UAB
Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona

Multi-screening and Second Screening Viewing of Chinese Viewers during the Beijing 2022 Winter Olympic Games

Zesheng Yang

ADVERTIMENT. L'accés als continguts d'aquesta tesi queda condicionat a l'acceptació de les condicions d'ús establertes per la següent llicència Creative Commons: https://creativecommons.org/licenses/?lang=ca

ADVERTENCIA. El acceso a los contenidos de esta tesis queda condicionado a la aceptación de las condiciones de uso establecidas por la siguiente licencia Creative Commons: https://creativecommons.org/licenses/?lang=es

WARNING. The access to the contents of this doctoral thesis it is limited to the acceptance of the use conditions set by the following Creative Commons license: https://creativecommons.org/licenses/?lang=en

Multi-screening and Second Screening Viewing of Chinese Viewers during the Beijing 2022 Winter Olympic Games

Author: Zesheng Yang

Supervisor: Professor Emilio Fernández Peña

Ph.D. Dissertation

Department of Audiovisual Communication and Advertising

Faculty of Science of Communication

Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona

Bellaterra, 2024

Acknowledgement

The 1992 Barcelona Olympics left a lasting impression on me, even though I was just a toddler at the time. The torch-lighting ceremony, thrilling diving events, and the beauty of Barcelona deeply resonated with me, creating a lifelong connection to the city. My journey at UAB has been filled with cherished memories. I am sincerely grateful to my supervisor, Prof. Emilio Fernández Peña. Over the past four years, you have guided me to think deeply and shaped my perspective on sports communication and Olympism.

I extend my thanks to my colleagues at the Olympic Studies Centre / Sports Research Institute at UAB for their camaraderie and assistance. Special appreciation goes to Berta Cerezuela for her significant support, Dr. Xavier Ramon Vegas for his guidance in the IAMCR, and Angela Stanescu, my desk mate and swimming coach.

I am also grateful to Dr. Chen Liang, Dr. Li Pengxiang, Dr. You Ning, and Dr. Wang Junfeng for their support in navigating the complexities of academia. Dr. Qing Shenglan, Dr. Li He, Gao Han, Liu Liming, Zhang Yuwei, Li Zehua, Wang Huiyi, and Zhang Dechun; our collaborative efforts in publishing were both challenging and rewarding. I extend my thanks to my friends at UAB: Dr. Zhang Chao, Jia Di, Luo Liqin, Li Tong, and Li Haiming. We experienced a wonderful life together in Barcelona. I also appreciate everyone I met in the China Media & Culture ECR Network.

I am grateful to the professors at Singapore Nanyang Technological University for introducing me to academia, and my instructors at Zhengzhou University and Xi'an Physical Education University for guiding me into the field of sports. I thank Prof. Yi

Jiandong, Prof. Guo Qing, Prof. Wei Wei, and Prof. Li Bo. I also wish to thank the Olympic Studies Centre of the IOC for their support through the IOC Ph.D. grant for my project, and Dr. Xu Qingru for providing suggestions for my grant application.

I would like to thank my defense committee members: Prof. Guillaume Bodet, Dr. Celia Andreu Sánchez, Dr. Xavier Ginesta Portet, Dr. Carlos García Martí, Dr. Celina Navarro Bosch, and Dr. Xavier Ramón Vegas.

I hold the utmost respect for two influential figures. Firstly, I want to acknowledge Professor Miquel de Moragas, the Honorary Director of CEO-UAB. In 1995, he edited the book "Television in the Olympics," which included contributions from two Chinese professors, Prof. Li Liangrong (Fudan University) and Prof. Kong Xiang-an (Tianjin Institute of Physical Education). This collaboration marked a groundbreaking moment in bridging Chinese scholars and Western sports communication research. Additionally, I am deeply grateful to Juan Antonio Samaranch y Torelló, the lifelong honorary president of the IOC. His crucial support helped China rejoin the global Olympic community in 1979 and secure the hosting rights for the 2008 Summer Olympics. As a young spectator at the Beijing 2008 Olympic Games, I could never have envisioned earning a doctoral degree in his hometown sixteen years later.

