

Based on Baudrillard, simulation as a perfect reproduction of the real threatens 'the difference between true and false and between real and imaginary' (1983, p.38) and the search for the authentic becomes unnecessary. Similarly, in the Olympic city experience, the spaces, their buildings and forms start becoming important for their identities as simulated images. From the moment a building is reproduced into a picture, a poster or a souvenir, what becomes important is the building's image and not its use. Reproduction has to do with a credibility of the characteristics of the form and not of the use.

At the same time, image supplements the message and there is a constant communication of images of uncertain content and originality as spaces, like

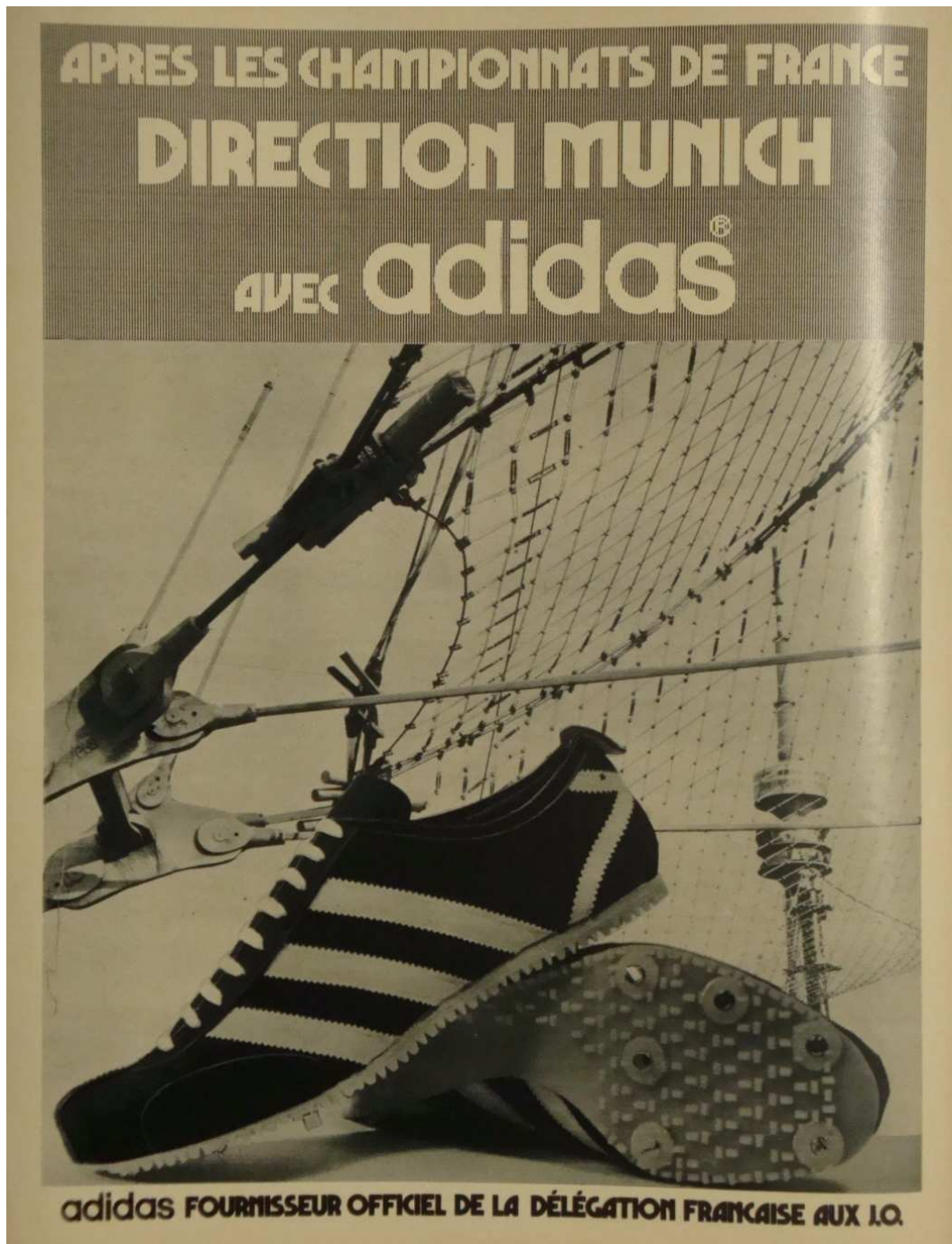


FIG 5.5

in the case of Frei Otto's giant tent. Many designers of the time were looking for the 'possibility that architecture will dissolve into being an everyday consumer durable' (Cook, 1970, p.125). According to Philip Drew, part of Frei Otto's intention was to 'make structure subservient to the task' (Drew, 1976, p.7). Although the intentional boldness of his design for the roof of the stadium was to go against the rules of monumental architecture, the uniqueness of its form, materials and shape turned his design into the landmark of the Munich 1972 Games.

'What creates a confusion between the Olympic city as an actual space and as an appearance is based on: firstly the fact that we can stimulate reality and lose interest in what is authentic and what principles it represents; and secondly the fact that image technology allows us to create a pastiche, a mixture of elements from different historical times, styles, ideas and plans' (Tzanoudaki, 2010, p.171) which is examined in the following section.

5.4.2 The Representation of the Olympic City in a Corporate Identity

This section examines the meaning of 'corporate identity' and of the 'Olympic look' in the visual representation of the Olympic city. In both cases the Olympic city identity is composed by mixed codes - of a merged local and global, or modern and traditional - representing the city. According to *Collin's English Dictionary*, a corporate identity is 'the way an organisation is presented to or perceived by its members and the public'. The representation of the Olympic city based on its corporate identity relies on the ways that the potential viewers would perceive this identity in a comfortable and pleasant way. The design of a corporate identity becomes a way to create a unanimous atmosphere, turning the space into a more familiar place with an identifiable local and global character. Olympic city spaces based on ephemeralisation and fragmentation are usually the ones that require a strong corporate identity, so that they can be visually recognised as a space and associated with the visual identity of the Games.

Otl Aicher was the designer who was commissioned to create the corporate identity for the Munich 1972 Games. The images in figure 5.6 show that the creation of the city's corporate identity was not merely based on the production of posters and photographs, but also on elements of colour and form. Clarity and simplicity, colour alienation and lack of text became the main characteristics of the visual language he applied to everything from posters and banners to city decorations, souvenirs and the Games promotional identity. The created identity was based on the creation of a simple world-wide effect which supported the Olympic city's intentions to spread as a global image.

The aim was that:

'in keeping with the notion of welding the image of the city and that of the Games into a single unit, the visual design programme will extend not only to stadia and Olympic premises, but also to the entire city area, where elements of colour and form will serve to stress the festive character of the Games' (*Olympia in München*, 1971, p.123).

Information and poster-board complexes, flags and banners were distributed extensively in the city's public spaces, airports and railway stations, to visually signal the event. Even the clothing to be worn by the official staff contained the corporate identity colours, 'based on the necessity of facilitating orientation and communication by systematic visual criteria' (*Olympia in München*, 1971, p.124).

Central places outside the Olympic city territory were given a strong decorative role with the application of the designed corporate identity. The poster and sign programmes were controlled by the desire to popularise effectively and promote widely the image of the Munich Olympic city; a fragmented space that through the dynamics of image technology could spread all over the world. The corporate identity was, therefore, connected

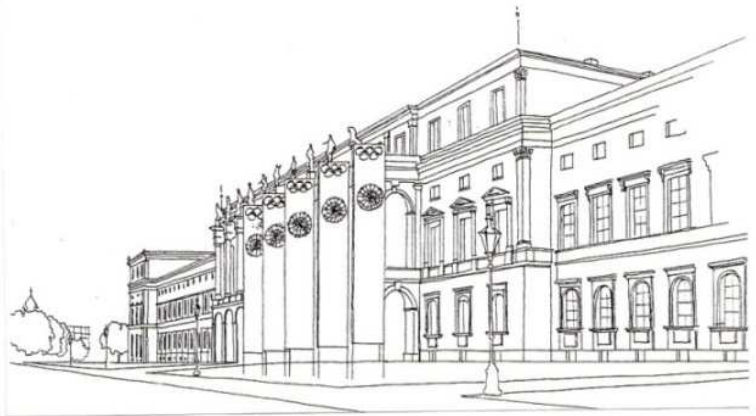
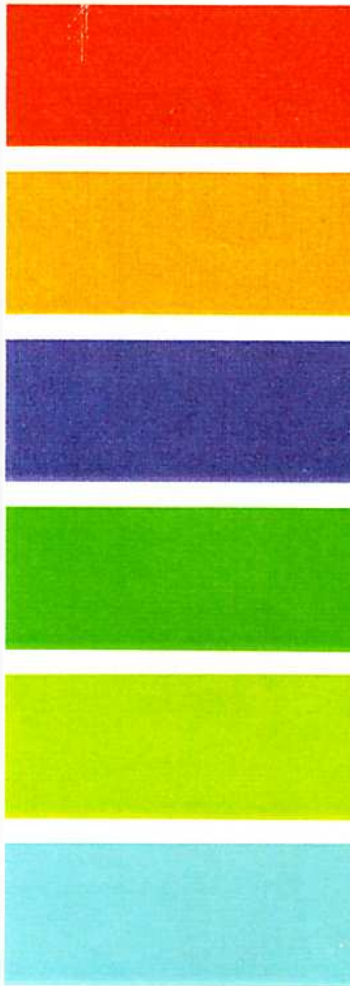


FIG 5.6

visually with different parts of the city (airports, stations and main public areas), but mostly created a bridge between the visual identity of the Olympia Park and the historic part of the city, by decorating the main public spaces of the city with elements from the corporate identity (such as colourful banners and flags).

The representation of the Olympic city in a corporate identity is not based only on a collection of signs of identification, but on new codes of familiarisation. An event such as the Olympic Games, with their world-wide attraction, has a big influence on the product and souvenir industry. The corporate identity appeared on the 'emblem on matchboxes, tablecloths, ties, cushions and calendar cubes' - on hundreds of products made by various firms. Figure 5.7 shows a page from a catalogue ('Verkaufs - und Informationskatalog', Olympic Museum-IOC archives) distributed to shops, selling products with designs based on the corporate identity principles.

The postmodern theorist Jean Baudrillard refers to a system of 'climate control' (1988, p.30) and the effort to impose a coherent and collective vision through the forces of advertising and display. Similarly, the Olympic city as an image aims to create a climate and an atmosphere in order to be communicated as a unique space experience. According to an article written for the official magazine, *Olympia in München*, the resulting image 'is a distinction as well as an embellishment, since the license is granted not for the fee alone, but chiefly for the sake of aesthetic qualities' (*Olympia in München*, 1971, p.123). The article highlights that these aesthetic qualities 'are not the same as those of the traditional rubbish produced by the souvenir value because of the quality in the materials or technology used. They are presented to have a value because they are associated with the Corporate

Verkaufs- und Informationskatalog

Ein farbiges und vielseitiges Angebot:

Für jeden, der gern schenkt (oder schenken läßt). Ob Einzelperson oder Unternehmen

Geschenke, Souvenirs, Partyartikel, Waldi, Displays, Werbeträger

Eine reichhaltige Palette geschmackvoller Produkte im Zeichen der Spiele der XX. Olympiade München 1972



Eine Sonderbeilage der Firma Fahren-Fleck, Hamburg, in der Süddeutschen Zeitung vom 29. 11. 1971

FIG 5.7

identity of the Games, where the purity of colour selection and imitation of the trade' (*Olympia in München*, 1971, p. 123). Looking at the products sold in this catalogue, one could easily notice that they are not presented to have a official signs and symbols become essential.

5.4.3 The Olympic City represented in a Stylistic Pastiche

This section examines the Olympic city and its visually represented identity based on stylistic pastiche. The latter is analysed as a characteristic of the postmodern era, raising the possibility of merging different architectural styles and design elements, both from different locations and from different epochs. Nostalgia and stylistic pastiche are central features of architectural postmodernism, but also of examples from the visual identity representing the Olympic cities in the postmodern era. In this section, I examine the ways that pastiche was applied in Olympic design and architecture in order to project a contemporary, fashionable and unique image for the Olympic city and the Games.

Firstly, with the creation of a corporate identity, pastiche becomes a way for the Olympic city to merge the composition of different styles, forms, locations, architectural styles and cultural representations into one image. It was discussed in the previous section how the Olympic city of Munich 1972 is an important example because of the visual ways it managed, through the creation of a strong corporate identity, to communicate the visual identity of a spatially fragmented site. This corporate identity was based on the design of logotypes, posters and signs distributed around the city and in the Olympic sites as well as the choice of a distinctive colour palette.

The creation of a corporate identity, based on stylistic pastiche, helped in the creation of a link between the contemporary identity of the city of Munich and its historic past. Munich is a town with a multitude of architectural styles and cultural diversity. It is a mixture of different architecture styles, each

stemming from a particular period of time. The town still owes its festive character to the influences of Munich's Gothic epoch, represented by Baroque and Rococo styles in art and architecture. Although the local and historic character of the city was something separate from the concept of the contemporary identity for the Olympics that the organisers wanted to produce, it appears that they also wanted some kind of link between the present and the past.

The president of the German Organising Committee, Willi Daume, stated that Munich had always been successful in 'harmonising the best of the old with the best of the new' (Kramer, 1970, p.109). This link was created in a visually less obvious way with the organisers claiming that the colour scheme was inspired by the colour tones of Munich's baroque period: 'Light blue as official colour of the 1972 Games, as well as light green, orange, white and silver and –as additional variants –indigo, dark green and light orange' (Schürk, 1970, p.140). The choice of colour played a big role in the Olympic city identity in order also to stress the systematic happy atmosphere of the event as the emphasis was also on the selection of 'a range of light, cheerful shades to symbolise our intention that the Games shall be a brilliant carefree gathering' (Daume cited in Kramer, 1970, p.100).

For Baudrillard, colour is a tool to create a 'structure of atmosphere' (1996, p.30) and therefore to create an appearance and an image for a space. He argues that 'colours generally derive their significance from outside themselves: they are simply metaphors for fixed cultural meanings' (Baudrillard, 1996, p.31). For example, as seen in figure 5.6, many of the pastel colours (such as the light blue) often are associated with the Baroque époque, for the reason that many of the decorated surfaces and forms were of these colours. The decade of the seventies was also a time when pastel colours (such as light orange) were in fashion. The choice, therefore, of pastel colours was the result of a combination of visual languages coming from different epochs.

The Baroque époque inspired the selection of light shades of blue and dark green and silver which were associated with aristocracy and the city's rich past, while the seventies fashion of cheerfulness and carefree feelings, that the event wanted to follow, inspired the selection of the light shades of orange and green. Both styles –the Baroque period and the seventies fashion- have similarities in the colour saturation. In this example, therefore, there is a careful selection of colours, identifying two different epochs, with the aim to visually create a merging of these epochs. For the viewer, this analysis of this stylistic pastiche is not obvious and in the majority, he is incapable of decoding the blending of different styles through the similarities in their colour saturation. He is however, capable of appreciating the choice of the specific colours in relation to the contemporary fashions and styles and also that the colours are not foreign to the local and historic identity of the place.

Since the Los Angeles 1984 Games, another term has been added to the Olympic city design process, the 'Olympic Look'. The *Official report of the Los Angeles 1984 Games* dedicates a large section, titled 'Design and the Look of the Games', to an analytical description of the design identity for the Olympic city - what the organisers called an 'Olympic look' (*Official Report of the Games*, 1984, p.256). Whereas the corporate identity describes an application of elements of identity-building to space, in the creation of the Olympic look the space becomes an actual product of the identity itself. In the creation of an Olympic look, the language of pastiche helps to build a space based on disparate elements of time or culture, in a postmodern eclecticism.

For François Lyotard, the postmodern theorist, 'eclecticism is the degree zero of contemporary general culture: one listens to reggae, watches a western, eats McDonald's food for lunch and local cuisine for dinner, wears Paris perfume in Tokyo and retro clothes in Hong Kong;' (1984, p.42) Lyotard identifies a climate of generalisation from the moment that local stereotypes can all merge together in one body or environment. The examination of the

Olympic look of the Olympic city of Los Angeles 1984 is essential not only because of its ephemeral architecture, but because a similar design form and colour was applied in all sites, in order to turn 75 separate sites of the city into one recognisable space.

According to the *Official Report*, the aim was 'to visually unify the geographically diverse sites in a way that presents the spectator and television audience with an identifiable set of elements common to all venues' (*Official Report of the Games*, 1984, p.253). In Los Angeles 1984, scaffolding and bleacher seating were often used at various sites, which together with other rented facilities (tents, fences, toilets, food and sales points) and decorative elements (banners, collonades) aimed to create a unified visual environment throughout the various sites, which would be easily recognised and agree with the general thematic atmosphere.

The creation of a distinctive and unusual character for the Olympic look of the Games had also to do with the choice of unusual hues, not seen often in the surrounding landscape, but also rich in colour saturation and combined so that they create schemes with colours distant from each other on the colour spectrum, leaving a more striking impression that appeals more quickly to people's vision. This example comes in opposition to the example of Munich 1972, where there was a choice of softer hues, as the Olympic event was concentrated in one site, trying to create a link with the unseen surrounding environment of the old town.

In 1982, a document entitled *Design Coordination Guidelines* (1984) referred to the key design concepts of the 1984 Games, which created an 'environment whose architecture celebrates the temporary qualities in fanciful assemblages of coloured fabric and exotic graphics' (p.105). The design department worked in cooperation with the *Architecture and Construction Department* where the building, the decoration and the design, from entrances, stages, scaffolds and award backdrops to award and

commemorative certificates, were all part of the same coherent look. The colours chosen for the Olympic look of the Los Angeles 1984 Games had higher contrast and richer saturation, for the reason that the visual identity of the Games had to stand out from what already exists. This is actually the technique chosen in most temporary festivals and carnivals in towns, where the choice of a non-harmonious colour scheme adds to the atmosphere of the festive and the spontaneous. In the case of Los Angeles 1984, however, the selection was not random; it was carefully selected to create this atmosphere.

The Olympic look was based on a theme-making technique creating an image that comprised elements from different locations and different cultures, all in one, by also blending the temporary with the everyday. As seen in figure 5.8, in opposition to the colour palette chosen for the Munich 1972 Games that merged colours from different epochs but from the same location, the choice of the colour palette used in Los Angeles 1984 was based on 'Greek Olympics and the festive celebratory colours of Asia and Latin America' (*Official Report of the Games*, 1984, p.252). According to the Organising Committee, the use of a specific colour palette to identify the event turned 'the streets, sites and other public areas into a constellation of ephemeral colours that brought residents a heightened sense of excitement, emotion and history' (*Official Report of the Games*, 1984, p.240).

The whole Olympic city identity, in all different sites, was brushed into the colours of the Olympic look: from the venues, to the souvenirs bought to remember it. The colours chosen as symbolic of Greek Olympics and Latin America had nothing in common, apart from the places and products where the Olympic look was applied. Bauman argues that forming a coherent image of community is the desire to avoid actual participation. Feeling common bonds without feeling common experience occurs in the first place because men are afraid of participation' (2007, p.87). The invasion of the Olympic city by one singular visual identity aims to make people feel that they

are part of something shared. In reality, the space does not engage with them in any other way than through the invention of an identity, lasting a few days, based on stylistic pastiche.

The creation of a look signifies an effort to make familiar the inauthentic experience of a place where the temporary 'Olympic look' atmosphere is applied. It is what Featherstone describes as a process of transformation and 'the displacement of the carnivalesque, into media images, design, advertising,' (1991, p.23) where plastic culture is spread in all different media that could find an application. The atmosphere of the carnivalesque has been previously described as a system of popular-festive images where 'the old world and the merriment of the new world are combined' (Bakhtin, 1984, p.210). The atmosphere of the carnivalesque found in Los Angeles 1984, in comparison with examples from the modern era, such as Paris 1900, refers to the celebration of an inauthentic visual and cultural experience. Similar to the atmosphere of a carnival, it tries to create associations through the language of a stylistic pastiche, stressing elements of colour, fashion, popular images and signs and by blending historic elements with temporary festive elements.

Figure 5.9 shows how stylistic pastiche was applied to the architecture of public buildings that was blended with the festive decorations of the Olympic look of the Games. For example, the star-in-motion was one of the symbols for the Games, which was applied to anything from commercial products to the facade of buildings. In this example, the decoration interfered with the existing architecture of a building. Although the building becomes a tool for the communication of a theme, decoration is used in a confusing manner, making the merging of the two different styles obvious, the one of its existing architecture and the one of the Olympic look.