My deepest gratitude goes to my family: my grandparents, parents, aunts, uncles, cousins, wife, and daughter. To my mom and dad, your endless love and guidance have been the pillars of my life. Without you, I would not be the person I am today. To my wife and daughter, your unwavering support and love have been my source of strength.

Abstract

The Olympic Games are widely perceived as one of the most significant media events in the world. While the Winter Olympics are generally less influential than the Summer Olympics, they still attract considerable global media attention. Beijing 2022 Winter Olympic Games achieved good ratings on TV viewing and set new records for digital media engagement. Conducting a three-wave study, this research examines the factors that predict the multi-screening viewing and second-screening viewing preferences of Chinese audiences during Beijing 2022. It also explores how the use of multi-screening and second-screening might facilitate new ways of viewing the Olympic Games and fan interaction for the Chinese audience. Additionally, this study examines how Chinese netizens discussed the opening ceremony of the Beijing 2022 Winter Olympic Games on online platforms. The result indicates that various audience and media factors, such as entertainment motivation, self-esteem, team identification, winter sports fandom, and device efficacy, are predictors of audiences' multi-screen and second-screen viewing of sports mega-events. Mobile devices and digital media platforms do not displace more traditional modes of viewing the Olympics; instead, these new media play a complementary role, as part of a new broad array of ways to experience the event. The finding also suggests that while nationalism still dominates Chinese netizens' discussions about the Beijing 2022 opening ceremony, Chinese audiences' views on the Olympics also reflect a strong neoliberal influence.

Keywords: Beijing 2022, Winter Olympic Games, Multi-screen, Second Screen, Media Consumption, Chinese Audience

Table of Contents

Acknowledgement ..... **I**

Abstract ..... **III**

Chapter One: Introduction **5**

Chapter Two: Media in the Olympic Games: Development, Evolution and Significance **10**

2.1 The Strongest Medium of the Olympic Games: Television 10

2.2. Digital Initiatives at the Olympic Games 14

Chapter Three: China's Media Landscape in the Digital Age **20**

3.1 Power of Television: A Dominant Medium 24

3.2 Digital Media Landscape in China 28

Chapter Four: Sports and Olympics Broadcasting in China **39**

4.1 The Emergence of Sports Television in China: 1958-1979 41

4.2 CCTV and Olympic Games: 1980-1994 44

4.3 Establishing Professional Sports Broadcasting: 1995-2007 49

4.4 Sports Broadcasting Connects with the World: 2008-2019 53

4.5 Streaming Media Platform Participates in Live Broadcast: 2020- Nowadays 59

4.6 Conclusion 63

Chapter Five: Predictors of Audience Multi-screening and Second Screening Viewing **69**

5.1 The Definition of Multi-screening and Second Screening 69

5.2 Audience Factors and Media Factors 77

5.3 Research Design 88

5.4 Results 97

5.5 Discussion 106

5.6 Conclusion 118

Chapter Six: The Usage Pattern of Chinese Viewers Multi-screening and Second Screening Viewing during Beijing 2022 ..... **122**

6.1 Channel Complementarity Theory and Its Origins 122
6.2 Research Design 138
6.3 Findings 145
6.4 Discussion and Conclusion 169
Chapter Seven: The Public Narrative of the Opening Ceremony of the Beijing 2022 Winter Olympic Games 184
7.1 Opening Ceremony of the Beijing 2022 184
7.2 Nationalism and Neoliberalism at Sporting Mega Events 188
7.3 Research Design 201
7.4 Finding 211
7.5 Discussion and Conclusion 239
Chapter Eight: Conclusion 252
Reference 270
Appendices 331
1. Survey 331
2. Interview Guide 335
3. Ethics Approval Letter 337

List of Tables

Table 1: CCTV Summer Olympics Report Statistics.....66

Table 2: CCTV Winter Olympics Report Statistics 67

Table 3: Olympic rights-holding broadcasters in China.....68

Table 4: Summary of Definitions Related to Multitasking and Multi-screening.....71

Table 5: Summary of Definitions Related to Second Screening.....76

Table 6: Summary of Audience Factors and Media Factors 88

Table 7: Descriptive Statistics 92

Table 8: Correlation Among Independent and Dependent Variables.....103

Table 9: Hierarchical Multiple Regression Predicting Multi-Screening Viewing.....104

Table 10: Hierarchical Multiple Regression Predicting Second Screening Viewing 105

Table 11: Anonymized Interviewee List 144

Table 12: Sampled News Stories 206

List of Figures

Figure 1: Number of Cable TV and Digital TV Subscribers in China 21

Figure 2: CMG New Media Platforms Matrix 27

Figure 3: Chinese Video Platforms 29

Figure 4: Signal Source of Watching Beijing 2022 99

Figure 5:Viewing Devices of Beijing 2022 99

Figure 6: Viewing Platforms of Beijing 2022 100

Figure 7: CCTV Commentators' Live Coverage of the Beijing 2022 152

Figure 8: Interface of Wang Meng on Migu Sports 155

Figure 9: Kuaishou Beijing 2022 Live Broadcast Interface 157

Figure 10: Main torch of Beijing 2022 220

Figure 11: Meme of Wu Jing 225

Figure 12:The Canadian delegation at the Beijing 2022 Olympic Games 232

Figure 13: Nathan Ikon Crumpton representing American Samoa delegation at the Beijing 2022 234

Chapter One: Introduction

The XXIV Olympic Winter Games (Beijing 2022) were held in both Beijing and Zhangjiakou, China, from February 4 to 20, 2022. Securing the bid for the Beijing 2022 marked a significant milestone for Beijing, making it the only city to have hosted both the Summer and Winter Olympic Games. Consequently, Beijing 2022 stands as a landmark event in China's new era. During the bid for the XXIV Olympic Winter Games, Chinese President Xi Jinping emphasized that hosting the Games would enhance cultural exchanges and deepen mutual understanding between China and other global civilizations. Additionally, he highlighted the potential to inspire over 1.3 billion Chinese citizens to pursue winter sports with renewed enthusiasm and fervour. This was expected to further advance the Olympic movement and promote the Olympic spirit in China (Xinhua News, 2021).

Data released by the International Olympic Committee (IOC) highlighted the results of Beijing 2022. A total of 2,897 athletes competed, and 17 Olympic records were broken. Moreover, Beijing 2022 etched its name in history as the most gender-balanced event to date, with women comprising a remarkable 45% of the participating athletes, serving as a testament to the relentless pursuit of gender parity in the Olympic movement (IOC, 2022d). In addition to significant athletic accomplishments, an audience and insights report by the IOC indicated substantial global viewer satisfaction (IOC, 2022a). Specifically, 74% of viewers enjoyed watching Beijing 2022, and 58% regarded it as a successful Winter Olympics event. The current President of the IOC, Thomas Bach, also praised China and its people for the success of Beijing 2022 and awarded them the Olympic Cup (IOC, 2022f).

The Olympic Games are widely perceived as one of the most significant media events in the world. While the Winter Olympics are generally less influential than the Summer Olympics, they still attract considerable global media attention (Ramon et al., 2020). Up until the PyeongChang 2018 Winter Olympics, held in South Korea, the Winter Games reached over 1.5 billion viewers worldwide (IOC, 2018), surpassed only by the Summer Olympic Games and the FIFA World Cup. Beijing 2022 attained a new level of media attention, reaching a global audience of more than two billion people (IOC, 2022a). Such extensive viewership underscored its significance as a monumental global media event that captivated individuals worldwide.