The Los Angeles Coliseum, the main venue of the Games, is another example of stylistic pastiche. The stadium was built in a neoclassical style for

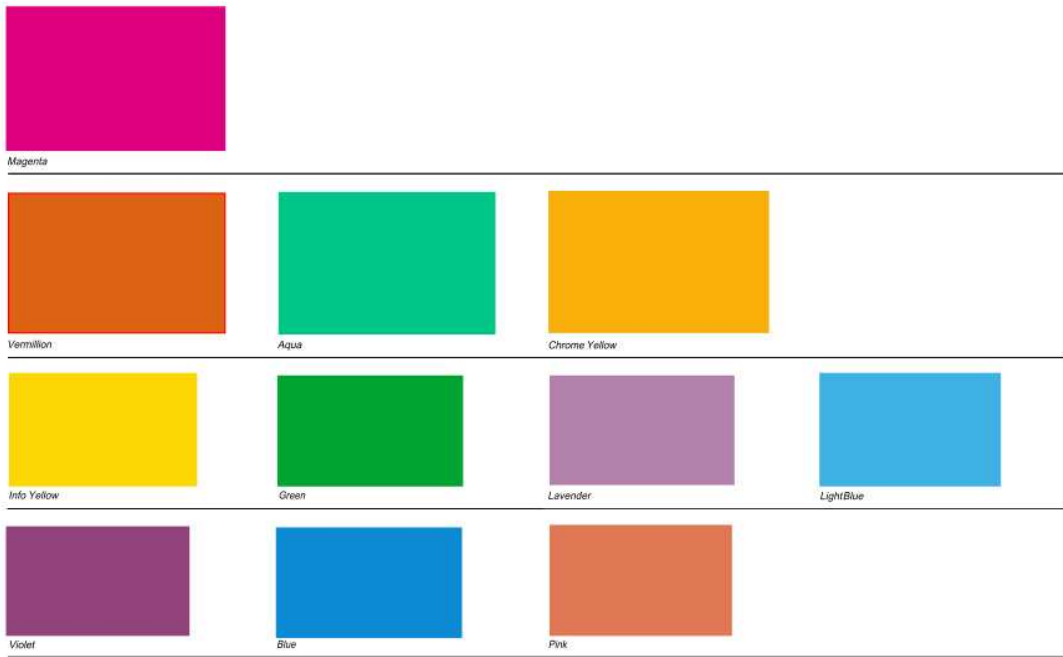


FIG. 5.8



FIG 5.9

the Los Angeles 1932 Games. It was renovated to become the main venue associated with the 1984 Olympic city, where the opening and closing ceremonies were held. The organisers did not wish to give a centrality to the Olympic city, claiming that 'unlike 1932, the venerable stadium would not be the sole Olympic stadium' (*Commemorative Publications*, 1984). For this reason the stadium was given less significance as a form and more as part of the Olympic look, like many other buildings or objects that represented the same city. The form of the old stadium remained the same. However the colours used for the renovation were adjusted to the Olympic city look specifications, turning the stadium into a stylistic pastiche in a carnivalesque manner, where 1930's modern Neoclassicism merged with the multicoloured scheme of magenta, green blue and violet.

5.4.4 The Construction and Representation of the Global Identity of the Olympic City

This section emphasises elements drawn from Olympic cities' visual identities designed or chosen to effectively represent the Olympic city as a global identity. Often, what would be locally represented as an Olympic city depended on what would be globally more appealing. Without excluding the previous examples of Munich 1972 and Los Angeles 1984 Games, but at the same time by giving an emphasis to the post-Barcelona era, this section analyses examples to show how the representation of the Olympic city as an actual place has been overshadowed by its global identity and the image of it that would sell globally.

The Olympic city of Barcelona 1992 was the first example that involved a process of total recreation and re-imaging of large parts of the existing urban environment, through means that could better promote its identity globally. Due to the success of the 1992 Olympic city, in its distinction as an example that left an urban legacy reflected to a global image, many cities wished to

win the Olympic Games candidature, and together with it the opportunity for new image identification on a global scale. Los Angeles had initiated the positive impact of the Olympic city, taking advantage of a seventeen-day long programme. Barcelona took a further step by taking up the challenge of creating an Olympic city that could benefit the city for the long term, using its new image to increase its attraction for global investors and consumers.

The post-Barcelona era set new criteria leading to a successful Olympic city strategy. The criteria for a winning bid strategy were listed in *The Future for Host Cities*, an article published in 2001 by the Sportbusiness group. According to the article, for cities that follow the example of Barcelona 'visitors will be attracted to the city and its Olympic facilities because of the image benefits delivered by the event' (Westerbeek and Smith, 2001, p.24). Barcelona 1992 became a successful example as an icon synonymous with the newborn identity of the city, claiming to change the experience of the city for its inhabitants, businesses, visitors and investors.

In this section, there is an emphasis on design elements from the Olympic cities visual identities with major importance placed on how the Olympic city appears as a global icon. In other words, this section discusses how the Olympic city's plans as a built environment, but also the symbols and images that represent its identity, emphasise how these would have a positive effect to the eyes of the global viewer. The turning of the Olympic city into a branding opportunity involves the promotion of 'the idea of a changing city to investors and consumers' (Ward, 2007, p.121). Furthermore, city branding and place imaging are ways to convince the local people that they have moved into a new quality of life - a new lifestyle, similar to the ones displayed through advertising and place marketing.

5.4.4.1 The Design of a Local Identity Represented Globally

This section argues how the use of elements from the Olympic city's local identity gives exclusivity to the Olympic city's global image. Cultural uniqueness and elements of the local are inserted into the global identity, but only if they can engage with the global audience and sell as fashionable images. My aim is to identify those codes of local character, used for the creation of a global image, that are in reference to the local. In the post-Barcelona era, whole areas involved in the Olympic city project, (either as areas of the Olympic sites or where the cultural events were held) were recreated based on the concept of maintaining elements from the local identity that would help in the promotion of the image of the area globally. This new local identity helped to erase stereotypical images, identified with the renown local identity of the host city, from people's minds. In many cases, however, this identity, promoted as local but constructed for the global viewer, creates confusion between what is authentic and what is recreated visually to appear as authentic. Barcelona was an example that built its whole identity on the idea of recreation and city regeneration.

The Olympic city of Barcelona was built on a corporate identity that alluded to the 'Catalanisation' (Kennett and De Moragas, 2008, p.181) of the Games, but at the same time promoted the Spanish identity as a 'passionate and democratic country distant from Franco's dictatorship' (Kennett and De Moragas, 2008, p.182) and closer to a European modern profile. The reference to Catalonia was crucial, a region that prides itself on being different from the rest of Spain, with its own sense of identity its own culture and stereotypes. The city representation was based on the artistic heritage of its modern period of development (and mainly of artists that developed their career abroad, during the Franco period). These artists already had international recognition, such as Gaudi for architecture, Picasso, Dali and Miro for painting and sculpture.

At the same time, in order to promote its Spanish identity, the Olympic city of Barcelona 1992 wanted to reveal the country's renewed profile 'as a country of possibilities and opportunities, highlighted in the slogan -everything under the sun' (Kennett and De Moragas, 2008, p.182) and to avoid a corporate identity based on stereotypical elements such as 'siestas, bullfights, slow moving' (De Moragas, Rivenburgh & Garcia, 2002). From the design of the official mascot and emblems to the overall application of the city's Olympic image, Barcelona's organisers managed to create an atmosphere of pastiche based on both identities, the Catalan and the Spanish, in a less stereotypical and more globally fashioned language.

For example, the design of the logotype, created by Josep Maria Trias, was applied to many signs and in the Games commercial and promotional programmes. It borrowed the particular colours and the aesthetic lines found in the work of Miro, the surrealist artist who had responded, through his art, to the agonies of the Civil War that put Franco in power. The use of yellow and red was inspired by the colours found in the Spanish and Catalan flags, but also in the symbolic representation of light and sun for yellow and fire and blood for red (*Olympic Design*, 1992, p.31). The use of blue evoked the sea and, according to the *Olympic Design manual* of the Games, it served to 'offset the warm colours with which it was combined' (1992, p.31).

In the 'linguistic message' (Barthes, 1977, p.34) of the Barcelona 1992 logotype the emphasis is on the message that it sends to the global viewer as an image. Based on Barthes and his theory of semiology (in his analysis of a similar example), the logotype as an image 'straightaway provides a series of discontinuous signs' (1977, p.34), that the selection of the particular colours create. A first sign is that of warmth, associated with the climate of Spain, through the choice of bright yellow and of blue associated with the sea. There are also more signs, less obvious, with the combined colours of red and yellow, where the image transmits the idea of passion and dynamism. Barthes talks about discontinuous signs, which have a value

because 'they form a coherent whole' (1977, p.35). These signs 'require a generally cultural knowledge, and refer back to signifieds each of which is global' (1977, p.35), for example in the association of the Catalan culture with warmth and passion.

Baudrillard acknowledges the calculated balance between warm and cold tones as a way to structure the atmosphere of a space. He questions whether the real atmosphere of a place signifies this feeling of warmth. He refers to a 'signified warmth' (1996, p.37) that arises from the 'systematic oscillation or abstract synchrony of a perpetual warm and cold which in reality continually defers any real warm feeling' (1996, p.37). In the Barcelona 1992 example and in the choice of the colours of the Games official logotype, the reason for that signified warmth was to bring into the global identity a local character that reflected the 'combination of passion, sun and dynamism' (Kennett and De Moragas, 2008, p.182). In this way the global identity of the Games does not stay impersonal. For example by buying a product where the design of the logotype is applied, someone feels somehow involved with the local culture and the signified meanings of warmth and dynamism.

In the previous example has shown how colours and lines of the official logotype were inspired by the local identity of Catalonia and Miro's art, giving the impression to the viewer or buyer of a product that he has experienced something authentic. This section examines how this juxtaposition and merging of elements from different epochs or sites added further dimensions to the promotion of the contemporary identity of entire sites or neighbourhoods, based on the recreation of the city's old industrial zones. Barcelona is one of the best examples to show how an old post-industrial European city has reinvented itself to become a successful global destination for visitors. Regeneration became an act leading to image making and promotion of a place, using memory as an exchange value. The positive impact and profitable visual profile of the Olympic city aimed to attract high-income consumers.

What Peter Hall has referred to as 'the internal edge city pressure of space in traditional centres' (2001, p.73-74), are usually the areas that have become more interesting for regeneration, involving the cities old industrial zone, abandoned warehouses and leftovers from an undeveloped part of the city. According to Dunn and McGuirk: 'Past industrial imagery and consumption based economic activities are often utilised to create a new, more marketable place-image' (1999, p.20). The Olympic city of Barcelona 1992 example put forward proposals for the regeneration of areas where the local identity merged with a global image reflecting what the visitors would find interesting to perceive as a local identity.

In her reference to Mediterranean cities, Leontidou argues that we can find areas that have created postmodern collages based on 'multiple layers of urban development' (1993, p.951) with the 'superimposition of various subsequent historical periods' (1993, p.951). These are usually the areas that, when they go through the regeneration process, maintain elements of their multiple identity by engaging simultaneously with new fashioned images and trends, imposed by global companies. They are fashionable, but at the same time give the impression that they are part of a long-term local tradition, promoting their historic value.

5.4.4.2 Urban Regeneration and the Example of the 'Parc de Mar' in Barcelona

The Parc de Mar area located in the Poblenou neighbourhood in Barcelona, where the Olympic Village was located, is an example of an old industrial area regenerated to a trendy and fashionable area, due to its old historic character that was selectively sustained. The reason for its inclusion in this section is because the Parc de Mar area became recognised as a downgraded industrial area that combined elements of its local industrial character with elements from contemporary architecture. The regeneration was like a rediscovery of a site with geographic and cultural value. Poblenou

was a nineteenth century industrial area, containing both industrial sites and working class housing. It is known as one of the 'centres of industrial revolution in Barcelona and in Spain' (Nel-Lo, 1997, p.97). The area used to be a maze of abandoned streets, empty warehouses and, alongside the coast, beaches that had turned into dumping grounds for household rubbish and industrial waste. The whole area had been cut off and isolated, because of two railway lines that had created a physical barrier between the coastline and the rest of the city.

The decision to convert the area of Poblenou into one of the main Olympic sites led to the removal of the railway tracks, the rehabilitation of the beaches and the development of an underground link with the rest of the city. In this way, beaches along a 4km front and 50ha of parks were free for re-creation. The building of the new marina provided many public spaces together with a network of green spaces, parks and pedestrian links. The area's restoration resembles what Atkinson and Bridge call a 'back to the city movement' (2005, p.5) to characterise 'middle class sub-urbanities wanting better proximity to jobs and the kind of cultural and recreational infrastructure that were hard to find on city peripheries' (2005, p.5). Re-establishing a link from the coast to the centre created a movement of people and at the same time of business, tourism and capital.

The Parc de Mar area accommodated the Olympic Village and venues for the competition of three main sports: yachting, badminton and table tennis. The whole area was regenerated with the building of new housing, offices, spacious commercial areas and shops. The start of the twentieth century has been recognised as a period of intense, thrusting, innovative activity for Barcelona, especially with the examples of Art Nouveau represented in the architectural style of Antoni Gaudi, but also in the work of stained glass and furniture of other artisans of the Art Nouveau Movement.

In the nineteenth century, Barcelona was an example of the realisation of urban utopian planning drawing ideas from Howard's Garden city planning. The plan for the reform of the coastal zone of Barcelona was also based on bringing back to life Idelfons Cerda's utopian ideas, applied in 1859. The urban pattern, even though it underwent many morphological changes, tried to preserve the remains of Idelfons Cerda's grid (streets, squares, blocks), by leaving two sides of each low-rise block open for parks and greenery. The architecture of the Olympic Village was based on flexible planning, according to a series of successive project decisions. The design of the two skyscrapers (the Torre Mapfre³⁰, office accommodation, and the Hotel Arts Barcelona, a luxury hotel) located at the entrance of the Olympic Village contrasted with the architecture of the rest of the area. The two skyscrapers gave the impression of having an emblematic role as portals of the Olympic city and an opening to the sea.

In this example, elements of the past have been carefully selected and highlighted. At the same time, new architectural elements and forms are introduced many times with the signature of eponymous architects in order to be marketed as a new fashionable area. The conversion of the area into a fashioned image - the new trendy part of the city - resulted in selling prices of houses 'comparable with Barcelona's most expensive district' (Carbonell, 2005). This eclectic process of urbanisation has led to selective construction for an upper middle class residential city on former factory and warehouse sites. Many of the old industrial buildings have found a new value, as bars, restaurants and design studios.

Gentrified elements that have their roots in different historic moments often become associated with the idea of a general past. According to Short: 'to be seen as industrial is to be associated with the old, the polluted, the out of date. A persistent strand of urban (re)presentation has been the reconstruction of the image of the industrial city' (1999, p.218). The fact that

³⁰ The building was named after its owner, Mapfre, an insurance company.

there is a similar choice of areas available to be gentrified, usually connected with an industrial past, has made different neighbourhoods around the world look alike. Although the borrowed elements might be from different historic moments and sites, the methodology of bridging the past with the present has become the same.

According to Jager 'the possession of antiques and the consumption of history express a certain power over time' (Jager, 1986, p.82). In areas of regeneration 'developers and real estate agents both large and small play an important role in steering the potential gentry to a neighbourhood' (Beauregard, 1986, p.53). They have the power to promote an area as a something that may be possessed and create narratives of uniqueness, locality and authenticity. Since the example of Barcelona 1992, the juxtaposition of historically incompatible elements within the urban fabric has become a new way of using the Olympic city, in order to promote the city's revitalised identity. The past is not only revisited but altered and replicated, for the benefits of a popular global image, where 'imitation takes precedence over authenticity' (Smith and Williams, 1986, p.87).

5.4.5 Star Architecture and New Global Icons

In this section, I examine how star architecture and new global icons, usually led by eponymous design firms, turn the Olympic cities into valuable marketing concepts in the global city hierarchy. Their characteristics are distinctive and unique forms, often of eponymous design, playful structures, buildings as icons and structures that remind of other objects. When a city becomes an interesting space because of its new icons, this can lead to an interesting new identity that stimulates the city's performance as a global spatiality. In the postmodern era, it becomes important that the Olympic city is a strong visual experience, consumed as both a space and a product at the same time.

'Certainly it is an iconic building, perhaps the most iconic stadium ever built' (Abrahams, 2008, p.32) was a phrase used in the *Blueprint Design* magazine to describe the 'Bird's Nest', China's national stadium built for the Beijing 2008 Games, as an example of iconic architecture that travelled as a fashionable image everywhere in the world. According to MacDonald: 'Branding has had a real recent impact on architectural and urban design, pulling the perception of design into the realm of the purely visual or graphic' (2009, p.209). A new image of a city, found in an unusual form of a building that represents it, offers the possibility for the city to be perceived as something else. For Bauman, 'becoming someone else is the present –day substitute for the now largely discarded and uncared-for salvation or redemption' (2007, p.105). Therefore, the visual representation as 'something else' is a characteristic of cities that try to prove themselves and compete within the global city hierarchy. They are the 'wannabe world cities [that] compete for world spectacles' (Short, 1999, p.218), such as the Olympic Games.

For Charles Jencks, the phenomenon of iconic architecture, such as that found in the architecture of the stadium of Beijing 2008, has its precedents, in 'the Eiffel Tower which was created for no compelling purpose, except to be an icon of itself' (2005). However, I argue that there is a difference between monuments of modernity such as the Eiffel Tower and icons of postmodernity. The Eiffel Tower was a symbol of technology, based on new construction materials. It was also a symbol marking the start of a new epoch, opening new opportunities in building with the use of innovative techniques and materials in engineering. Postmodern architecture celebrates the form and image of the building, and less its structural characteristics as a symbol of technological development.

The Bird's Nest, designed by Herzog and De Meuron, is not a symbol of progress, but an icon of differentiation. Although today's iconic buildings, such as the Bird's Nest, also involve many innovations in construction

technology and materials, this technology helps in the distinction of the building by giving it a recognisable shape and also a recognisable design signature. Diane Morgan argues that buildings such as Frank Gehry's Bilbao Guggenheim Museum or Herzog & de Meuron's London Tate Modern 'continue to incorporate new building materials...in order to develop further techniques' (2007, p.81), as did previous examples of experimental architecture, found in Buckminster Fuller's work. The differentiating factor, however, in the recent iconic architecture, is that it tries to add the signature of an icon that can be visually consumed and not to prove the initiation of a new epoch in construction. For example, Beijing's image and communication campaign aimed to promote the city as a place well associated with the forces of competitive commercialisation and globalisation. Beijing wanted to open up to the rest of the world with a growing interest in international urban networking.

Plans and 3D images of the Beijing 2008 Olympic city buildings have travelled around the world. Through globally travelling images, people are familiarised with the new symbols that are strategically marketed in this place imaging process. The travelling pictures of superstar buildings and happy faces of people included in them, influence perception and become a way to show how people should perceive and experience the particular space.

Baudrillard refers to objects of functional aberration, completely taken over by the imaginary, in which 'a role is played by irrational complexity, obsessive detail, eccentric technicity or gratuitous formalism' (1996, p.113). The Bird's Nest is a design with increased complication and abstractness linked to technical peculiarities, presented with strong sculptural symbolism and formalism. The eccentric design and the sculptural symbolism make it interesting to the media world and to the eye of the global viewer. Furthermore, Jencks argues that a building icon 'has to have a nickname that sums it up, a one-liner, a bullet point that journalists love to hate' (2005, p.13). The labelling of buildings like products, calling them 'Bird's Nest' or

'Bubble Building', makes them more familiar to the media world and to global spectacle. The popularisation of the building, as a label, is in parallel with the popularisation of the building as a form which becomes replicated into different products such as MP3 players in this example.

Global icons, especially those in the Olympic architecture of the last three decades, have been designed by so-called 'star architects' – internationally well-known architects. Olympic cities' organisers call famous designers and architects to create globally interesting spaces and make the 'Calatrava buildings' or the 'Zaha Hadid buildings'. Star architecture serves as a guarantee for the Olympic city's image as a successful modern capital, related to the following two ideas:

- Firstly, it is part of the city's marketing strategy to leave a positive impression in the eyes of prospective visitors, tourists and investors.
- Secondly, the buildings involved become global icons, that is, recognised elements that people around the world can identify and become familiar with. The use of star architecture for the design of the Olympic city is part of the place imaging strategy. With the signature of star architects, the Olympic city guarantees its success as a contemporary world city.