The advent of television emerged as an indispensable factor in amplifying the mediated reach and impact of the Olympic Games, revolutionizing the landscape of global sports broadcasting. Beijing 2022 witnessed 62,305 hours of linear TV coverage output by broadcasting rights holders, underscoring the enduring popularity and influence of traditional television as the preferred viewing format for Olympic events (IOC, 2022a). While traditional television persists as the predominant viewing format for the Olympics on a global scale (Tang & Cooper, 2018b), it is imperative to acknowledge the substantial shifts in media consumption patterns. These changes are driven by the rising prominence and technological evolution of social media and digital platforms. The Rio 2016 Olympic Games, often referred to as the "most social Games ever," highlighted the significant role of social media platforms in altering the way audiences interact with and consume sports media content (Lui, 2016). Following this, the Tokyo 2020 Olympic Games were dubbed the "first streaming Games" and were recognized as the "most viewed Olympics on digital platforms" (IOC, 2021b). Moreover, while the

Winter Olympics may be considered to have a comparatively lesser influence relative to the Summer Olympic Games, the rapid advancement of digital technology and the pervasive presence of social media have propelled the Winter Games into a global sports event (Ramon et al., 2020). In the case of Beijing 2022, the digital coverage output reached 120,670 hours, marking a significant increase compared to the PyeongChang 2018 Winter Olympics. Notably, the number of digital viewers surged by a staggering 123.5%, showcasing the exponential growth and widespread popularity of digital platforms as a means of accessing Olympic content (IOC, 2022a). As a testament to this unprecedented digital viewership, Beijing 2022 has earned the distinction of being recognized as the "most streamed Winter Games ever" (NBC SPORTS, 2022c).

The evolution of digital media and mobile devices has enriched media consumption during mega sporting events, further diversifying yet complicating the media ecosystem of sports events. As pointed out by scholars, mobile device usage offers both strengths and weaknesses for the uses sought, as well as the attainment of gratifications through media consumption; this is chiefly due to mobile devices being a standard component of the modern media palate (Billings et al., 2019b). Further, audiences of sports mega events are increasingly using two or more media simultaneously or are alternating between different media on separate screens(Tang & Cooper, 2018b; Voorveld et al., 2014). Notably, social media has emerged as the predominant second screening viewing platform, especially in the media consumption of the Olympic Games. As a result of COVID-19, very few domestic spectators attended Beijing 2022, while most viewers utilised the live broadcasting of the Games. Therefore, it is valuable to understand how viewers consumed media during Beijing 2022, as well as how viewers can participate in Olympic broadcasting through various media platforms.

Although research into Olympic broadcasting and media consumption by the international audience has been a great focus in sports communication, some issues remain to be further explored. Firstly, the present study aims to address an existing knowledge gap by employing the concepts of multi-screening, second screening and Channel Complementarity Theory in sports communication. In the context of those concepts and theories, my study first explores what factors may affect viewers' engagement with multi-screening and second screening while watching Beijing 2022. Next, I examine how the multi-screening use of television and mobile devices complements each other, and how to build the media consumption pattern of Chinese audiences. Furthermore, although some studies have integrated social media into second screening research, there remains a dearth of comparative analysis across various social media platforms. Of particular interest is the exploration of how the public and sports fans discuss the Olympic Games against the backdrop of Chin's dual hosting of the event.

Most literature pertaining to Olympic broadcasting and media consumption has been focused on American or European audiences. In fact, few studies have used these theories to examine viewing patterns during the Olympic Games in developing countries in Asia. A global survey showed that Asia-Pacific viewers were the most frequent users of social media while watching television (Nielsen, 2015). As such, it is necessary to extend our understanding of multi-screening and second screening use in Chinese audiences.

Additionally, findings from this project are also useful to stakeholders involved in the

media, the Olympics, and the sports industry in general. This study assesses the programme production of the Olympics and its effects on viewers' behaviour from the perspective of the audience. My study can help broadcasters improve the quality of their Olympic programmes. Moreover, the study also provides empirical experience to the IOC, and Olympic Broadcasting Services (OBS) to better understand the factors and motivations that influence viewers' use of social media while watching the Olympic Games. As such, this enables the IOC and OBS to better understand how they can deliver Olympic content via television, online streaming platforms, and social media in order to educate audiences. By exploring the media consumption of Chinese audiences' experiences and practices of Beijing 2022, this study intends to disclose the findings' theoretical significance for the communication and promotion of the Olympic Movement in China. Regarding theoretical innovation, my research endeavours to extend the applicability of the Channel Complementary Theory to the realm of sports broadcasting. By doing so, it aims to push the boundaries of this theory and introduce further advancements in its conceptualization. Overall, this study provides a new perspective on communication during mega sporting events.