In relation to the first idea, star architects become a guarantee of success, attracting the eyes of international opinion, as something contemporary and unique, a new masterpiece in the world of design and architecture. Today, 'urban places respond to market pressures' (1991, p.41). As Klingmann states: 'Cities are gaining global recognition through architecture designed by brand –name architects' (2007, p.275). In a similar way, Zukin describes the power of 'signature or trophy buildings' (1991, p.45) describing them as buildings that are 'identifiable corporate images, and they are saleable' (1991, p.46). These buildings do not only sell as spaces but mainly as icons.

What Zukin means by the fact that architects offer a 'stylistic differentiation' (1991, p.46) has to do with the fact that this differentiation is similar to the one that fashion or product designers offer.

According to Jencks, the Los Angeles designer Frank Gehry 'changed the course of architecture with his museum at Bilbao' (2005, p.9). Jencks characterises Bilbao as a 'rustbelt city' (2005, p.12), which, due to Frank Gehry's design of the Guggenheim museum completed in 1997, changed its image and its economy. Frank Gehry, in an interview with Charles Jencks, admits that he did open the door to iconic building architecture as he gets called to do 'Frank Gehry buildings' (2005, p.9). As a result, the creation of a different identity of a place has found ways, through star architecture and iconic buildings, to lead to 'instant fame and economic growth' (2005, p.7).

Although Tokyo used the famous architect Kenzo Tange for the design of the Olympic venues for the 1964 Olympics, and Munich the experimental design ideas of Frei Otto for the 1972 Games, Barcelona was the first city to use its star architecture symbols, to promote its innovative image of global interest to the rest of the world. Star architecture became another strategy of Barcelona 1992 place imaging. This involved well known Spanish and international architects such as Foster, Meier, Siza, Isozaki and Calatrava, with examples such as: the Palau Sant Jordi designed by the Japanese architect Arata Isozaki and the high-tech telecommunication towers by Norman Foster and Santiago Calatrava.

According to Zukin, 'superstar architects create a standardised form that they move from place to place' (1991, p.47). This takes this argument to the second idea of star architecture, that is, familiarity with the building. As mentioned in a previous section, global is the new language of familiarity. An Olympic city designed by star architects becomes a globally familiar place without even being visited. The plans, the interviews with the architects, the virtual and photorealistic images that travel around the world even before the

completion of the project, lead to the familiarisation of people with the building globally. Klingmann states that star architects follow the 'same recipes in creating of what is now defined as the global image' (2007, p.267).

Iconic representation has been very clear in the design of the Athens 2004 Olympic stadium roof structure, by the eponymous Spanish architect Santiago Calatrava. His stylistic differentiation is well recognisable in all of the different designs he has been involved in around the world. As Lubell and Gonchar state, 'the Olympic stadium was for two weeks in August, likely the most widely televised building in the world. The global exposure gave Greece ...a chance to demonstrate its growing prominence in Europe' (*Architectural Record*, 2004, p.46). The design of the roof not only provided the stadium with a new covering, but also the city of Athens with a contemporary brand.

However, in the world of global architecture and space, Calatrava's design for Athens is one more in his series of similar projects. Manuel Blanco, in his description of a specific type of architecture that distinguishes Calatrava's design signature, argues: 'Images and ideas are superimposed in a complex dance where the structure supports thought, where his architecture is converted into the new monuments and icons of our society' (Blanco, 2003, p.1). Calatrava's architecture consists of the design of public places, roofs and bridges, where the form becomes both an 'essential monument in the urban fabric' and an 'urban landmark' (Blanco, 2003, p.1). His architecture, with its sculptural outlook and monumental form, is globally homogenous, although it provides local distinction and heterogeneity. His design for the Kateraki Bridge becomes part of a global collection of eponymous designs for bridges of a similar form.

Star architecture can definitely fit in the city's global image, but it does not necessarily fit in the city's local image. Zukin suggests that star architects 'create buildings that look stupendous from a distance –on the city's skyline- but fail to fit in with local context' (1991, p.47). This means that although star

architecture might fit in the segregated environment of the Olympic city, it does not necessarily fit into the local identity of the place. It follows that it might even intensify the isolation of the chosen site, as the global image of a place tries to fit into the local identity.

5.4.6 The Olympic City designed 'For Photography' – The Olympic city as an Icon and Brand

Jameson refers to 'postmodern buildings that seem to have been designed for photography' (1991, p.99). Today, an Olympic city's image and communication campaign aims to promote the city as a place-product, well associated with the forces of competitive commercialisation and globalisation. There is, however, the danger that spaces which are trying to be perceived as global and familiar, by the use of star architecture, could contribute to the creation of an 'unimagined sameness rather than promoting place-based interaction' (Klingmann, 2007, p.268). In this case the Olympic city contributes to the creation of globally recognisable but locally unfamiliar spaces.

Cities have become a commodity for global tourists and visitors. Leontidou, et al., referring to Athens' actions for place imaging in the last decade, argue that there is a switch 'from welfare planning for residents to urban decoration for global tourism' (2007, p.88). Therefore, places catering to a global audience make changes to suit global tourism. This urban image is made to be 'easily identified and consumed by all sorts of visitors' (Garcia, 2008, p.144). Place imaging controls the changes that will take place in the Olympic city as an actual space and how these changes will create an attractive image of reality that will be widely spread and marketed, in a visual language familiar to all .

The difference from what was previously discussed in the modern era as a constructed visibility is that, in the postmodern era, the branding of the

Olympic city as an 'image for photography' is what is important, rather than a constructed journey, which was analysed in the modern era as constructed visibility. 'Branding appears to treat cities, districts, neighbourhoods, museums and mass-produced goods similarly, as a marketing concept' (Stara, 2009, p.209), whereas in the idea of constructed visibility, the areas or streets selected to represent the Olympic city identity were treated as actual places, often linked to a specific architectural style or order.

The Olympic city in the postmodern era becomes an opportunity for the host city to be an icon or brand and to spatially turn into a 'brandscape'. The concept of brandscape has been introduced by Anna Klingmann in her reference to places which combine 'an increasing exteriorisation of corporate identities with an artificial making of a place' (Klingmann, 2007, p.7). In relation to the role of the Olympic city as a brandscape, this association refers to two main elements: firstly, the recall of images from the city's past and mixing them with the present and secondly, the use of star architecture in order to represent the city as an eponymous and contemporary world city.

An example of the representation of the Olympic city as a brandscape involves a campaign, as seen in figure 5.10, that started three years before the Barcelona 1992 Games, when a group of historic buildings were targeted for restoration. These, together with new designs by star architects, became the icons of contemporary Barcelona, presented in 'a collection of postcards showing the monuments and buildings restored' (Municipality of Barcelona, *Report of the campaign*, 1990). The represented identity of Barcelona 1992 proved that the city stands not only as a model for the organisation of the Olympic city as a space, but as 'a model for urban transformation, improved attractiveness and strategic positioning' (Brunet, 2005). Urban regeneration became an act leading to image making and promotion of the revitalised areas, as this campaign of buildings photography shows.

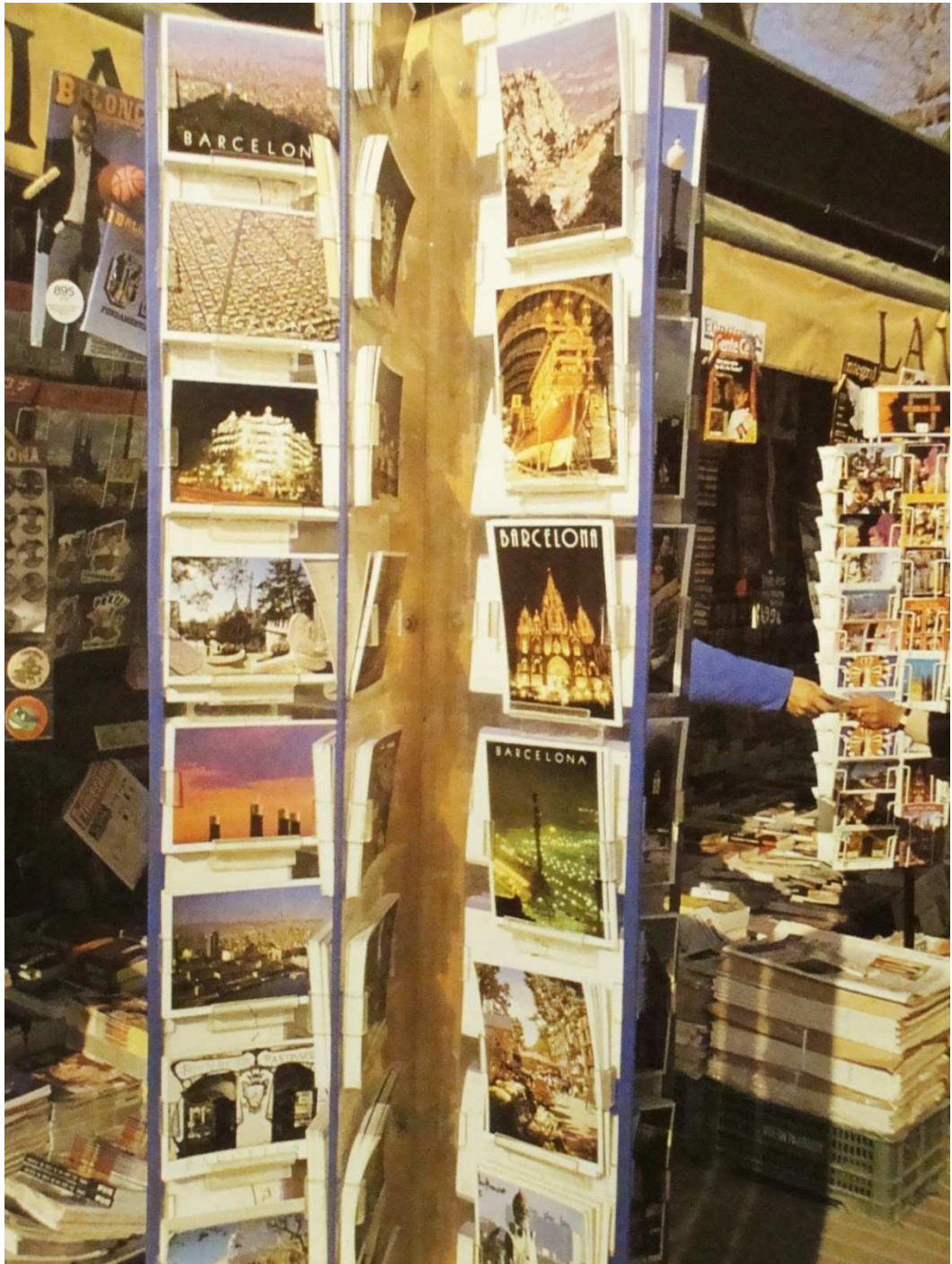


FIG 5.10

The Olympic city of Barcelona counted enormously on the impact that the selected elements of its re-imaging had on perceptions of the city and its rediscovered identity. As a result, the city related its new identity with its layers of history, recalling images from the past and re-enchanting the myth of a city in memory. According to Oriol Bohigas, the mayor and main contributor to any planning decisions: 'Our idea was simple: to reconstruct the city by reconstructing its neighbourhoods, that is by recuperating and asserting the identity of each one' (cited in Henri, 1992, p.1). With respect to the structure of the historic neighbourhood and with appreciation to the formal characteristics of old public spaces and traditional urban morphologies, there was a motivation for local re-organisation and monumentality. Each one of the buildings in this postcard campaign projected its own historicalness in an emblematic way, lifting up its local identity in a revitalised and popular manner that made it unique.

Campaigns such as this one, concerning the promotion of architecturally restored buildings through the selling of the postcards, show a visual identity created to promote the identity of a city that could positively affect its global image. According to Boyer: 'our memory is especially scenic and theatrical: we travel back in time through images and bits and pieces of an earlier city, we project these earlier representations into recomposed and unified stagings' (1994, p.32). The rebirth of the city and the rediscovery of its lost cultural roots can partly be seen as the reconciler of memories of the past and images of the present. In an effort to enchant its present, based on the re-imaging of its past, the Olympic city was based on an eclectic discovery of past symbolic elements such as old buildings that could re-appear in the present as emblems of the past.

According to Hetherington and Cronin, the curation of a building or a site becomes 'less about telling a historical story and more about indexing important events or creating an attractive aesthetic hang within a gallery space in order to have impact as spectacle' (2008, p.7). Regeneration based

on revitalisation of older elements becomes similar to the exhibition of older elements in a gallery space. Galleries display older elements but in a revitalised manner in order to have an impact today. Similarly, in this postcard campaign, there is a different type of exhibition treating buildings as exhibits, in a contemporary gallery of the older and the new.

Boyer argues that there is pleasure found when ‘fragments reawaken forgotten memories that have long been dormant, or because their original function and purpose have been erased, allowing the viewer to substitute invented traditions and imaginary narrations’ (1994, p.19). Regeneration together with restoration of older buildings becomes ‘an act of decoration for the service of urban scenography’ (Mamoulaki, 2006, p.184). Past elements become emblems of originality and locality without being given a specific historic meaning or reference, as in the case of the examined examples of Athens 1896 and Berlin 1936 where the inspiration by Neoclassicism was reflected in the identity of the Games as admiration for ideas and values from the past.

Another example of a promotional campaign for the Olympic city involving a juxtaposition of elements from present and past is found in figure 5.11, which shows the travelling image published by the Greek National Tourist Organisation (GNTO) for the Olympic city of Athens 2004. The image adopts different roles, bringing some forward and leaving others in the background in its composition. For example the image of the couple is the focal point of this composition and it is addressed to the viewers, inviting them to become protagonists and to ‘live their myth in Greece’, which is the written message of this poster. They are also encouraged to associate themselves with youth, love and escape from ordinary reality.

Greece takes the role of a resort to escape to and of a myth where the starring couple, which the viewer can identify with, become protagonists. Greece is visually identified with a background of a stereotypical view of the



FIG 5.11

sea and the sky, in the dominant colours of blue and gold. The background, in a smaller scale, also includes the shape of the new Olympic stadium by Calatrava, a building of star architecture extensively televised and used by media and press. This new Olympic stadium is placed adjacent to the Acropolis, the symbol of the city's classical past. This is a significant example of how media has merged the image of two buildings, two different locations and two different historical moments into one.

Apart from a juxtaposition of different times and places found in its promoted symbols, another important characteristic of this image is the co-existence of three different sites at which the meanings of an image are made: the site(s) of the production of an image, the sites of the image itself and the site(s) where it is seen by various audiences (Rose, 2007, p.13). In this image, the site of the production involves the decision to make this image mobile by means of visual technologies, choice of colours and composition that will make this picture appealing to a global audience. The site of the image involves, as described before, the merging of different sites, the sea, the Calatrava stadium and the Acropolis. Finally, the site of the experience, is the places around the world where this image from the promotional campaign is displayed, inviting people to escape from their ordinary reality.

Mackenzie talks about the creation of image repertoires. He uses this term in order to highlight the power of images to make us know a place before going. 'Image repertoires collectively contract perception and trigger movements, gestures and feelings' (2008, p.88). Both examples analysed in this section, Barcelona 1992 and Athens 2004, show the possibility of creating a visual identity today, where what is seen as an image representing a place does not reflect a clear picture of reality. What is perceived as an image is based on image repertoires, therefore selected elements from the place's urban reality that can attract the distant viewer. For example, Kennett, in his examination of the Barcelona 1992 Olympic city, describes the effort to create a 'constructed image' (2006, p.191) and 'positioning Barcelona internationally

and communicating its constructed image to a global audience' (2006, p.191). The constructed image is not an authentic picture of reality. The search for the authentic, from which the image draws its information, becomes less important.

For Mackenzie, 'image repertoire is a core element of the way people experience their own bodies as urban' (2008, p.88) and this is the possibility that campaigns that promote architecture as made for photography and places as brandscapes can achieve for the duration that these campaigns take place. For Relph, a mass identity of a place is 'assigned by opinion makers, provided ready-made for the people, disseminated through the mass media and especially by advertising' (1976, p.82). The growth in means and media used for mass advertising and promotion is another major characteristic of the difference in the promotion of the Olympic city identity from the modern era to the postmodern era. The Olympic city as a promoted image can be directed by opinion makers. The role of those involved in the Olympic city design has turned to opinion makers who constructed a 'positive place image that promoted the interests of capitals, consumerism, and privatised quality –of life aspirations (lifestyle)' (Hetherington and Cronin, 2008, p.4-5). The creation, therefore, of the visual identity relies on 'what its maker intended to show' (Rose, 2007, p.19).

5.5 Olympic City Representation based on a Temporary Camouflage

The previous section discussed the representation of the Olympic city identity through campaigns that media and the technology of image-making can support. In this section, I am examining campaigns within the Olympic city territory that try to hide or camouflage an existing identity of the city, by offering a temporary fresh impression. In the following examples the Olympic city is examined based on what Klingmann has characterised as a brandscape of escapism from reality where 'images are transformed into

material simulacra in which the dichotomies between building and sign, decoration and architecture, desire and reality have ceased to exist' (Klingmann, 2007).

In the case of Barcelona 1992, the repainting and refreshment of old building facades was one of the techniques that was suggested in order to give a temporary fresh impression, especially of the old and not restored neighbourhoods, such as the Eixample district. As seen in figure 5.12, the campaign mainly involved the restoration of less well known buildings such as block of flats dating from 1931, influenced by the modern movement of 'abstraction – creation'. The involved: the cleaning of facades, party walls, restoration and rehabilitation of private buildings and the renovation of the exterior image of commercial establishments. There was the use of a slogan 'if you make it beautiful we grant you 20 per cent', as 20 per cent of the costs would be funded, after agreements with companies such as 'Pinturas Procolor' for the repainting of the building facades (Municipality of Barcelona, *Report of the campaign*, 1990).

There was an interest in colour preservation and the plan of the campaign involved a search for the authenticity of colours that were present in every historic period. According to the campaigners: 'Colour is one of the most fundamental aspects when defining the urban landscape, therefore to worry about the colour of the city is as old as architecture itself' (Municipality of Barcelona, *Report of the campaign*, 1990). The announcement of the campaign went as far as suggesting that this would lead to 'the improvement of the everyday life' by making the city 'aesthetically clean' (Municipality of Barcelona, *Report of the campaign*, 1990). However, 'a few hours after the facades of the Church of La Merce has been restored, once again vandalism reared its ugly head' (Municipality of Barcelona, *Report of the campaign*, 1990). The article continues by admitting that 'the savage spray can never resist the temptation of smearing clean walls' (Municipality of Barcelona, *Report of the campaign*, 1990), which also means that the campaigners

BARCELONA, PINTA'T BEN BONICA

Una cara tan "guapa" com la de Barcelona, s'ha de pintar ben bonica. Procolor ofereix al mercat tota la seva gamma de pintures per a exterior i interior, ideals per la seva durada, rendiment, protecció, solidesa, i colors; i aporta tots els seus anys d'experiència en el camp de la rehabilitació de façanes i millora del paisatge urbà, per aconseguir una Barcelona més bonica que mai.

"Barcelona, pinta't ben bonica" amb Procolor.

Pinturas
Procolor[®]

Alta tecnologia en pintures

FIG 5.12

were oblivious to the fact that clean walls and repainted facades would not stop the bad habits that are part of the everyday urban reality.

Another example of city camouflage can be seen in the example of Athens 2004 where building-scale banners were used to hide the façades of ugly buildings or buildings that did not inspire pride. They covered the buildings with images of advertised products, the city's famous sights or happy experiences, taking place somewhere else within the city. An example can be seen in figure 5.13 with the image of an open-air cinema experience covering the façade of a modernist building. This campaign mainly involved buildings from Athens' period of modern development in architecture, often abandoned and which can still be found today giving an ugly impression of the city.

Another building of this type covered in building-scale banners is examined by Stavros Stavridis (2005) in his analysis of a mass housing block, built to accommodate the refugees from Asia Minor in the 1920s. In his example, Stavridis describes how 'the disturbing view of the houses was replaced by a new image: the aerial image of Athens, gigantic, colourful and perfect' (2005, p.113). This image offered views of the Acropolis, Herodion outdoor amphitheatre, the hills and the blue sky, replacing the ugly reality behind this gigantic banner.

In both examples of buildings, the ugliness of the local site disappears and instead a poster of something that could be more visually pleasant and appealing to the eyes of the tourist takes its place. As in the case of the open-air cinema, the temporary picture of the Acropolis resembles what Bakhtin describes as 'popular-festive images' that 'become powerful means of grasping reality' (Bakhtin, 1984, p.211). The ugliness of the building site disappears and instead a 2D image takes its place, showing the city's world renowned buildings and symbols: the Acropolis, the blue sky, the sun. This action was only temporary, for the eyes of the visitor. After the end of the Games, the banners were removed and in addition to the reappearance of

the ugly sites what reappeared is the feeling of embarrassment about the identity representing the city addressed to the local viewer.

Another example of representation of the Olympic city through a temporary camouflage of reality is described through a picture found in a photographic album dedicated to the identity of Athens in 2004, a few months before the start of the Olympic Games. The album displayed a fashionable city experience, focusing mainly on poorer neighbourhoods, older commercial and industrial zones in the centre of Athens. This album was a special issue of *Nitro* Magazine, a popular monthly magazine dedicated to fashion and modern lifestyle. This special issue was titled: 'Elite by Nitro - Athens Metropolis of 2004' (December, 2003) and was written in Greek, addressed mainly to Greek readers. The magazine displayed 299 images with the introductory title 'Athens the centre of the world' (*Nitro*, December, 2003), showing Athens as a mixed scenery of people and areas, from elite to poorer neighbourhoods with their own identity. Famous people, mainly actors and fashion models, were asked to be photographed in order to promote the city's redeveloping areas or areas mainly associated with crime, prostitution, drug-dealing and also where poorer groups of refugees gather.

Figure 5.14 shows a picture taken of a model and a refugee, as part of a fashion campaign, in one of the areas of Athens considered 'ugly'. In this picture there is a concern about how images 'visualise (or render invisible) social difference' (Rose, 2007, p.9). The picture represents a social condition that is constructed and is not part of reality, but tries to persuade its viewer about the conditions of the life in these neighbourhoods and of the life of the refugees. Here, it is evident the image refashions the ways we experience a city, with an interest in how the image should be made to be looked at and how 'it positions the viewer in relation to it' (Rose, 2007, p.10). The image gives the impression that the 'problem has gone away'. It asks its viewer not to see immigration.



FIG 5.13



FIG 5.14

In all three examples analysed in this section, there is an effort to represent a beautified picture of urban and social reality, based on temporary actions to hide an ugly side of reality. These examples differ from what was discussed in the modern era as examples of constructed visibility with the promotion of certain areas within the city rather than others. In all these cases, there is a created illusion that controls visibility making 'certain things visible in particular ways, and other things unseeable' (Rose, 2007, p.143).

In the previous chapter (chapter 4) and in the examination of examples from the modern era, it was shown how there were reactions against the hypocrisy found in the identity of the Olympic city of Berlin 1936 Games, with racist signs taken away for the duration of the Games. Regarding the Barcelona 1992 Games, a study by Jefferson-Lenskyi discusses how: 'police crackdowns on petty crime, street sweeps targeting prostitutes, transvestites, and homeless people, and arrests of dissidents before and during the 1992 Games have been well documented' (2000, p.114). Also, after the event, it was estimated that 'about four hundred homeless people were subjected to control and supervision during the Games' (2000, p.114). Images that did not agree to represent the selective visual portrait of the city were temporary hidden, whereas many of the areas associated with them were promoted as refashioned images of the city.

Conclusion

This chapter examined the Olympic city as a visual representation in the postmodern era and the role of design and architecture in the creation of a visual identity for it. It focused on the examination of the Olympic city as a visual identity based on its global impact, as a fashionable image and as a spatial narrative. The role of design and architecture is based on the idea of offering an 'other than' the ordinary experience of the host city and culture, associated to the concept of heterotopias. A core argument has been the

transition in the design and visual representation of the Olympic city from the modern to the postmodern era, examining the characteristics of this transition. It was shown how the growth in the media and means of representation changed the ways that the Olympic city is visually represented and, together with this, changed the role of design and architecture.

Simulation and stylistic pastiche were examined, as characteristics of the postmodern era, in order to reveal the possibilities of creating a visual identity for the Olympic city, based on spatial narratives and image making concepts. This section also introduced the meaning of corporate identity (and together with it the meaning of the Olympic look) offering a distinctive identity to the city based on a prearranged aesthetic character. I argued that the creation of a corporate identity is a characteristic of this era, based mainly on a pastiche of elements of colour, forms and symbols, and the possibility of mixing elements from different cultures and different epochs.

This chapter also argued that the criteria for the creation of a visual identity to represent an Olympic city are not reflections of nations progressive ideas and utopian plans for the future, as in the examined cases of the modern era. On the other hand, identity is based on made representations and on what would sell best globally as a representation of a local identity. As a result, the distinction between the authentic and the represented, but also between the local and the global, not only is not clear, but it has become of little consideration. In addition, a climate of ephemeralisation, with the use of lightweight structures and temporary symbolisms, has encouraged the design of Olympic cities associated with their instant perception as spatial narratives.

Finally, this chapter examined how in the postmodern era there is a new type of eclecticism, regarding the characteristics selected to be part of the Olympic city visual identity. 'The image of the city projected to the rest of the world has become similar to images of theatricality, bringing selectively back into memory forms from the past and merging them with the present' (Tzanoudaki,

2010, p.157). This eclecticism involves certain areas chosen to be associated with a revitalised image of the Olympic city and has as a primary scope the promotion of an attractive and visually appealing global identity that can guarantee its success in business terms.

This chapter also examined examples where the Olympic city led to actions of regeneration and gentrification or it was involved with campaigns leading to a temporary camouflage of the ugly sites from the city's current urban identity. Furthermore, it examined how new icons of selling an impressive, a successful and a globally familiar image for a place have been associated with star architecture and eponymous design enterprises.

This examination of the Olympic city in the postmodern era as a transition from the modern era has proved many ambiguities surrounding the term 'visual representation'. It has been, therefore, critical to consider the responsibilities of those in charge of designing, promoting and popularising elements from the visual identity of the Olympic city, as there is often a tension between representation and the creation of a global impact. These ambiguities lead us to the reconsideration of the Olympic city, questioning whether it should be dedicated to the promotion of an aesthetic and cultural identity of the host place, or whether it should be used as a means for other economic-oriented purposes.

Discussion and Conclusion

Thesis Summary and Contribution

This thesis has examined the Olympic city as an opportunity to represent a selected identity taken from the host city's urban, social and cultural aspects. It has also focused on the examination of the Olympic city as a constructed identity, being particularly interested in the roles of Olympic design and architecture influencing the visuality of a place. It has, therefore, looked at design elements that have composed the visual identities of Olympic cities, since the Olympic Games in Athens 1896, focusing on how these identities were designed and visually communicated in order to be perceived in certain persuasive ways. The thesis also aimed to reveal an often illusionary or exaggerated role played by Olympic design and architecture - a role that, especially today, changes the shape of the Olympic cities being built to represent an attractive, sellable and fashionable image of the host city.

Many researchers have chosen the Olympic city for a subject of study, mainly by introducing different stages in the Olympic city development. In my examination of the Olympic city, I argue that there has been a transition in the role of design and architecture in the representation of the Olympic city, without, however, finding it necessary to define stages in its development. Instead, I argue that it is important to recognise the significance of two different eras, the modern era and the postmodern era and, furthermore, the analysis of the characteristics of these two eras can help in the interpretation of the Olympic city as a visual identity placed within a socio-cultural context and a historical framework since the late nineteenth century.

The use of the word 'transition' in the title of my thesis, and also throughout the text, is a key element in my argument that the Olympic city has been in a transition from the modern era to the postmodern era. In my analysis, transition is about evolving, but also about changing and often shifting from a

previous condition. The aim of the thesis has been to justify this transition with images and descriptions representing the visual identities of different Olympic cities, by discussing and analysing the characteristics of each era– the modern and the postmodern. This analysis has been supported, in parallel, by engaging Olympic city examples with relevant theories that reflect on this transition.

In my thesis, I have considered modern theories, such as the rise of utopian ideas, the enchantment of the masses, the meanings of phantasmagoria and the carnivalesque, but also considered postmodern theories such as simulacra, stylistic pastiche, heterotopian environments and brandscapes. The Modern Olympic Games were founded during a time, in the late nineteenth century, that was rich in new, progressive and often utopian ideas. The examination of the Olympic city as a transition, from Coubertin's modern ideals and the nations' utopian ideas towards modernisation to a fashionable image, shows the transition to a time when, as it has been previously mentioned, 'images displace ideals' (Robins, 1993, p.306). The thesis has given emphasis especially to the later decades -in the post-Barcelona 1992 era- when through urban regeneration projects the Olympic city has created narratives of revitalisation and recreation to brand the image of a contemporary place, appropriate for attracting business and investment.

Apart from urban fragmentation and ephemeralisation that I have identified as characteristics of the Olympic city in its postmodern condition, I have also argued that in the example of Barcelona 1992, brandscapes became the new way of using the Olympic city in order to promote the city's revitalised identity. I have argued that we have been experiencing Olympic city visual identities based on instant effects, rather than the international propagation of their ideas for changing their social and urban reality. Now, we give more emphasis to space transformations within cities, being represented as heterotopias and offering a different (other than the ordinary) city experience. In the postmodern era, the role of design in the representation of an Olympic

city is based on the creation of a globally familiar city experience that can visually sell as a brandscape.

The thesis considered the theoretical debates about the transition of design ideas and practices from the modern to the postmodern era, especially in the fields of design and architecture. This theoretical framework has helped in understanding how the representation of the Olympic city as a visual identity, often associated with a certain aesthetic language, design ideas and forms, can also have cultural and social effects, influencing not only how people perceive an Olympic city, but also how they are perceived as citizens of an Olympic city. The thesis has also been examined from a visual analysis perspective. A range of visual material has been collected, from Olympic city plans, tourist guides, journals, amateur and professional photographs to material found in commercial and promotional campaigns, associated with the Olympic project.

This study has been divided in five chapters. Chapter 1, the introductory chapter, apart from outlining the aims and objectives of this thesis, has introduced the key terms, such as 'visual identity', 'constructed identity', 'visual representation' and 'visibility', which have been necessary for the development of many of the thesis' arguments. The introduction to these terms shows my position in the examination of the Olympic city subject, compared to other investigations relevant to this subject, by focusing on its analysis as a visual event. In addition, this chapter has placed the Olympic city subject within a historical and socio-cultural framework. This has been necessary for showing the close relation of the thesis subject with other ideas and concepts (e.g. mega-events, the commercialisation and globalisation of the Games) that have influenced the development of the Summer Olympic Games and of the Olympic city project.

Chapter 1 also questions the changing role in the Olympic city design and architecture. For this reason, the comparison of the Olympic city idea with

design and architecture movements, ideas and plans of the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries has been essential. The Olympic city, from Coubertin's theoretical sketch of a 'Modern Olympia' to design and architecture proposals, has been questioned regarding the meaning of utopia in modern societies, but also regarding the meanings of functional architecture and architecture based on iconic representations³¹. However, the Olympic city will always be in transition, the characteristics of which can be revealed with the analysis and comparison of elements that compose its visual identity.

Chapter 2 has shown, in a form of a critical review of the literature, the limited investigation that has been done previously in relation to the Olympic city development and to the roles of design and architecture in the creation of a visual identity for the Olympic city. This chapter has looked at different studies and theories which I have identified as being relevant to my study. In this chapter, I have considered current studies that are connected to my study either because they examine the same thematic area (with subjects such as the Olympic city, Olympic architecture, Olympic design and urban planning) or because of their reference to socio-cultural phenomena that have affected the growth of the Summer Olympic Games (for example the emergence of the Olympic Games as a mega-event and a media event).

An important aim of chapter 2 has been to show the need for a multi-disciplinary approach to the Olympic city subject. This chapter has also talked about the research gap that exists in the analysis of material (images and visual descriptions) that describe the visual identity of the Olympic city and in the investigation of the role of the Olympic design and architecture within a historical and socio-cultural context. An important conclusion from this chapter has been that the division into two eras, the modern and the postmodern, is essential.

³¹ I have analysed these meanings further, in the examination of the Olympic city in relation to modern and postmodern theories, in chapters 4 and 5.

Chapter 3 has examined both the thesis' methodology and the theoretical perspectives that this study adopted. A key argument of this thesis has been based on the assumption that the analysis of the Olympic city's visual identity can help us interpret the design characteristics and understand the criteria and scope in the representation of a city as the host of the Summer Olympic Games. In order to support this argument, a historical review of archives of the Summer Olympic Games, from 1896 until 2004, has been followed and case studies have been selected for examination based on their immense effort in the planning and in the design and promotion of a certain identity to visually represent the host city. Additionally, there has been a selection of images and texts supporting the arguments derived from the examined case studies and showing different ways that an Olympic city's identity was communicated to its audience (e.g. global audience and visitors). In many of these cases (for example in advertisements), an analysis of the pictures' compositionality or a semiological analysis have been necessary.

Chapter 4 has examined the findings of the modern era, concentrating on the role of the Olympic city as a representation of utopian ideas and ideologies, but also on visual means and characteristics associated with: the enchantment of the masses, the engagement with the progressive and the new and the creation of a visual identity based on a 'constructed visibility', visually leading the visitor to those parts of the city that he should experience as part of the Olympic city. In the findings of the modern era, the thesis has given emphasis to the Berlin 1936 Olympic city example, where there is a reflection into the Olympic city's visual identity of the values of the Nazi ideology. Therefore, through this example, I have shown not only the characteristics of the visual identity of the Olympic city of Berlin 1936 (for example, German Neoclassicism and symbols of national power), but also how the Olympic city in its visual identity reflected the intention to reconcile the aesthetic image of Berlin 1936 with the new ideals of Nazism.

Chapter 5 has examined the findings of the postmodern era and also elucidated the characteristics which define the modern era on account of their decreasing importance in the postmodern Olympic city's visual identity. This chapter has concentrated on the role of the Olympic city as an image, an icon and a brand, but also as a heterotopia based on image making narratives. Instead of showing symbols of power, it has focused on the popularisation of a design identity (corporate identity or 'Olympic look') based on simulation, stylistic pastiche and often on nostalgic moments from the past, rather than representations of the progressive and the new (characteristics of the modern era).

This chapter has also emphasised the visual methods that highlight certain aspects of the city's urban and cultural identity, by camouflaging and distracting attention from other sights of reality. The idea of 'camouflage' shows an intentional hiding of a disturbing image or a problem that can only be removed by hiding it. Camouflaging reality comes in opposition to some of the modern era examples (such as Athens 1896 and Berlin 1936) which often revealed an urban and social condition that is idyllic, usually with the promise that the rest of the city, the nation or even humanity will turn the same way, under the conditions that a certain ideology or regime has inspired.

Finally, a range of visual material has been collected, from Olympic city plans, tourist guides, journals, amateur and professional photographs to material found in commercial and promotional campaigns, associated with the Olympic project and the examined case studies. The thesis is examined from a visual analysis perspective, concluding that there have been the following transitions in the creation of a visual identity for the Olympic city and in the role of Olympic design and architecture in its representation:

- The transition from an Olympic city based on an ideology and usually a specific aesthetic language inspired by it (for example

Neoclassicism) to heterotopian spaces with an interest in what would globally sell as a spectacular and fashionable space experience.

- The transition from the visual representation of an Olympic city based on 'constructed visibility', in the modern era, to the temporary camouflage of ugly elements within the city and the refashioning of images of regenerated areas in the postmodern era.
- The transition from a visual identity of the Olympic city that reflects aspects of innovation and often of radical change (creative destruction) in the modern era, to a visual identity that reflects a revitalised image of the city with the transformation of areas targeted for redevelopment within the city, often based on an aesthetic language of stylistic pastiche.
- The transition from Olympic buildings used as monuments enchanting people with the ideas and values they represent to an Olympic architecture associated with global icons and symbols of star architecture that have achieved international fame.

Although many examples of Olympic cities have been viewed as an opportunity to create permanent or immediate transformations to the existing urban identity, the Olympic city cannot be presented as 'a panacea for its social and economic problems' (Horne and Manzenreiter 2006, p.15). The Olympic city, in the modern and the postmodern eras, has always tried to reflect a positive view of the host city's urban, social and often economic condition. This positive and optimistic perspective that an Olympic city has to reflect in various different visual ways has to do with the fact that the Olympic city has from the start been envisioned as a utopia, reflecting Coubertin's modern ideals. The fact that his plans for a Modern Olympia have never fully followed is of less interest today. What is important to consider, however, is that due to the hosting of the Games by a different Olympic city every time,

there is always a positive expectation for the representation of a new city's social, political and economic conditions. In the last three decades, this positive view is based on selling image narratives of a sudden shift, from the already-known local identity of a place to a revitalised image of it.

Jameson identifies utopias as problematic when they are associated with positive expectations. He argues that: 'It is a mistake to approach utopias with positive expectations, as though they offered visions of happy worlds, spaces of fulfilment and cooperation, representations which correspond generically to the idyll, the pastoral rather than the utopia' (2005, p.12). Utopias in the twentieth century failed because they were based on ideas inspired by the idyllic, later on related to dystopian consequences, such as in the case of the Berlin 1936 Games associated with the Nazi ideology. This thesis described the end in the association of the Olympic city identity with utopian ideas and ideologies. However, this did not also mean the end of the representation of the Olympic city as a panacea of many of the host city's urban and social problems. The Olympic city in the post-Barcelona era is approached with many positive expectations that are either too high to fulfil or have only a temporary positive impact.

The meaning of utopia is contradicted by the meaning of dystopia. For this reason, for example in cases such as the Olympic city of Berlin 1936, it was easy to question the utopian identity of the host city, by revealing examples from its dystopian conditions. Today, it is more difficult to prove the dystopian elements or consequences of hosting an Olympic event, because the idea of utopia is absent. However, the building of many of the Olympic sites as spaces, distant from the needs of and fragmented (heterotopian) spatially from the surrounding urban and social environment has its own –less obvious- dystopian consequences.

The 'white elephants' (Cashman, 2002, p.9) phenomenon has been an issue of discussion among researchers, referring to high amounts spent on large-

scale urban development, overshadowing the host city's other priorities. Especially 'from 1980 to 2000 there was an unprecedented expansion in the size of the Games: seven new sports and 80 events were added to the program' (Cashman, 2002, p.8). In a time of a world economic crisis there is the question of whether forthcoming Olympic city projects will respond to the brandscape challenges, like Beijing 2008, with the projection of an iconic representation of city's reality, overshadowing communities' other priorities, such as in health, education and welfare. At the same time, the Olympic city has often been accused of having a hypocritical role with a history in the post-war era of political boycotts, terrorist attacks, and demonstrations but also an increase in numbers of anti-Olympic campaigns, in the last decade³². This accusation is related to the illusionary role that the Olympic city often takes, becoming a vehicle for other economic oriented interests, such as the regeneration of targeted areas, where Olympic architecture and design play an active role.

The Research Openings to Other Studies

In chapter 3, there was a critical review of research concerning the role of Olympic design architecture and also the evolution of the Olympic city as a plan, a business strategy, a mega event and a media event. It was argued that research material involving a critical review of the Olympic city and its role as visual representation of the host city, nation and culture has been very limited.

This study introduced Coubertin's modern ideals about the creation of a Modern Olympia and then analysed Olympic cities, by examining their visual identities and focusing on the changes that reveal the different role of design

³² In the Mexico 1968 Games student demonstrations in Mexico City led to 260 deaths and over 1200 injured. In the Munich 1972 Games there was the murder of Israeli Olympic team members by Arab terrorists. In the Los Angeles 1984 Games there was a political boycott with seventeen countries not taking part. Since Sydney 2000 Games there are activist anti Olympic groups worldwide. In the recent Beijing 2008 Games there were major protests, most intensively during the torch relay process.

and architecture in their representation from the modern to the postmodern era. This study, therefore, suggests that a similar analysis could be useful for the investigation of case studies, single or multiple, engaging with matters of visual identity and the role of design and architecture in the representation of an Olympic city, finding answers by asking questions on 'how an image is made, what it looks like and how it is seen' (Rose, 2007, p.257). These answers could reveal interesting information about the visual means, the intentions, the criteria, the agencies involved and mainly the characteristics of this representation and how these change in time.