Chapter Two: Media in the Olympic Games: Development, Evolution and Significance

2.1 The Strongest Medium of the Olympic Games: Television

Ever since the inception of the modern Olympic Games in Athens in 1896, the evolution of technology and telecommunication has played a pivotal role in bringing the Olympic events to people across the globe (Fernández-Peña & Gila, 2017). Initially, the coverage of the Games relied on journalists and reporters transmitting information through electrical telegraphs, marking the first foray into the realm of global Olympic communication (Fernández-Peña, 2015). With the advent of satellite television and the introduction of colour television, the landscape of Olympic broadcasting underwent a transformative shift. For example, television technology was first applied to Olympic events at the 1936 Berlin Olympics. Using only three cameras, the television broadcast signals transmitted images from the stadium to 21 viewing halls in Berlin, Potsdam, and Leipzig. Although the filming equipment and production techniques were relatively primitive at the time, the integration of television technology allowed viewers to experience the excitement of the Olympics in dynamic images, ushering in a new era of Olympic event broadcasting. The 1948 London Olympics marked the beginning of television production technology with live broadcasts, reaching a broader audience, including families. By the 1960 Rome Olympics, television signals covered more countries worldwide. European television networks distributed broadcast signals to 18 European countries, while countries like the United States, Canada, and Japan shipped videotapes via air freight for delayed viewing of the games. The 1964 Tokyo Olympics introduced satellite transmission and slow-motion replays to the television broadcast

system. The 1968 Mexico City Olympics marked the first appearance of colour television. Full-colour television broadcast was achieved at the 1974 Munich Olympics. The 1984 Los Angeles Olympics saw the introduction of super slow-motion and enhanced graphics for Olympic television production. High-definition television (HDTV) production methods were introduced at the 1992 Barcelona Olympics (Fernández-Peña, 2017). The 2012 London Olympics saw the emergence of full digital television coverage and 3D production technology, setting new trends in Olympic broadcasting. During the Beijing 2022, ultra-high definition (UHD) high dynamic range (HDR) were widely used. As a result of these transformative advancements, television broadcasting emerged as the primary medium for reporting and showcasing the Olympic Games, ultimately contributing to the Olympic Games' status as a global event (Fernández-Peña, 2009).

The significance of television broadcasting during the Olympic Games was further highlighted in the context of the Beijing 2022. According to the OBS, the television broadcasting reach of Beijing 2022 surpassed previous records, reaching new heights in terms of global viewership and coverage. Such as, a total of 24 Rights-Holding Broadcasters, including the Olympic Channel, actively participated in broadcasting the Beijing 2022. Additionally, the OBS collaborated with over 300 broadcast sublicensees to ensure extensive distribution of Olympic content worldwide. The result was a staggering amount of approximately 6,000 hours of captivating Olympic programming produced by the OBS, exceeding the already impressive 5,600 hours of content generated for the PyeongChang 2018 Winter Olympics (IOC, 2022b). Timo Lumme, the managing director of IOC Television Marketing Services, reported that the Games attracted an astounding audience of nearly 600 million viewers within the first week of

its broadcast, solidifying its position as the most-watched Winter Games in history (IOC, 2022b). Such an unprecedented viewership demonstrates the enduring appeal and global reach of the Olympic Games, captivating audiences from diverse backgrounds and cultures. The Beijing 2022 serves as a testament to the ongoing evolution of Olympic broadcasting and the remarkable ability of technology to connect people from different corners of the globe, uniting them in the spirit of athletic excellence and international camaraderie.