Furthermore, this thesis has discovered the often ambiguous role in the representation of the Olympic city as a visual identity, because of the chasm between the representation and the represented. The theories made use of in this thesis, related to image reproduction and image making strategies in the findings of the modern and the postmodern eras, can be useful to those who investigate the Olympic city as a spatiality with an ambivalent meaning, focusing on both the positive and negative aspects of it as a design plan and a cultural project.

This thesis has also aimed to provide a theoretical basis and encourage further studies and projects examining the Olympic city and its representational role as a constructed identity. Marling, Jensen and Kiib argue that many contemporary cities have turned into an 'experience city' with experience involving concepts 'such as discovery and practice, to live through something' (2009, p.863). These authors also investigate the role of the city prioritised as a place that offers experience and entertainment. The examination of the characteristics of this transition could also be of interest to other researchers who examine the development of cities as visual representations, with a priority in their design to offer constant experience and to 'live through something'.

As mentioned above, this thesis has looked at the transition of the Olympic city in its representation as a visual identity as well as the changing role of design and architecture in it. It has, therefore, presented the characteristics of the visual identity of the Olympic city today, in comparison to the past. In addition to these characteristics, this thesis has also presented the criteria for success and the limitations in the creation of a visual identity, according to today's standards, based on the findings of recent case studies (findings of the postmodern era), compared to the past (findings of the modern era). Therefore, another subject for further investigation is the questioning of the criteria of success, but also of the limitations in the representation of the Olympic city as an experience city.

For example, a criterion of success today, ever since the Los Angeles 1984 Games, derives from the economic benefits of the Games and the idea of giving a commercial character to the visual identity that represents the event. Another criterion has to do with the creation of a globally sellable visual identity for the Olympic city, in order to revitalise its image worldwide and attract business investment and tourism. On the other hand, a limitation in the creation of a visual identity to represent an Olympic city has to do with the fact that the Olympic city has moved away from the meaning of utopia, and more specifically of eutopia, and the associated promise to change the host city's urban and social conditions.

There are other limitations in the representation of the Olympic city's visual identity which have to do with various issues. The first limitation is the short-sighted attitude towards the creation of a positive impression to represent the Olympic city. This leads to the post-Olympic effects, such as the "white elephants" phenomenon, but also to an attitude of staying oblivious to the contradictions that might be created between the image that represents an Olympic city during the Games and what is left a few years after. A recent example of this contradiction is the broadcasted images of Athens, the host of the 2004 Summer Olympic Games, over the last seven years. In 2004 there

were images showing the celebration of the Olympic event in a phantasmagorical manner in different parts of the city centre; these were contradicted with images showing violent rioting in the centre of the capital in 2008 and the 'violent protests, tear gas, and broken glass' (official site of the Special Olympic in Athens 2011) in 2011 against the government's planned austerity measures to fight the country's economic crisis. An image representing a place's identity, either positively or negatively, is made to sell a certain impression to its audience. It is therefore important to consider that in the representation of an Olympic city as a fashionable image, this positive impression can only be temporary, until it becomes replaced by another image, negative or positive, that can travel and display a current identity of the city globally.

Horne supports that, when sharing the same visual experience globally, 'other identities apart from national are also developed through the consumption of sport and leisure' (2006, p.53). What has been discussed earlier in this chapter as corporate identity, stylistic pastiche, space fragmentation and creation of spatial narratives have also to be considered as tools to create and promote globally these 'other identities'. The difference from the modern to the postmodern era is that in the postmodern era these other identities rely on a surface and temporary aesthetic language, easy to perceive and become familiar with. People engage with them instantly but also lose interest in them instantly after the end of the celebration of the Olympic event.

A second limitation is that an image that represents the identity of an Olympic city is not responsible for reducing the conflict between the elements that are part of its represented identity and those that juxtapose it. The representation, therefore, of the Olympic city as a fashionable image can cause urban paradoxes between the representation and the represented - what culturally distinguishes the identity of the place and its global identity, which is created to give a good impression of the place. As it has been examined in the findings of the postmodern era, there are efforts to reveal a positive image of

a city by temporarily camouflaging the negative image of it (or what is identified as an ugly image of the city). This changes the role of design and especially of architecture that relies on an economy that 'favours the short-lived standardised formulas of accepted marketing schemes' (Klingmann, 2007, p.327) and gives rise 'to a climate in which publicity and perception play an ever more crucial role in the marketing of architecture' (Klingmann, 2007, p.327).

Klingmann claims that 'architecture is more than an image' (2007, p.327), unlike the design for everyday consumed products. Architecture is characterised by an 'enduring public presence that defines our environment' (Klingmann, 2007, p.327) and our day-to-day experience. However, Olympic architecture today prioritises its meaning as a brandscape and events such as the Olympic Games today change the shape of the cities built to represent an image. We are in the aftermath of an Olympic city represented by idyllic pictures of reality and in the wake of an architecture whose role is to sell a positive image about the host place, without, however, giving an enduring hope for the possible and the probable as early twentieth century utopia did.

To conclude, it seems that there has been a misunderstanding with regard to the temporal dimension of architecture involved in the Olympic city project. It is important to realise that the architecture involved in the Olympic city project is part of the 'city's narrativised spaces of spectacle' (Hetherington, 2008, p.290) and therefore cannot be claimed to solve the host city's urban and social problems. There is a need, in current and future examples of Olympic cities, to look at the role of design and architecture and compare images of the represented and the representation. For those involved in the practices of design and architecture, there is also the need to give design and architecture a less illusionary role by recognising the fact that contemporary cities have turned into experience cities. There is a need, therefore, to see the Olympic city project as 'an opportunity to enter a different temporal register' (Hetherington, 2008, p.291) and discover new practices in temporary

design that could be more truthful and honest in the representation of the local identity of a place, with respect to the development of the host city as an urban plan, society and culture.

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APPENDIX

Four published papers (from 2003-2010). These papers have been composed by myself and published by the 'Athens Institute of Education and Research' and the 'Olympic Studies Centre, IOC - UAB' and they have been reproduced with the permission of the publishers.

Tzanoudaki, Stephany. The Modern Olympic City: the Passage from Modernism to Post-modernism in Olympic Design. (Tzanoudaki, 2003, p.127-132). In: De Moragas, Miquel, et al. eds. *The Legacy of the Olympic Games 1984-2000: International Symposium Lausanne, 14th, 15th and 16th November 2002*. Lausanne: International Olympic Committee, 2003.

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The Modern Olympic City: The Passage from Modernism to Post-modernism in Olympic Design

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1. Introduction

The Modern Olympic City is an environment of a mixed nature being both associated with the evolution of the Modern Olympic Games, but also with the 20th Century “Modern” City project itself. The Modern Olympic Games together with the International Expositions are the two large scale cultural events linked with the project of modernity, which became involved into the modern city’s changing character from a traditional to an emerging cosmopolitan environment contributing to the development of an international “popular” culture.

The Modern Olympic city is based on Coubertin’s theoretical eclectic model of “Modern Olympia”. This is more a collection of Coubertin’s ideas and visions, with no particular geographical or chronological dimensions, away from any concrete architectural solutions or aesthetic ideas and open to reconciliation with different theories and customs. During the first decades of Olympic Games there was a search for a language in Olympic architecture worthy of the Olympic idea, aiming at the cultivation of mass interest in sport culture and in the Olympic Ideal. Coubertin entrusted different cities to host the Olympic event, declaring that: “You have to often transplant a tree to keep it youthful”, and therefore suggesting that the Olympic Games should take place in the spirit of internationalism and cultural diversification, without though “tending towards something homogenous and identical”¹. At the start of the 20th Century the other popular world event, the International Expositions were designed as “ideal spaces” celebrating the achievements of technology and industrialisation and promoting urban cosmopolitanism.

2. Olympic City and Modernism

According to Walter Benjamin’s Theory of Modernity “international fairs were the origins of the pleasure industry” giving “material form to the utopian dreams of the bourgeois Enlightenment” turning capital cities into places which were “dramatically transformed into glittering showcases displaying the promise of the new industry and technology”². The “International Expo movement” gave birth to a new language in modern architecture, exhibiting a series of technical triumphs, and aestheticising the project of industrialisation. From an early stage, the International Exhibitions became articulated into the capital cities’ project of modernisation, promoting universalism and the positive messages about the benefits of industry and the division of labour based on function.

Despite the three attempts to join the two events in the Expo-based Olympics of 1900, 1904 and 1908, and although there was a common belief that the International Expos opened the way to the popularisation of the Olympics and to the embracement of the Olympic City into the modern city’s project of urbanisation, the “Expo” style was found inappropriate to the celebration of the Olympic event, overshadowing the Olympic project’s own purposes.

¹ “Pierre de Coubertin’s Philosophical Eclecticism” in *The Relevance of Pierre de Coubertin Today*, IOC, p. 183.

² “Dream World of Mass Culture”, by Susan Buck-Morss, in *Modernity and the Hegemony of Vision*, p. 310.

The Olympic Games were revived during a time when the “city” was moving into a new economic, social and cultural order. Joined with the forces of industrialisation and universalism, the city became the point of concentration of “modernity” but also responsible for the diffusion of “modernity” throughout society and throughout the world. The search for a homogenised language, away from the traditions, the historicism, symbolism, ornamentations and decorations of the past led to the establishment of “Modernism”, a distinctive movement in the architecture of the city, which came to impose a single style throughout the world (international style), based mainly on the use of revolutionary technologies and progressive ideas. Modernism became very much associated to temporary events, such as the Expos and the Olympics; short term events with “long term” legacies benefiting the city’s modern development, architecture and image.

The Olympic City became a field of application of Modernism and Modernism became the international language in an Olympic Architecture, which celebrated the triumphs of modern technology aiming at a widely accepted homogenised architecture spread to all countries and cultures. The modern city based on the setting of the modern absolute and the defined universality managed to give to the Games the international dimension that they desired, while at the same time the Olympic city became a field of application of modern sports architecture and a nourishing ground for triumphs in experimental and monumental architecture.

In the post-war times, whilst the International Expos had remained “ephemeral”, having a little impact on the host city’s post-use beyond the short term they were held, the Olympic Games had started contributing to the broader urban and social environment leading to the “Olympic City within the City” phenomenon. With the popularisation and expansion of the Games from the stadium to an entire site in the decades of the 50’s, 60’s and 70’s, there was a new relationship established between the Modern Olympic Games and the city as a host environment. Since the Games in Helsinki, the primacy of the stadia as a key element gave way to a whole urban programme, involving the building of the athletes’ accommodation (Olympic Village), the media centre and the city’s transport infrastructure (airports, metro and road systems etc.) Also, new media space shrinking technology contributed to the popularisation and homogenisation of the event. Many cities saw the staging of the Olympics as an opportunity to boost their international identity and their status of Modernity.

The Olympic City often served as dialectic of the permanent and the transitory between the city, its temporary utopian aspirations and modern symbolic forms. Based on its temporary nature, it transcended reality, trying to break the bonds of the existing reality to become utopian, creating new suggestions to the existing built environment. The term Olympic City in its modern condition had started to take real dimensions, using contemporary techniques and experimental methods in building technology in order to meet with current reality but simultaneously contributing to the popularisation of the modern city’s desirable built environment as a dominant wish. The Olympic City as a “modern” project was sometimes expanded and integrated into the city’s fabric and other times it became segregated, walled-off from the rest of the city.

2.1. Segregation based on simple functionalism

This type of Architecture represented Le Corbusier’s and other members of the CIAM, functionalist and pure in style ideas such as the development of high-rise urban schemes found in le Corbusier’s plans for “La Ville Radieuse”. The Modernists believed that the house is a “machine for living” and divided urban spaces into areas for work, living and recreation, designing mass-produced apartments for mass living. Similarly the 60s Olympic Cities were involved in the city’s urban development programmes with large housing blocks appearing in the architecture of the Olympic villages in Rome, Tokyo, Mexico and Moscow.

2.2. Monumental and symbolic architecture

Modern architecture was usually technological and functional. The form of the building was to be a product of a logical process, free from images and symbolisms of the past and determined by purely structural and functional rules. The formal vocabulary of any architectural element was derived from abstract forms influenced either from abstract art or other contemporary artistic movements, or from the industrial vernacular inspired by industrial forms and materials. An example of symbolic architecture is the design of Kenzo Tange's complex of the National Gymnasium. The design of a large span structure based on its art of engineering and its symbolic formalism was believed to have been influenced from the design of Le Corbusier's Phillips Pavillon for the 1958 International Exhibition. The form of the building became famous for its art of engineering, with the hyperbolic curved roofs of the two linked buildings having strong elements from Japan's traditional architecture.

Although, symbolism and metaphors were suppressed by the modern movement, Modern Olympic Architecture often allowed expressive creative ideas to be realised making each occasion more monumental and more spectacular than the last. One of the first examples was the 1952 Olympics when Helsinki's symbol of the games was based on the architecture of the Stadium Tower, a 72-metre reinforced concrete construction, comprising an open staircase leading to the Olympic cauldron at the top. Twelve years later, in the Tokyo Olympics of 1964 the design of the Control Tower was another example of monumental architecture with a strong symbolic character standing both as a representation of Japanese traditional timber construction and as a glowing torch during the night symbolising the Olympic event. In both cases the monumental architecture of high rise buildings, such as the towers, was a combined effort to strengthen the image of the event and of the Olympic City, but also to associate this image with the technological achievements of modern architecture. The Olympic city with its monumental architecture and symbolic formalism came to mark the distinctive identity of the host city but also represent the new identity of the modern city itself. The building, as a symbol or monument, became part of a symbolic imagery for both the Games and the host city displaying the promise of the "new" in building technology and industry.

2.3. Mega-structure and "total" architecture

Mega-structures were characteristics of the 70s decade, influenced by theoretical groups such as "Archigram" and came to represent "total" design and contradict urban sprawl architecture. The design based on mega-structure architecture represents autonomy, independence from the surrounding space and integration into the urban fabric as a total new form.

The design of massive urban projects and large span structures (mega-structures) became the characteristics in the architecture of the Modern Olympic city in 70s, appreciating the optical and spatial qualities associated with the art of engineering and using them in order to form Utopias condensed into a single image or style. The concept of mega-structure architecture, which both the Munich 1972 and the Montreal 1978 Olympics borrowed, aimed to put forward an ideal of human life that uses high technology in a sensible way and as part of a coherent system that brings people closer to each other and closer to progress. Munich was the first Olympic city to use a centrally located site, having the Olympic City and the city as polar opposites contrasting the old with the new. The use of design elements such as the famous Frei Otto tent (characteristic of anti-monumental style and mega-structure architecture incorporating different facilities into a single system) contributed to the conversion of the Olympic City into a miniaturised "cosmopolis", also providing the city with a new centre of varied community life.

Similarly in the Montreal Olympic Village, escaping from the typical examples of high-rise functionalist architecture of previous Olympic Villages, there was the integration of two twin large semi pyramidal structures into a complex with different services and functions. Here, large structural forms became enduring architecture symbols and their sculptural and idealistic quality led to the composition of a single dramatic architectural image for the Olympic City.

3. Olympic City and Postmodernism

The 1980s was a time when Modern Architecture was put into question, it was criticised for being single coded, directing all cultures into a singular city culture and suggesting solutions based on abstract formalism and functionality. Modernism has also been criticised for “achieving formalism while rejecting form, promoting expressionism while ignoring ornament and deifying space while rejecting symbols”.³

In the late 20th century, the developments in transport and communications technology and the integration of Capitalist economy in different local communities and cultures led to the development of global culture, a culture representing the change of our world into a multicultural and cross-cultural community. The increased rhythms of production and consumption have led to a much more rapid circulation of money, commodities and every day life images especially within the city. The industry of fashion has been given an increased importance trying to promote and sell products with a deformed or changed imagery. Mass entertainment events and especially international events, such as the Olympic Games, became unique occasions for the generation of flows of information and fashioned images from the host location to a broader global audience.

After the financial failure of the expensive and idealistic design proposal of the 1976 Montreal Games and since the financial success of the 1984 Olympics in Los Angeles there was a turnaround in the attitude towards the design of the Olympic City. Unlike previous design solutions reflecting the modern city's Utopian aspirations, the Olympic City of the Post-modern era, came to play an important role in the propagation of the global culture, becoming associated with the new economic and multicultural values.

The design of both the Olympic Cities for the 1984 Olympic Games in Los Angeles and for the 1996 Games in Atlanta escaped from; the modern functionalists ideas, the creation of large and expensive spaces and also the utopian-based built scenarios. This enabled them to aspire to open-ended possibilities, celebrating the “temporary contemporary” with the creation of a temporary and cohesive “Olympic look”. Los Angeles and Atlanta's temporary solutions turned the Olympic city into an “emporium of styles” and an “entertainment image industry” giving a temporary value to the latest fashion ideas and building techniques. This type of Olympic City represents a temporary dream and is independent from any static models of – desperate for recognition – “utopias”. It is “plural” and easy to read but also “circumstantial” and inseparable from the place the time and the people it is addressed to. Imaginary replaces the utopian and therefore this form of Olympic city constantly seeks to create a new image for itself, re-fashioning its means of representation in order to create something visually persuasive and intriguing.

Postmodernism is believed to have arisen in the emergence of a new type of social life and a new economic order, since the moment the world has been experiencing a fundamental shift in global economic organisation. Postmodern culture is often understood to mean “ultra modern” extending modernism's avant-garde extremisms, of a reality overtaken by its images with the division of its cultural forms into commodities and images.

The City's process of globalisation affected the identity of the Modern Olympic City, especially during the last decade. In the 2000 Olympic Games in Sydney, the city appears as a symbol of global co-operation with an intentional plan of a “microcosmos”, not afraid to admit the scale and the global dimensions of the Olympic project. The Olympic Games were turned into a media event and the Olympic City into a product of the mass entertainment industry, linked to immense capital and aesthetic investment, by becoming the core of a “decentred” global network. Olympic architecture became “a framework for spectacle and the stadium a giant international studio a backdrop to be seen by billions of spectators”.⁴

³ *Learning from Las Vegas*, by Robert Venturi, The MIT Press, p. 148.

⁴ *Olympic Architecture, Building Sydney 2000*, by Patrick Bingham-Hall.

However, postmodernism is not only understood to represent global culture and the passage of Capitalist economy to its post industrial stage, but also to represent a reaction or a departure from Modernism and the project of Modernity itself. With the spread of globalisation the importance was given to the local identity of the city integrated into a world of local communities carrying different identities. Postmodernism became the new language in arts and architecture celebrating plurality of life defining the importance of local traditions, by calling for an architecture full of meanings and symbolisms and a heterogeneity of tastes.

3.1. Double coded Postmodernism

In Charles Jencks's "The Language of Post-modern Architecture", the concept of Postmodernism is introduced as a double coding of Modernism with other codes or styles, describing the continuation of Modernism and its transcendence at the same time. Jencks refers to double coding as "the combination of Modern techniques with something else (usually traditional building) in order for architecture to communicate with the public"⁵, by being critical to the functionalist and single coded elements of Modernism without rejecting the modern project out of hand. He saw Architecture as a way helping to move from the single-minded aesthetic and social codes of International language to a language built by the reconciliation of Modernism with classical and other local codes, something that he believes that Post-industrial society provides the basis for.

The resemblance to Jencks's term of double-coded Postmodernism could be identified with the design of the Olympic Cities of Barcelona and Seoul where the propagation of the global Olympic image became associated with the promotion of the cities' selected local codes and aspects of local identification. Whilst many examples of Olympic cities in the modern era came to represent "exclusivity" in design, either with the projection of a specific building technique or architectural form, Postmodernism suggests an architecture embracing and symbiotic, mixing and hybridising opposing elements, such as contemporary and traditional elements. Based on a reading of the plurality of the city's values and its complex context, Postmodernism is believed to have added value codes of information and globalisation and to have returned to the code of localisation. A Postmodern example of Olympic Architecture based on the combination of contemporary and traditional elements can be found in the design of Seoul's Olympic Stadium and Village, borrowing signs from its history and tradition in order to give a distinctive and unified identity to the rest of the world. The Olympic Stadium was a new construction combining past elements with contemporary building techniques, with the representation of the refined lines of the Choson Dynasty's white Celadon porcelain indigenous to Korea.

Postmodern design is also an attempt to break the boundaries between opposites such as work and leisure, utopia and reality within urbanism. Whereas many previous Olympic City examples were seen as an opportunity for urban redevelopment based on functionality and convenience, by segregating spaces for leisure and sport (stadia, Olympic Park) from spaces for living (Olympic Village), Postmodernism supports the idea of regional re-development based on multi-functionalism, reconciliation and negotiation with the qualities and values of the existing environment. This became clear with the two recent examples of the Barcelona 1992 and the Sydney 2000 Olympic Games.

In the case of the 1992 Games, the Olympic Games became an opportunity for the city's reform and regeneration making the Olympic City a natural part of the city, bringing back to life the city's geographical boundaries (the sea coast and the hill). Instead of concentrating all facilities into a single site, or following dividing areas for different Olympic purposes, the Olympic City exploited existing local resources to meet the needs of both the city and the Games, applying its programme into city-wide and small scale projects. The designers of the Olympic City recognised the different and often conflicting historic styles of the city. Therefore instead of borrowing parts of the city and converting them into a homogenous space, there was a separation not only of the sites, but also of the given tasks.

⁵ *The post-modern and the post-industrial*, by Margaret A. Rose, p. 107.

The Olympic City programme was organised with respect to the “historic neighbourhood” and the formal and theatrical characteristics of old public spaces and traditional urban morphologies. This effort of local re-organisation aimed for each neighbourhood to keep its regional characteristics clear and its spatial boundaries as a separate form of community, by also becoming part of a space favouring antithetical co-existence. The critic Peter Buchanan, referring to the project of local reorganisation claims that “the different historic zones of the city retain clear identities. Within them, buildings, open spaces and street furniture of different historic periods co-exist in happy harmony”⁶. Local re-organisation was applied to the redevelopment of the “Parc de Mar” area, where the urban pattern, although it underwent many morphological changes, tried to preserve the remains of the grid designed by Ildefons Cerdà, an engineer of the 19th century, and his designs for public gardens, long streets and big squares. The use of the area’s old urban pattern was accompanied by the design of two skyscrapers which contrasted the architecture of the rest of the site, giving a symbolic significance as portals of the Olympic site and the area itself.

The Olympic City has been exposed to different regional and urban contexts and according to Coubertin’s wish it has been “transplanted” taking different dimensions and identifications. Since the 1960’s the Olympic City has been involved in the representation of urban experience, acting as a stimulus for metamorphosis, closely involved into the city’s plans and design proposals. The utopian language of Modernism was applied into the architecture of the Olympic City, aiming at the restoration of the “essential” identity for the city. As a result the design of the Modern Olympic City was based on utopian architectural scenarios, contradicting reality itself, becoming unrealisable and confirming its temporary nature. Postmodernism stood against the elite of utopian austerities of modernist culture. It represented a reaction from Modernism for some, and a complete departure for others, although in architecture it was mainly seen as a positive birth from the fall of Modernism, open to past, plural coding and to an adaptation and combination of different styles.

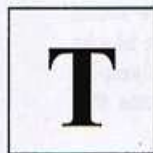
In the Postmodern culture, the age of masterplans and models of ideal cities has given way to the age of negotiation and symbiosis. The Postmodern world no longer produces monumental works but becomes open to patterns of older cultures. The Olympic City in its Postmodern condition becomes an alignment of theoretical and artistic treatments of difference, dealing with the invention of different imaginary scenarios. In a world of globalisation and pluralism, it has become an invitation to both eclectic and virtual narratives. In order to avoid linking the Olympic City into a system of perpetual presents and turning its history into series of sterile utopian narratives or dissolved images, without meaning or depth, it becomes essential to remember that utopianism, wherever it is applied, it requires some grounding in social reality.

⁶ “Barcelona a City regenerated” in *The Architectural Review*, by Peter Buchanan, p. 13

Chapter Four

THE OLYMPIC CITY IN ITS POST-MODERN CONDITION: THE ROLE OF OLYMPIC DESIGN SINCE THE MUNICH 1972 OLYPMIC GAMES

Stephany Tzanoudaki



The Olympic Games are a phenomenon of modern times identified as an aesthetically climatised athletic and cultural event with a large intercultural and cross-cultural dimension and scope. With the popularisation and expansion of the Games from the stadium arena to an entire city, the role of the Olympic City acquired more and more importance and power, often serving as the site of a dialectic of the permanent and the ephemeral, between the host City and its revealing image. Due to its eclectic and open to interpretation identity, the Olympic City acquired a utopian character often articulated in the city's Modernist planning schemes. The founder of the Modern Olympic Movement, Pierre de Coubertin, who based his vision on the theoretical model of 'Modern Olympia', believed that the Modern Olympic Games should take place in a spirit of 'internationalism and cultural diversification' without tending towards something 'homogenous and identical'¹, and he entrusted 'cities' and not 'countries' or 'nations' to host the event. The Olympic city soon became recognised as an environment of a mixed nature both associated with the fixed norms and symbolic connotations of the 'Modern Olympic Movement', and also with the new social order of the polycentric city, changing from its traditional mode to its modern mode designated into a system of 'operational signification'² of new cultural meanings and values. The Modern Olympic City proved to be structurally open to interpretation with no particular references to any specific architectural or design scenarios, however as an expression of utopian thinking it was associated to an optimistic outlook in life where negative elements are neglected or totally excluded.

Even since the late 19th Century and in the course of the 20th Century, world popular events, such as the Olympic Games, have served as a vehicle for fashioning a persuasive image of the city and its utopian aspirations. The Modern Olympic Games gave to the city and its organisers a very important role to stage an important visual event to allow a short term event with a long term legacy to benefit the city's structure

¹ John MacAloon, 'Olympic Ceremonies as a setting of intercultural exchange' in Miquel De Moragas, 'Olympic Ceremonies-Historical Continuity and Cultural Exchange', p. 42

² Jean Baudrillard, 'Design and Environment' in 'For a critique of the political economy of the sign', p. 187

and image. For this reason the Games have often been characterised as socially and politically positive events.

During the first half of the 20th Century this positivity was achieved with the Olympic City playing a big part in the effort to establish and represent the metropolitan ideal and therefore becoming hostile to the notion of utopia by serving both as a fine-tuned version of the existing status quo and as a 'blueprint for the future'. The Olympic City often found expression through megalomaniac design scenarios, the use of monumental architecture and the suggestion of utopian urban sprawl schemes.

The Olympic City scheme was interpreted differently from place to place. An example of symbolic architecture is the design of Kenzo Tange's complex of the National Gymnasium with the design of a large span structure based on its art of engineering and its symbolic formalism believed to have been influenced from the design of the Philips Pavillion for the 1958 International Exhibition designed by one of the pioneers of modern design, Le Corbusier. A notorious example of strong monumental and symbolic character is the Olympic City of Berlin in the 1936 Games with an architecture of monumental and symbolic nature which stood as a transmitting station for political propaganda.

The involvement of the language of Modernism in Olympic architecture found ground in the host city's urban development programmes with large housing blocks appearing in the architecture of the Rome, Tokyo, Moscow and Mexico Olympics benefiting the cities urban development programmes and suggesting solutions that could improve circulation and help cities function better.

In the early 1970's the language of Modernism in the design of the cities was put into question. Post-modern ideas turned against expensive utopian plans of monumental nature and marked the end of the era of the metropolitan ideal. This also influenced greatly the perception of the ephemeral nature of the games and of the Olympic City as the place that hosts them with the ephemeral, light and 'plural coded' replacing the static, the heavy and the monumental.

In the Post-modern era the development of the Games as a televised event, increased its global audience in comparison to its live audience. As a result the Olympic City as an existing environment has been playing a secondary role whereas its image plays the first. The Olympic City turns from being a 'place' to an 'event' by being transformed into a technological laboratory and showcase for communication technology. According to Moragas, 'The Olympics as a television event is very much a constructed reality where –virtually all is controlled except the moments of athletic endeavour'. In order to respond to the size and shape of a global audience, all efforts focus on the use of image techniques in order to achieve maximum emotion and represent the city in its most spectacular way.

The Munich 1972 Games acted as a turning point in the planning of the Olympic City. The design of the Olympic City of Munich can be identified as an experience similar to what the Post-modern theorist Baudrillard characterises as a 'system of climate control'¹ where all effort is concentrated on imposing a coherent and collective vision, through the forces of image technology, global promotion and advertisement. The design of large span structures as part of a coherent system characterised the design of the Munich 1972 Olympic City where optical and spatial qualities were condensed in to a single image or style. Munich was the first example of an Olympic

¹ Jean Baudrillard, 'Consumer Society' in Mark Poster's 'Jean Baudrillard selected writings', p.18

City to use a centrally located site where the city and the Olympic City stand as polar opposites contrasting the old with the new.

The design of the 1972 Munich Olympics became very much influenced by the ideas of contemporary theoretical groups like 'Archigram' where the design of Megastructures and temporary architecture represented a clear-eyed look, autonomous and independent from the surrounding urban and social fabric. Archigram represented metropolis concepts based on a communication network and an environment that you can 'tune-up' to with the display of strong messages and images that are aimed at creating an immediate impact.

Frei Otto, the designer of the canopy over the stadium believed that architecture should be reshaped according to the image and realities of its age. The use of elements such as the Frei Otto canopy contributed to the conversion of the Olympic City into a miniaturised cosmopolis, by also providing the city with a new centre of varied community life.

The Munich Olympics can be identified as a turning point in the design of the Olympic City, imposing a coherent and collective vision through the forces of image technology and advertisement. It was anti-utopian against the mode of total urbanisation and with a predetermined lifespan. The 1972 Olympic Games rounded off Munich's status as a cosmopolitan city and showed the Games as a brilliant, carefree gathering where the emphasis was on the image of the event through the image of the Olympic city. The organisers claimed that: 'We want Munich to show to the rest of the world that Olympic Games are a part of modern life, a signpost to the future and not merely a ritual encumbered with tradition'. The idea of large utopian building scenarios was followed by the Montreal Olympic City in 1976 which was criticised for conspicuous waste of resources and money. It marked the end of Megastructure utopian projects setting the question of after-use in Olympic Architecture, but at the same time introduced the Olympic City as a coherent image rather than a space associated to the new economic and multicultural values.

A decade later, the Los Angeles 1984 Olympics marked another big change in the attitude towards the design of the Olympic City which was immersed in the new technology of image reproduction and global communication. The idealistic vision of the Olympic City as a blueprint for the future was totally replaced by a temporary model of the Olympic City tending towards the integration of local reality into a world of universal values. The Los Angeles Olympic Games not only proved to be a turning point in attitudes towards the big task in organising an Olympic event but also put design potential at the level of spatio-temporal planning.

The design of the Olympic City of the Post-modern era has proved to be a regeneration strategy and a powerful city marketing tool. The Post-modern theorist and designer, Robert Venturi, declared that: 'We are not the men of the cathedral, the palace and the tribunes'¹. In a similar way, the design of the Olympic City is not anymore entirely concentrated on the building of the stadium arena itself but of an image delivered by the event.

Since the Munich 1972 Olympic Games and the introduction of a total space linked with the rest of the world through a global network of communication and information; the city became an ideal port of business and investment beyond traditional boundaries and markets.

¹ Robert Venturi, *Learning from Las Vegas*, The MIT Press

'Hosting Sport Events has proven to be a successful vehicle for cities striving to reinvent themselves as thriving polycentric, dynamic and exciting locations'¹. The Olympic City has become socially and economically positive by serving as a catalyst for future business development and by projecting the image of a dynamic, changing and active place, no matter whether this happens through the induction of a local or global visual profile. For example in the case of the Barcelona Olympic Games the positive image of Barcelona's Olympic city has been based on a regeneration strategy as a powerful city marketing tool with the promotion of the city's selected local codes and aspects of local identification. On the other hand, the Olympic city of Sydney was based on a marketing strategy of a collage of attractive locations and phantasmagoric events that transmitted the 'new economy' message around the world.

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Chapter 11

The Olympic City and its Post-Utopian Function

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The Olympic city has been recognised as a unique opportunity in the realisation of the host city's visions and utopian aspirations that would otherwise have taken so many years to apply. The Olympic city is short in its duration, but has the power to cause permanent changes to the city and to its represented visual identity. Throughout the last 110 years of its existence, it has encouraged urban transformations and changes, affecting the host city's planning and visual profile. Sometimes as a large scale city plan, and other times as a segregated environment and packaged image, the Olympic city has become associated with utopian visual and cultural scenarios, representing an optimistic outlook of the place that hosts the Olympic event. In the later decades and within a climate of an increasing globalised economy, the Olympic city has served as 'a successful vehicle for cities striving to reinvent themselves as thriving polycentric, dynamic and exciting locations', (Westerbeek & Smith, 2001) by projecting the image of a contemporary place, appropriate for business attraction and investment. The Olympic city has, therefore, become a protagonist in a process of transformation, in order to fit into the city's image requirements, designed to represent it. Based on these new rules of theatrical adjustment, this paper examines the Olympic city in relation to the concept of utopia and more specifically of post-utopian scenarios involving strategies of creating a well branded and simulated image for the city.

In the 1960's post-utopian plans came to promote an ephemeral, lightweight, personal, nostalgic, fugitive, desirable, well marketed and branded visual identity of the city. The term -post-, can have, according to Margaret Rose, a 'possible variety of definitions', meaning 'subsequent to or later than the modern'. (Rose, 1991) In the Olympic city example, post-utopian plans had the meaning not only of an 'illusion or an impossible dream' (Kumar, 1987), but of ways to promote and sell illusion as part of reality. This paper suggests that the Olympic city has gained a post-utopian function, found mainly in the meaning of a place as 'heterotopia' (Foucault, 1967) and 'brandscape', (Klingmann, 2007) which will be discussed through the examples of Munich 1972, Barcelona 1992, Athens 2004 and Beijing 2008 Olympic cities.

The fall of Utopia and the Rise of Post-utopian Scenarios

Based on More's definition, Utopia is a combined term, deriving from the two Greek words: '*eu-topia* meaning good place and *ou-topia* meaning no place or nowhere' (Hetherington, 1997). *Utopia* (More, 1551) first appeared in Thomas More's writing in 1516, representing the meaning of an imaginary place, based on an ideal commonwealth that brought people to an excellent condition of citizenship in all fields of humanity and civil gentleness. In modern society, utopia has been associated with social transformation and the possibility of bringing into realisation community's social aspirations, often connected with the building of the modern city. In the 1960's and 1970's modern utopia was questioned and, together with it, any city project associated with it, for its austere, impersonal, strongly monumental, futuristic, heavy and long lasting character. The rise of post-utopian scenarios in the Olympic city project has been affected by a general climate of doubt towards utopian ideas influenced by:

- the fall of mass utopia and the disappointment of the social dream in the names of Communism, Nazism, Fascism, etc;
- the fall of functionalism and universalism in architectural theory and practice;
- the questioning of the avant-garde and futurist ideas, in relation to city development and planning;
- the return to particularity, locality and nostalgia towards symbols from the past;
- the development of the language of simulation as a result of the advancement in building and communications technology, in advertising and marketing; and
- the shift of the city's live experience into a media and more specifically a televised experience, organised for mass spectacle.

The Olympic city of Berlin 1936 is possibly the most characteristic example of modern utopia, and mainly of mass utopia, that post-utopian reaction was based on. By hosting the Games, the Olympic city of Berlin was represented as a symbol of national and social reform displaying the nation's new powerful identity to its people (the mass) and to the rest of the world. It used a strong monumental character in order to display its utopian aspirations and propagate the nation's long term visions and plans. The vision of a long lasting plan for the city of Berlin and the use of modern Neo-classicism¹ were characteristics of an Olympic city that was not created to last for two weeks, but to herald the plans for the city's and the nation's envisioned future (Figure 1). The Berlin Games stood as an

¹Or, German Neoclassicism

opportunity to renew the identity of the city, but most of all to promote the city as eutopia with long lasting visions, converting the Olympic site into a stage made for 'parade and spectacle' (Schorske, 1998).

Figure 1. *Adolf Hitler and Warner March, Protagonists in the Design of the Stadium in German Neoclassic Style*



The Post-utopian Role of the Olympic City as Heterotopia

In reference to the concept of heterotopia, the Olympic city engages with Foucault's definition of a city as a temporal place 'in its most flowing, transitory, precarious aspect, to time in the mode of the festival' (Foucault, 1967). The Olympic city, instead of being represented as a place reflecting total transformation and social change, it engages with outopia, segregated and ephemeral, usually promoting itself as apolitical and a-historical. Heterotopia can be associated with Olympic cities which have become more interested in leaving an impression as a show, a fashioned image of contemporary reality, rather than becoming associated with the city's permanent plans.

The Olympic City of Munich 1972 Olympic City stood as one of the most representative examples of heterotopia: spatially and visually segregated from its surrounding environment, functioning as outopia or what Robins states as 'a world -a world of difference- within the city' (Robins, 1993). Almost three decades after the Berlin 1936 Games, the

Olympic city of Munich 1972 stood as a reaction to the monumental and long lasting identity that represented the Olympic city of Berlin. It used a segregated site to include almost all services and facilities for the Olympic event, in order to propagate the image of a 'brilliant and carefree event' (Kramer, 1972). It also made use of pneumatics and of an architecture based on ephemeral structures representing a 'throwaway culture' (Cook, 1970), celebrated for its temporary use. The late 1960s initiated a new generation in architecture, shaped according to the image and realities of its age. For a group of architects and designers of 1960's and early 1970's, architecture had become mainly 'a medium of communication' (Archigram, 1999). According to Frei Otto, a main protagonist in the field of experimental architecture and designer of the Munich stadium canopy: 'Buildings cannot and should not be rigid structures, into which we must be squeezed, but must be along with us, a living growing environment which eventually should be replaced' (Drew, 1976).

The Olympic city of Munich 1972 was designed as an artificial garden existing side by side with the existing city as polar opposites, contrasting the old with the new. Buildings as monuments of a heroic and symbolic social character were replaced by ephemeral spaces and displayed images of the city's new but fugitive visual identity (Figure 2). Ironically, the Games have gone down in history as the 'unfortunate Games'¹, with notoriety comparable to that of the 1936 Games, after eleven Israeli Olympic team members were murdered by the Palestinian terrorist group of Black September. Despite the fact that Munich 1972 Olympic Games wanted to stay apolitical with the display of a happy and carefree visual identity, the terrorist events 'proved the inseparability of politics and sport' (Lucas, 1980).

The Olympic city as heterotopia has been a post-utopian concept that many cities have partly engaged with. The Olympic cities of Los Angeles 1984 and Atlanta 1996 involved the creation of a flowing and transitory visual identity for the event, preferred though not to use a single site but existing facilities spread in different parts of the city. Heterotopia can also be found in the example of the Olympic city of Sydney 2000, where an old industrial part was gentrified and used as a site for the celebration of the Olympic event. Sydney 2000 has been characterised by Patrick Bingham-Hall as a 'transformed Olympic Mecca' (Bingham-Hall, 2000). His statement is based on Coubertin's declaration not to stand against the idea of a potential site: 'enclosed behind its jealous walls, hiding its marvels behind a discreet screen' (Müller, 2000). Bingham-Hall opposed Sydney 2000 planning to the design strategies of Barcelona 1992, which involved a regeneration plan spread in different parts of the city. By using Coubertin's words, Bingham-Hall reinforced the concept of heterotopias, as a suitable solution for the Olympic city planning.

¹*Official Olympic Report, Athletics arena International, Munich 1972*

Figure 2. *Oberwiesenfeld Site, where most Athletic and Cultural Activities took Place. Pneumatics and Ephemeral Structures were Protagonists in the Design of the Olympic Site*



The Post-utopian Role of the Olympic City as a Brandscape

The concept of brandscape has been introduced by Anna Klingmann in her reference to places which combine 'an increasing exteriorisation of corporate identities with an artificial making of a place' (Klingmann, 2007). Brandscapes are also places of escapism where 'images are transformed into material simulacra in which the dichotomies between building and sign, decoration and architecture, desire and reality have ceased to exist' (Klingmann, 2007). In relation to the role of the Olympic city as a brandscape, this association could be based on two main elements: firstly, the recall of images from the city's past and mixing them with the present and secondly, the use of star architecture in order to represent the city as an eponymous and contemporary world city.

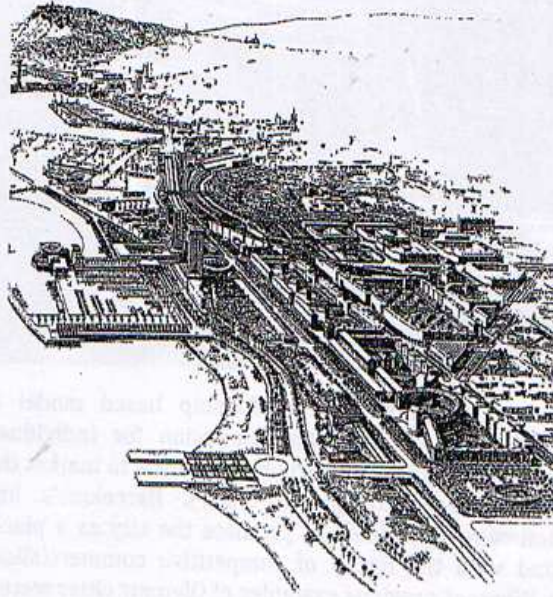
According to Kevin Robins: 'If city cultures cannot be re-imagined, then perhaps they can be re-imaged' (Robins, 1993). Based on this statement the Olympic city turns into a brandscape by re-imaging itself through means that can better promote its visual identity globally. The Olympic city of Barcelona 1992, relying on elements of collective memory, reflected what Kevin Robins describes as an attempt to re-imagine urbanity by 'recovering a lost sense of territorial identity, urban community and public space' (Robins, 1993). The city's gentrification process in combination

with examples of star architecture were part of its invented new imagery that helped in its promotion as a world city with a lot of room for profitable investment, enabling 'the transformation of the city into a planetary shop window' (Blain, Boyle & O'Donnell, 1993). In an effort to enchant its present based on the re-imagining of its past, the Olympic city was based on an eclectic discovery of past symbolic elements such as old buildings and neighbourhoods that could re-appear in the present as emblems of the past. The city related its new identity with its layers of history, recalling images from the past and re-enchanting the myth of a forgotten -in memory- city.

The El Raval Area was one of the main examples of a poor neighbourhood that went through gentrification. It was an area where factories and high rise tenement blocks for workers were constructed during the Industrial Revolution. The gentrification project concentrated all efforts in restoring the image of the historic neighbourhood by maintaining its industrial character. The promotion of the area's historic and cultural heritage led to an increasing tourist use and business investment. El Raval introduced a new and more generalised idea of the public usually steered by the strategic reformations and stylistic impressions that the area generated. The area became associated with a new sophisticated culture enjoying a new lease of life, with bars having been discovered as places for a slightly down market and artists setting up their studios. According to Boyer (1994), 'the art of selling now dominates urban space, turning it into a new marketplace for architectural styles and fashionable lives'. The conversion of the area into a fashioned image, the new trendy part of the city had as a result that, by 1992, most of the six thousand units had been sold on the market.

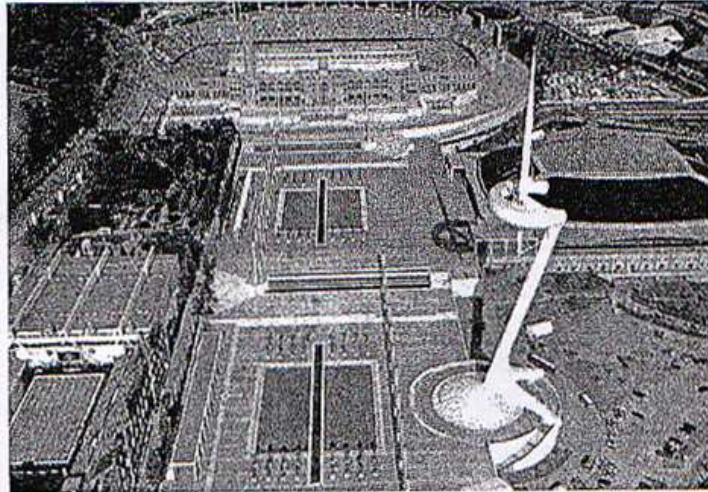
The Parc de Mar with the Poblenou site, where the Olympic Village was located, was another area that went through a major regeneration changing from an old industrial area into a flourishing tourist destination. The area, located at the coastal zone of Barcelona, became recognised as one of the most successful examples in the refurbishing of a downgraded industrial area in the redefinition of Barcelona's historic identity. The example of the Parc de Mar Area was an initiate to many other projects, where old industrial areas were regenerated to often quite trendy and fashionable parts of the city, due to the old historic character that was selectively sustained. The urban pattern, even though it underwent many morphological changes, tried to preserve the remains of the grid of Ildefons Cerda, a 19th century town planner. The architecture of the Olympic village was based on flexible planning, according to a series of successive project decisions. The design of two skyscrapers used for offices contrasted the architecture of the rest of the site, symbolically represented as portals of the Olympic site and of the entry of the city from the sea (Figure 3).

Figure 3. *The Parc de Mar was an Area that went through Major Regeneration, by also trying to Preserve the Remains of the 19th Century Plan, by Ildefons Cerdà*



The image of the city projected to the rest of the world became similar to images of theatricality, bringing selectively back into memory forms from the past and merging them with the present, reconciling authenticity with progress. Barcelona's regeneration was linked with gentrification, purification and acts of cleansing. Gentrification became an act of leading to image making and promotion of a place, using memory as an exchange value. The Olympic City of Barcelona counted enormously on the impact that the selected elements of its re-imaging had on perceptions of the city and its rediscovered identity. In the example of Barcelona 1992 Olympic city, the old mixed with the new and more specifically with the design of eponymous architecture, signified as star architecture, with the involvement of well known Spanish and international architects such as Foster, Meier, Siza, Isozaki and Calatrava. Such examples were the Palau Sant Jordi designed by the Japanese architect Arata Isozaki and the high-tech telecommunication towers by Norman Foster and Santiago Calatrava (Figure 4) that provided the city not only with 'a new modern identity' (Klingmann, 2007), but with a world recognised identity.

Figure 4. *Telecommunications Tower by Santiago Calatrava: A Symbol of Contemporary Barcelona*



As Klingmann suggests: The relationship based model of brand architecture 'can also serve as an inspiration for individual clients, institutions and cities, which like corporations, have to market themselves in the local economy' (Klingmann, 2007). Barcelona's image and communication campaign aimed to promote the city as a place-product well associated with the forces of competitive commercialisation and globalisation. Whereas previous examples of Olympic cities were based on post-utopian scenarios linked with ephemeral buildings, Barcelona became successful through the process of city regeneration and reimagining. Since the 1992 Olympics, many cities wished to win the Olympic Games candidature, and together with it the lucky ticket to successful urbanisation and recognition as world brandscapes. The Barcelona example created a new era in the Modern Olympic city era proving the positive effects in reconciling the contemporary city with selective elements of its collective memory, through strategies of regeneration and gentrification. The Olympic city impressed all those who came to invest and use the city as a new international tourist and business centre.

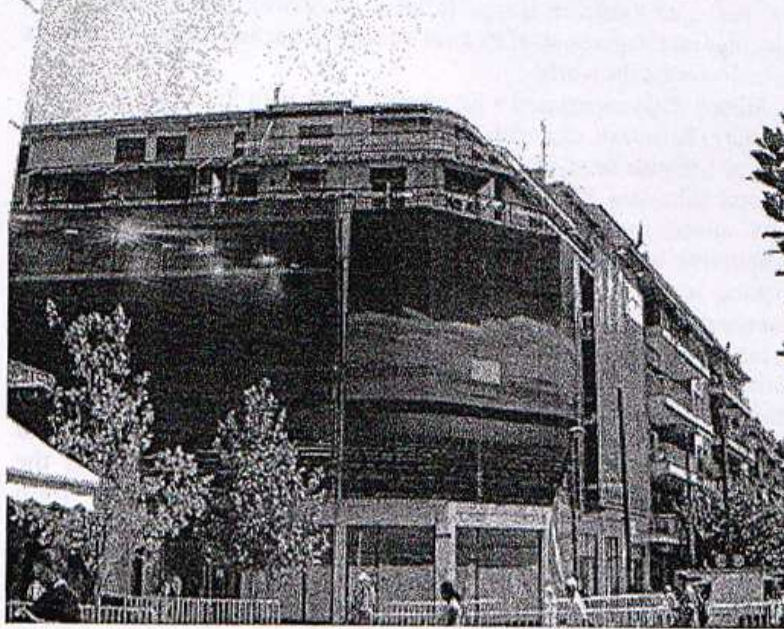
With the example of Barcelona 1992 Olympics, the Olympic city entered a new era of post-utopianism based on a prominent mechanism for place marketing and urban boosterism. The post-Barcelona era set new criteria leading to a successful Olympic city strategy. In an article published in 2001 by the Sportbusiness group under the title *The Future for Host Cities*, were listed the criteria for a winning bid strategy. In this publication was stated that 'the visitors will be attracted to the city and its Olympic facilities because of the image benefits delivered by the event' (Westerbeek & Smith, 2001). If in the 1980's we advertised products

through the Olympic cities, today we advertise city products. The redefinition of the Olympic City's space became similar to the creation of a new real size 'postcard image' (Klingmann, 2007), corresponding to a contemporary expression of its local identity, attracting its new customers from all around the world.

Athens 2004 recognised a lot of similarities with Barcelona 1992 as a Southern European city with a long history and which during the last century had also been characterised by anarchic urbanisation and loss of its local culturism. With the use of its Olympic City lucky ticket, Athens 2004 aimed to become a brandscape and project the image of a competitive world city. The regeneration of the coastal zone and the opening to the sea was part of Athens 2004 plans, inspired by the regeneration plan of Barcelona 1992. The gentrification of areas of Athens' historic centre, such as Gkazi and Psyrri, was also similar to what Barcelona tried to achieve through its industrial gentrified sites. However Athens 2004 as brandscape, presented another characteristic, not seen in previous post-utopian examples: temporary city camouflage. The repainting and refreshment of old building facades was one of the techniques that was suggested in order to give a temporary fresh impression of the old city. Advertisement encouraged owners of buildings overlooking central roads to paint them, with the slogan: 'Athens needs to be repainted as it has seen... many years' (Kalbari & Ntalfos, 2005).

Another example of city camouflage can be seen in the case of building scale banners covering the façade of ugly -not proud to represent- buildings with images of advertised products, city's famous sightseeing or happy experiences, taking place somewhere else within the city (Figure 5). An example of this type of temporary camouflage is examined by Stavros Stavridis in his analysis of a mass housing block, built to accommodate the refugees of Minor Asia in the 1920's. In this example 'the disturbing view of the houses was replaced by a new image: the aerial image of Athens, gigantic, colourful and perfect' (Stavridis, 2005), with views of the Acropolis, Herodion outdoor amphitheatre, the hills, the blue sky, replacing the ugly reality behind this gigantic banner. This reminds of Bakhtin's description of spatiality of the carnivalesque (Bakhtin, 1984) and the attempt to break down high and low cultural distinctions, through temporary decorations and camouflage. The temporary picture of Acropolis resembles what Bakhtin describes as 'popular-festive images' that 'become powerful means of grasping reality' (Bakhtin, 1984). The ugliness of the building site disappears and instead a 2D image takes its place, with images of the city's world recognised buildings and symbols: the Acropolis, the blue sky, the sun. Acropolis the symbol of Athens and of its classical past is treated as timeless, but also as a symbol belonging to everybody and appearing everywhere. Its authenticity disappears as it has gained popularity through its simulated products and images.

Figure 5. *City Temporary Camouflage: Full Scale Banners covering Buildings' Façades*



In the example of Athens 2004, the involvement of the internationally famous architect, Calatrava (designer of the Olympic stadium roof), did not only provide the stadium with a new structure, but also the city of Athens with a contemporary emblem. The stadium, a building extensively televised and used by media and press during the two weeks of the Games, was projected as the new symbol of Athens adjacent to Acropolis, the symbol of the city's classical past. A significant example of how media used this new symbol is found in the campaign, by the Greek Tourist Office, with an advertisement showing a picture of a couple sharing their happy moments in Athens, having as a background both the Acropolis and Calatrava's roof, side by side (Figure 6).

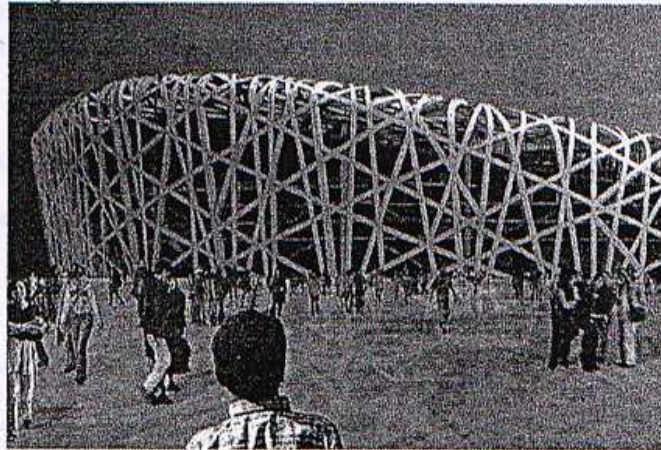
Figure 6. *An Advertising Campaign for Athens, by the Greek Tourist Office, using both the Acropolis and Calatrava's Roof, Side by Side*



Similarly, the Olympic city of Beijing 2008 is projected as brandscape in order to achieve worldwide recognition and international superiority.

Beijing is opening up to the rest of the world with a growing interest in international urban networking. The Olympic site has become a creative field for architects and designers, turning Beijing into one of the greatest world city centres. Olympic Green is the main site which, among all, will accommodate two new high-tech buildings, the Olympic National Stadium, known as the Bird's Nest and the Bubble building, China's National Swim Centre. Both buildings are examples of star architecture and have taken more the form of an object rather than of a building. Designed by Herzog and De Meuron, the Olympic Stadium is described as a great achievement of engineering technology (Figure 7). The design of the stadium is similar to a technical object. The Bird's Nest design creates feelings of excitement and curiosity in the discovery of its use and of its technical characteristics. Baudrillard refers to technical objects as objects of functional aberration completely taken over by the imaginary, in which 'a role is played by irrational complexity, obsessive detail, eccentric technicity or gratuitous formalism.' (Baudrillard, 1996). The increased complication and abstractness of the building linked to technical peculiarities, is presented also with strong sculptural symbolism.

Figure 7. *The Bird's Nest, the Design of the Olympic Stadium for the 2008 Games in Beijing. Architecture takes more the Form of an Object rather than of a Building*



Venturi, in his reference to buildings that take on a sculptural symbolism, describes a situation in which 'the sign is more important than the architecture' and 'sometimes the building is the sign' (Venturi, Scott-Brown & Izenour, 1977). In the Beijing 2008 Olympic City, the creation of buildings-ornaments apart from managing an abstraction from the existing environment, their design makes easier the representation of the Olympic City as an image that can be easily simulated. Olympic architecture is represented as an unusual object, an image that can be

possessed and easily replicated into a commercial product, an advertisement or a souvenir (Figure 7).

Since the example of Barcelona 1992, brandscape became the new way of using the Olympic city in order to promote the city's revitalized identity. Munich 1972 turned the Olympic city and eventually a part of the city into a heterotopia, segregated and separated from the existing historic part of the city. The idea brandscape involved not part, but the whole city, mixing landscapes but also layers of history, leading to a pastiche of styles where the old and the new are inseparable. With the signature of star architects, the Olympic city guarantees its success as a contemporary brandscape and therefore a place recognised as a world city. Therefore, it seems that the Olympic city has turned into a pre-designed formula of success but this time not segregated within its heterotopian mechanisms, but spread within its existing city territory and layers of history.

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Chapter 12

The Olympic City as a Postmodern Space Experience

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"To travel north from the centre of China's capital is to move into the future...Herzog and de Meuron's truly magical National Stadium announces the city's future."
(Tim Abrahams, 2008)

This paper examines the Olympic city as a new time experience through the changes and the transformations it creates in space. I suggest that there has been a transition in our Olympic city experience based on the means and ways that reflect the Olympic city's image as something different in the last four decades. As the Olympic city is one of the main events that give the opportunity for changes and transformations within the city, it has encouraged an architecture that is iconic in order to sell as a good image of what the city wants to represent as different. Today, we create design scenarios for the Olympic city that aim to sell a unique, well branded image which is globally recognised.

The Olympic city has always been linked with space transformations and urban changes in order to be displayed as a unique experience and reflect its renewed identity worldwide. There have been studies from various disciplines (architecture, urban planning, marketing, economics) examining the Olympic city as a modern and postmodern phenomenon, based on its evolution as a plan, image, marketing tool, tourist and economic source. In most cases, the Olympic city is examined as a phenomenon in evolution, divided in certain periods or stages of development. It is examined more as an outcome and less as content, with numbers and statistics focusing on targeted results rather than the overall scope of the event. In this paper, I suggest that the Olympic city apart from being a phenomenon in evolution, it is mainly a phenomenon in transition: a transition from a time experience to a space experience; and a transition from a vision to an image.

I argue that today's criteria for a successful Olympic city are ambivalent. The different disciplines involved within the Olympic city project have exchanged rules and principles of what is good or not, successful or non successful. Based on prescheduled formulas of success, standardisation and market differentiation criteria, the Olympic city has often become a cloned establishment. It has become a changing urban form adapting the rules of visual communication and marketing based on an eclectic choice of local characteristics merged with globally familiar associations. As a result, the global and the easily recognisable have

become the new language of the familiar. Therefore, the Olympic city, a project that has majorly affected the design of the contemporary cities tries to become something different and unique based on the display and popularisation of a cloned image with difference based on surface changes. Big transformations, impressive changes and star architecture have turned the city into a fashionable item. This becomes particularly obvious in the design of Olympic cities that in the last four decades have used iconic buildings or have made use of star architects (eponymous, globally recognised architects).

Today, the success of an Olympic city is based on quantitative criteria and it has turned less to a place that accommodates the Games and more to a product. This paper incorporates ideas from the postmodern theory, examining how the Olympic city as space has changed in relation to the meanings of space, time, differentiation, transformation and visual representation. Based on the plans for the forthcoming 2012 Games in London, Professor James Woudhuysen (2008) suggests that 'despite their billing, it's not really about sport. It's about urban regeneration'. This paper questions the idea of post-Olympic use where the alienation of architecture from its original purpose and form is encouraged, leading to changes within a city based on their second hand use.

Coubertin's Association with the Ideas of Difference and Transformation

Despite the use of a permanent place for the celebration of the Ancient Games, Pierre De Coubertin, the founder of the Modern Olympic Movement, wanted to entrust different cities to host the Olympic Games. In 1912, he had declared: 'You have to often transplant a tree if you wish to keep it youthful' (Miquel De Moragas, 1997). He believed that a place is suitable for the organisation of the Olympic festival when it is inspired both by internationalism and cultural diversification, without though 'tending towards something homogenous and identical' (Norbert Müller, 1987). He had also envisioned the Olympic city as a space that should indicate its purpose from a distance, resulting in an Olympic city with a strong emblematic role recognisable by all. Pierre de Coubertin was the founder of the Olympic Games and of the Olympic movement, but not of the Olympic City. He never based his ideas on the place that should host the Games on plans or practical solutions for the city. Therefore, the Olympic city has always been a matter open to interpretation as far as it concerns its design, its changes and transformations within the existing environment.

Coubertin spoke about cultural diversification, however, he never spoke clearly about the means that an Olympic city should use to be displayed as different. Would it be different in its form or content? He had predicted that the growth and expansion of the event would result the

alienation of it from his vision to be represented as a festival of humanity. The Olympic city in his vision seemed as a place with an average of 10,000 spectators that would have a more representational role as a 'place of pilgrimage, inspiring in them a respect for places devoted to noble memories and profound hopes.' (Norbert Müller, 2000). Although Coubertin in his comment on the number of spectators referred to the Olympic city as live experience, we do not know for example what his vision would have been for an Olympic city as a televised experience. The question though remains whether the image of an Olympic city that travels globally would still represent for Coubertin a place of pilgrimage, a place related to noble memories and profound hopes.

Today's Olympic city criteria of success are mainly based on numbers of tickets sold, amounts of live and global audience, but also on the popularity that the event and the city have gained as centres of consumption and commodity exchange. However, the Olympic city is still playing an important role as the provider of the good city example. Unlike other global events, such as the World Cup or the International Expositions, leading also to radical transformations within the city, it is a project examined as a fair play and questioned as a good example for the city and the community involved. However, it receives more reaction than any other international event, having a history of political boycotts, terrorist attacks, demonstrations and with an increase of the numbers of the anti-Olympic campaigns within the last decades¹.

The Transition of the Olympic City from Time to Space

Maurice Roche has characterised 'the Olympic Games event as a show which is permanently on the road taking its caravan from nation to nation and city to city every four years' (Maurice Roche, 2000). Since the first modern Olympic Games in Athens 1896, the Olympic city has always been represented as a new spatial experience. Up until the 1970's each Olympic city was mainly aiming towards the creation of a visual identity that would best reflect the city's or nation's modern visual identity, by representing development and progress in an international level of understanding. The examination of the Olympic city as a spatial experience refers to the end in the representation of the Olympic city as a vision of creating something new, and in causing differentiation based on a progressively different reality. Following Massey's statement that 'we live, some say, in spatial

¹In the Mexico 1968 Games student demonstrations in Mexico City led to 260 deaths and over 1200 injured. In the Munich 1972 Games there was the murder of Israeli Olympic team members by Arab terrorists. In the Los Angeles 1984 Games there was a political boycott with seventeen countries not taking part. Since Sydney 2000 Games there are activist anti Olympic groups worldwide. In the recent Beijing 2008 Games there were major protests, more intensively during the torch relay process.

times' (Massey, 2006) and that 'the challenge of space is addressed by an imagination of time' (Massey, 2006), this section suggests that the Olympic city in its postmodern condition is not interested in becoming a time legacy. Instead it is interested in its representation as a unique space experience.

According to Cashman 'Every Olympic city has some form of legacy: buildings, monuments, public art, exhibitions, museums, repositories, archives, stamps, souvenirs, memorabilia, plaques and street names' (Cashman 2002). The difference with today's meaning of Olympic legacy is that although the Olympic city is still represented by buildings, monuments, public art, exhibitions, souvenirs and different types of memorabilia, it terminates its scope with the end of the Games. The Olympic city, although is represented as a phantasmagoric show, it is either enclosed within the borders of the Olympic city or has a value for the moments it becomes visually consumed.

Monçlus also argues that the Olympic City as a modern phenomenon turned to 'an expression of the power of nations, celebrations of progress and the advances of industry and technology' (Javier Monçlus, 2006). Many Olympic cities recognised the Olympic city as an opportunity for building the modern city identity. Athens 1896 as an Olympic city made an effort to be perceived as a modern place, despite the fact that for the rest of the world it was important for its historic heritage and its classical past. According to Llewellyn Smith, '*the Games confirmed the stature of Athens in the eyes not only of the world outside, but of the Greeks themselves, who were continually seeking reassurance of the level of European civilization they had attained.*' (Llewellyn Smith, 2002). In cases such as the Berlin 1936 Olympic city, the Olympic architecture and planning were used for ideological propaganda. Neoclassicism as an architectural style city was represented as unique but also as a style imposed as an ideal to the rest of the world. Neoclassicism symbolised a new phase in the country's development and construction of national identity.

Today the Olympic city has become instant and separate from its post-use. Instantaneity refers to an immediate fulfilment of a dream. As Massey suggests, 'instantaneity is spatial, and therefore cannot be temporal' (Massey, 2006). For this reason an instant experience has to be present and in order to be convincing has to take advantage of its spatial characteristics. Bauman similarly states that, 'instantaneity means immediate, on the spot fulfilment – but also immediate exhaustion and fading of interest' (Bauman 2000). In the Olympic city project there is a deadline to the actual experience. 'The bigger percentage of the Olympic projects is individual projects and they are not part of a coherent overall plan' (Union of International Architects, 2001). Although today's main concern involves issues of building sustainability and maintenance, the function of the building in its post-use often rarely agrees with the function in its initial use. Today's Olympic city has to cover 'practical issues such as

the remains of the Games and the fate of Olympic venues' (Cashman, 2002). Following Cashman's definition of legacy as 'a direct result of the event or period of history and continues to exist after it is over' (Cashman, 2002), it seems that the process of legacy has been interrupted from the moment that the Olympic city changes its use. The Olympic city is not part of a legacy in the meaning of a legacy as a direct result of the event. Today, there is rather a legacy of the post-Olympic city and a legacy distant from its initial thought or purpose. It is a design plan with an indirect purpose and scope.

Lyotard argues that knowledge is no longer legitimated according to grand narratives. 'The grand narrative has lost its credibility, regardless of what mode of unification it uses, regardless of whether it is a speculative narrative or a narrative of emancipation' (Lyotard, 1984). Grand narratives related to the Olympic city project have been called into question, whether these are linked with the powers of social idealism or functionalism. In its postmodern condition the Olympic city, through its architecture and planning, is not interested in building an ideal city, but in promoting widely an ideal image of the city. The Olympic city is not anymore part of a wishful image or a grand narrative. It 'has shifted emphasis from the ends of action to its means;' (Lyotard, 1984) Many cities chase an opportunity to be represented by an event such the Olympic Games in order to find a date and a subject to re-imagine themselves. The Olympic city becomes itself a narrator of history and of the changes that have taken place. As the Olympic city has turned into a narrator of history, the choice of a city depends on interesting invented time scenarios leading to interesting spaces. It is a date rather than a creator of a chronological development. Although the Olympic city is presented as a time experience that can change reality, it could be better identified as a narrator of a time scenario that can lead to space transformations.

The Olympic City as a Global Space Experience

The Olympic city project as a time and space experience contributes to what Zukin has recently referred to as the twenty-first century flaneur. For Zukin 'a new urbanity is being formed: that of the twenty-first century flaneur, who is in equal parts shopper, tourist, and entrepreneur' (Zukin, 2008). It therefore seems that our development exists of projects made for the instant consumer in all fields of life from leisure, shopping and to any other type of spatial experience. Much earlier on Guy Debord in the *Society of the Spectacle* had stated that: 'everything that was directly lived has receded into representation' (Debord, 1967). Debord recognised spectacular time as different from cyclical time or historical time. For Debord 'Spectacular time is the illusorily lived time of a constantly changing reality' (Debord, 1967). The Olympic City has become an outcome

of a representation, an invented time and space scenario, which is popular as a non lived experience. Spectacular time goes through a process of constant changes in order to appear different and in order to cause 'an immediate, on the spot fulfilment' (Debord, 1967).

The Olympic city has become a space that is mainly perceived as a global space. The fact that most of the viewers are not at the actual place, but they imagine it through the broadcasted images, gives a more accurate deadline to the lasting and a more unified and generalised image of the Olympic city as a space. Massey, in her examination of global spaces, believes that 'from a world structured and preoccupied with history, we have landed ourselves in a depthless horizontality of immediate connections' (Massey, 2006). The Olympic city has become a viewing experience, made to be immediate but also simultaneous, expanding in space rather than time. What is represented as an Olympic city is the result of a space made to be viewed as a sequence of interesting images, with no interest in their engagement with the place. According to Lenskyj, in her reference to the Sydney 2000 Olympic city and the separation of the different athletic facilities: 'The great geographical spread was not, of course, ideal from the spectators' point of view, but it makes little difference how far the events are physically separated from one another if the Olympics are regarded primarily as a television spectacle, on which the medium imposes an illusory sense of place' (Lenskyj, 2000). There is an invented spatial relation between the different sites and between the sites and the surrounding environment not used for the purpose of the Olympics.

The Olympic City's Instant Development

Barcelona is the Olympic city example known for its instant development and transformation to a regenerated space experience. With the organisation of the 1992 Olympic Games, it became commonly believed that: 'the Barcelona of today is the Barcelona of the Games' (Millet Luis). Lenskyj argues that Olympic cities based on instant development 'involve urban image making more important than concoct of urban society' (Lenskyj, 2000). The changes of instant urban development are major for the requested time and are also space segregated, although segregation is spread within the city spectrum and well hidden with the merge of elements of present and past. These created new narratives have selected destinations. They are also instant, selecting their setting, similar to a film setting in order to create a new small narrative. According to Zukin, investors, developers and marketers are 'up-scaling neighborhoods for the hip, the rich and the cool. They are creating a new narrative for the cities- a narrative in which we all live by selling each other lattes, or apartments, or art' (Zukin, 2008). Cities like Barcelona 1992, converts linear development

into a sequence of instant developments. Instant development contradicts the idea of development of urban society as a whole. It is therefore a type of time and space fragmentation.

In the forthcoming London Games, the Olympic city identity has been associated with the transformations that will take place in the East London district with a major regeneration plan in some of London's most degraded areas. It therefore seems that the Olympic city has been associated with the opportunity to create changes and cause transformations in order to create an instant impact based on a city's revitalised image which has been prescheduled. Today changes are specific and paradigmatic. They have an instant effect with focus on the recreation of the image by using a specific site as a model case.

The Transition of the Olympic City from a Vision to an Image

The main argument in this section is that today the Olympic city is an effort to become a different space experience and this happens successfully through its representation as an image. Image is not only a mean to represent reality but a way to alter reality, to create a narrative and to make a composition of elements that could appear together without necessarily being together. The image of a space overshadows space as an actual environment. I argue that what creates a confusion between the Olympic city as an actual space and as an appearance is based on: firstly the fact that we can simulate reality and lose interest in what is authentic and what principles it represents; and secondly the fact that image technology allows us to create a pastiche, a mixture of elements from different historical times, styles, ideas and plans.

The Design Language of Pastiche

For the postmodern theorist, Fredric Jameson, pastiche is, 'like parody, the imitation of a peculiar or a unique, idiosyncratic style, the wearing of a linguistic mask, speech in a dead language' (Jameson, 1991). It is therefore a stylistic language and a tool which 'producers of culture' (Jameson, 1991) use as a resort in order to create a unique situation based on a merge of new and old styles together. Jameson uses examples from architecture and film making in order to describe the new postmodern language of pastiche and the turning towards "nostalgia" of older styles. Pastiche becomes a way for merging into one image the Olympic city as a composition of different buildings, locations, architectural styles, cultural representation etc. It becomes also a way for the creation of a unanimous atmosphere, turning the space into a more familiar place with an identifiable local or global character. People will be able to familiarise with the current use of space, or with the new identity of the Olympic city as space.

Munich is a town with a multitude of architectural styles and cultural diversity. It is a mixture of different architecture styles, each stemming from a particular period of time. The town still owes its festive character to the influences of Munich's Gothic epoch, represented by Baroque and Rococo styles in art and architecture. Although there were no symbols from the city's traditional past according to Brigitte Schürk, the colour scheme was inspired by the colour tones of Munich's baroque period: 'Light blue as official colour of the 1972 Games, as well as light green, orange, white and silver and –as additional variants–indigo, dark green and light orange' (Schürk, 1970). Colour played a big role in the Olympic city identity in order also to stress the systematic happy atmosphere of the event. There was a selection of 'a range of light, cheerful shades in order to symbolise our intention that the Games shall be a brilliant carefree gathering' (Kramer, 1970).

The theorist Jean Baudrillard refers to a system of 'climate control' (Baudrillard, 1988) and the effort to impose a coherent and collective vision through the forces of advertising and display. The Olympic city as an image aims at creating a climate and an atmosphere in order to be communicated as a unique space experience. For Baudrillard colour is a tool to create a 'structure of atmosphere' (Baudrillard, 1996) and therefore to create an appearance and an image for a space. He argues that 'colours generally derive their significance from outside themselves: they are simply metaphors for fixed cultural meanings' (Baudrillard, 1996). In the case of Munich 1972, colour is an abstract way to create a pastiche and to manage a combination of meanings coming from different epochs: the Baroque époque associated with aristocracy and the city's rich past and the 1970's fashion of cheerfulness and carefree feelings that the event wanted to follow.

The Los Angeles Coliseum is another example of stylistic pastiche. The stadium was built in a neoclassical style for the Los Angeles 1932 Games and it was renovated becoming the main venue associated with the 1984 Olympic city, as the venue for the opening and closing ceremonies. The organisers did not wish to give a centrality to the Olympic city claiming that 'unlike 1932, the venerable stadium would not be the sole Olympic stadium' (Commemorative Publications Los Angeles, 1984). For this reason the stadium was given less significance as a form and more as part of the Olympic look, like many other buildings or objects that represented the same city. The form of the old stadium remained the same. However the colours used for the renovation were adjusted to the Olympic city look specifications, turning the stadium into a stylistic pastiche.

For Lyotard, 'eclecticism is the degree zero of contemporary general culture: one listens to reggae, watches a western, eats McDonald's food for lunch and local cuisine for dinner, wears Paris perfume in Tokyo and retro clothes in Hong Kong' (Lyotard, 1984). Lyotard identifies a climate of generalization from the moment that local stereotypes can all merge

together in one body or environment. This climate of generalization based on merged stereotypes was the case of the Olympic look created for the Los Angeles 1984 Olympic city. The creation of an Olympic look is a system of an uncontrolled eclecticism. This can be seen in the criteria colour coding was used as a method in order to make the venues of the 1984 Olympic city recognisable. The Olympic look was a theme making technique creating an image that comprised elements from different locations and different cultures all in one. The choice of the colour palette used was based on 'Greek Olympics and the festive celebratory colours of Asia and Latin America' (Official Report of the Games, 1984). The use of temporary facilities, such as information booths and entrances of a colour and form code system, was displayed in a manner so that the Olympic city has, in different parts of the city, its distinguishing visual identity. According to the Organising Committee the use of a specific colour palette to identify the event, turned 'the streets, sites and other public areas into a constellation of ephemeral colours that brought residents a heightened sense of excitement, emotion and history' (Relph, 1976). Stylistic pastiche created a distinction where the instant overshadowed not only the long-lasting but also highlighted the sense of the in-authentic.

According to Relph (1976), 'an inauthentic attitude to place is essentially no sense of place, for it involves no awareness of the deep and symbolic significances of places and no appreciation of their identities'. With the creation of a corporate identity for an Olympic city the meaning of the authentic tries to be experienced through image. The creation of a corporate identity signifies an effort to make authentic the inauthentic experience of an Olympic space, by using the design language of pastiche on buildings, walls, billboards, souvenirs, uniforms, mascots etc.

The Olympic City as an Opportunity for Urban Branding

The Olympic city as an opportunity for urban branding refers to changes made in the urban space that could best benefit the promotion of the city's re-invented identity. Urban branding is a strategic way of creating an identity for a place that would help in its promotion, highlighting elements that are usually lost or not presented in people's everyday communication with a place. Klingmann believes that 'brands are no longer bundles of functional characteristics but a means of providing the customer with a certain identity' (Klingmann, 2007). In the Olympic city example the customer is the visitor or the spectator, who the Olympic city is addressed to as a brand. With the assistance of visual communication techniques, the Olympic city can present the un-presentable and can strategically direct its audience to perceive space in a certain way. The Olympic city becomes a corporation, with an image interested in creating

new markets and expanding its customer base, its business investment and its tourism.

Cities have become a commodity for global tourists and visitors. According to Luna Garcia, 'cities have started to find ways to produce an attractive corporate urban image that can be easily identified and consumed by all sorts of visitors.' (Garcia, 2008). In this case corporate urban image does not refer to a constructed image applied to an instant or segregated environment. Place imaging controls the changes that will take place in the Olympic city as an actual space and how these changes will create an attractive image of reality that will be widely spread and marketed.

For Relph, a mass identity of a place is 'assigned by opinion makers, provided ready-made for the people, disseminated through the mass media and especially by advertising' (Relph, 1976). In the Olympic city experience, urban branding is also directed by opinion makers. Here there is an effort to promote in a strategic way a city, or an area within the city. In the case of the Olympic city of Athens 2004, published guidebooks displayed a fashionable space experience of Athens, focusing on areas of instant urban development. These re-imaged areas presented new popular cultural activities. The Olympic city turns into a fashion image, promoting a lifestyle, where elements from the city public (spaces, buildings, indoor spaces) stand as stages to image based narratives. 'Consumption of place refashions the ways we belong to the city and how we feel about living where we do' (Lloyd, 2008), which becomes obvious in the city guides and booklets made prior and during the Olympic Games.

In the recent example of the Beijing 2008 Games, the Olympic city could be visually experienced before it was built. Images of the spaces designed for the Olympic city, based on the technique of photorealism, revealed the plans but also an affirmative picture of the design outcome. Plans and 3D images of the Olympic city buildings have travelled around the world. Through globally travelling images, people familiarise with the new symbols which are strategically marketed in this place imaging process. In this example the image again has nothing authentic. It is an affirmative constructed scenario. However the pictures of superstar buildings and happy faces of people, contracts perception and becomes a way to show how people should perceive and experience the particular space.

Star Architecture and the Re-fashioning of the City

Star architecture refers to the use of eponymous architects served as a guarantee to the Olympic city's image as a successful modern capital. The use of star architecture in the Olympic city project is related to the following two ideas: Firstly, it is part of the city's marketing strategy in order to leave a positive impression in the eyes of prospective visitors, tourists and investors. Secondly, the buildings involved become globally

recognised elements that people around the world can identify and familiarise with. The use of star architecture for the design of the Olympic city is part of the place imaging strategy. With the signature of star architects, the Olympic city guarantees its success as a contemporary world city.

As Klingmann writes, 'cities are gaining global recognition through architecture designed by brand-name architects' (Klingmann, 2007). In advertising, in magazines, star architecture becomes part of a fashionable item. For example, Beijing's image and communication campaign aimed to promote the city as a place well associated with the forces of competitive commercialisation and globalisation. Beijing wanted to open up to the rest of the world with a growing interest in international urban networking. The form of the Olympic stadium has become a fashionable item, reproduced in products such as MP3 players.

This takes us to the second idea of star architecture which is familiarity with the building. As it has been mentioned in a previous section, global is the new language of familiarity. An Olympic city designed by star architects becomes a globally familiar place without even being visited. The plans, the interviews with the architects, the virtual and photorealistic images that travel around the world before even the completion of the project, lead to the familiarisation of people with the building globally.

As Klingmann states star architects follow the 'same recipes in creating of what is now defined as the global image' (Klingmann, 2007). Zukin similarly states that 'they all hire the same famous architects from overseas' (Zukin, 2008). That has been very clear in the design of the Olympic stadium roof structure, by the eponymous Spanish architect Santiago Calatrava in Athens 2004 Olympic city. Calatrava's stylistic differentiation is well recognisable in all different designs he has been involved around the world. 'The Olympic stadium was for two weeks in August, likely the most widely televised building in the world. The global exposure gave Greece ...a chance to demonstrate its growing prominence in Europe (Lubell, 2004). The design of the roof did not only provide the stadium with a new roof, but also the city of Athens with a contemporary brand. If in the past architectural elements needed time in order to become recognised as monuments, today when the Olympic city has become an instant experience star architecture has replaced time recognition.

For Jameson this is characteristic of an architecture that has been designed to become an image rather than an actual space. Jameson refers to 'postmodern buildings that seem to have been designed for photography' (Jameson, 1991). There is the danger that spaces which are trying to be perceived as global and familiar with the use of star architecture contribute to the creation of an 'unimagined sameness rather than promoting place-based interaction' (Klingmann, 2007). In this case the Olympic city contributes to the creation of globally recognisable but locally unfamiliar spaces.

Conclusion

This paper has examined the Olympic city as a postmodern phenomenon based on its transition to an instant space experience and its representation as a global image and brand. It has examined how in the later decades and especially in the post-Barcelona 1992 era, the Olympic city has been projected as the image of a contemporary place, appropriate for business attraction and investment. The Olympic city has, therefore, become a protagonist in a process of transformation, in order to fit into the city's promotional programme and image requirements. In an article published in 2001 by the Sportbusiness group under the title *The Future for Host Cities*, (Westerbeek & Smith, 2001) were listed the criteria for a winning bid strategy. According to the article, 'Visitors will be attracted to the city and its Olympic facilities because of the image benefits delivered by the event'. In this article it has become clear that today's Olympic city, although is represented by an actual space, is a space useful for the instant experiences it offers and as a background scenery of global images that will travel and sell around the world.

The Olympic city today is one of the most expensive projects, but mainly a project that requires many changes and transformations within the urban space. It is possibly the only tool that a contemporary city has to create changes within its urban and social fabric. Boyer examines how there is a tendency to a new type of totalisation. This is through creating not of societies based on totalitarian systems but on spaces based on total control. Although totalisation has been connected with the modernists project and the effort to involve the whole society into any changing plan, in relation to the postmodern plan to totalise is 'to yield to the modernist's desire to master and dominate city space or to experience the city in a coherent and integrated manner' (Boyer, 1994). It seems that today's criteria appear ambivalent in the double role that the Olympic city has as a two week experience and as a space with continuity.

It is important to remember that regeneration could also mean polarisation of the redevelopment process; spaces offering instant experience during the Games could only offer instant experiences in their after-use. If we choose to ignore the different meaning that a city has as a vision and as an instant and image controlled experience, then in the future we can only end up with cities where continuity and vision do not matter. Space segregation and instant experiences will be the elements that will control the plans for urban reformation and change.

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