Sports television are generally considered to be more developed in the United States than many other parts of the world. Therefore, it is first necessary to understand the sports broadcast market in the United States. Since 2014, the National Broadcasting Company (NBC) has held the rights to broadcast the Olympics in the United States and will continue to do so until 2032. Regarding Beijing 2022, NBC reported 160 million American viewers in total, with the total audience delivery of the opening ceremony reaching 16 million viewers (Dedaj, 2022). This almost matched Tokyo 2020 opening ceremony's reach of 17 million streamers. Consequently, Beijing 2022's milestone ranked as the best primetime Saturday since NBC's Tokyo 2020 coverage, except for National Football League games, and was the largest February primetime Saturday audience since Pyeongchang 2018 (NBC SPORTS, 2022c). Additionally, the USA Network pay-tv channel averaged 1.4 million primetime viewers and 937,000 full-day viewers during Beijing 2022, resulting in it becoming the top pay-tv channel in the sports and entertainment category. Furthermore, they were the best ratings outside of Tokyo 2020 since September 2018. Streaming figures also reached a new high for NBC's Olympic Games coverage as they increased by 8% from Tokyo 2020 (NBC SPORTS, 2022b).

The data provided by China Media Group[1] (CMG) regarding the viewership statistics of Beijing 2022 showcases unprecedented levels of engagement among Chinese audiences, setting new records in the history of Winter Olympics broadcasts in China. The figures encompass various metrics, including the total time spent watching television and the vast number of individuals reached. For example, the events broadcasted on the state-owned China Central Television (CCTV) attracted a staggering viewership of over 515 million people during the first week of the Games (CCTV, 2022). As the exclusive television broadcast rights holder for the Olympics in mainland China, CCTV recognized the vital role of media in promoting Beijing 2022. To underscore the importance of media's influence in enhancing the prestige and impact of the Olympic Games in China, Shen Haixiong, the President of CMG, engaged in discussions with Thomas Bach, the President of the IOC, during a meeting held in Beijing in early 2019. During this meeting, Haixiong conveyed CMG's commitment to President Xi Jinping's directives, aiming to diligently advance the preparations for broadcasting Beijing 2022 and the CCTV Olympic Channel (CGTN, 2019). Especially after years of meticulous planning, the CCTV Olympic Channel (CCTV-16) and its digital platform were officially launched in Beijing on October 25, 2021, marking a significant milestone. After the 2016 Rio Olympics, the IOC first launched a digital version of the Olympic Channel. Subsequently, the IOC collaborated with various media agencies worldwide to introduce multiple terrestrial versions of the Olympic Channel, which played a significant role in promoting the Olympic movement globally (Fernández-Peña &

[1] China Media Group (Chinese: 中央广播电视总台; lit. "Central Radio and Television General Station"), is the predominant state media company by means of radio and television broadcasting in the People's Republic of China. It was founded on 21 March 2018, as a fusion of all state-holding media enterprises including China Central Television (CCTV), China National Radio (CNR), and China Radio International (CRI).

Ramajo, 2021; Fernández-Peña et al., 2022). The CCTV Olympic Channel's significance lies not only in being the sole media outlet in mainland China authorized by the IOC to utilize the Olympic name and five-ring logo but also in its global recognition as the first professional sports channel to provide continuous sporting events in 4K ultra-high-definition and high-definition standards (Fan, 2021).

During the Beijing 2022, CMG, as a media giant in China encompassing television, radio, and new media, leveraged CCTV as its primary platform. Simultaneously, it mobilized various resources under CMG to commit significant efforts to covering Beijing 2022, as well as expanding the range of viewing options beyond what had been previously offered. Over 3,000 employees from CCTV participated in the coverage of the Games (CCTV, 2022). CCTV broke its sports broadcasting record following its broadcast of 600 hours of Olympic content on CCTV-1 (General Channel), CCTV-5 (Sports Channel), CCTV-5+ (Sports Plus Channel), and CCTV-16 (Olympic Channel). In addition, CMG's online streaming service and mobile application, CMGM, offered 1,410 hours of live and on-demand Olympic content. As the main broadcast channel for Beijing 2022, CCTV-5 with an average viewership of 6.05% between February 4 and February 20, thereby ranking first in the country. CCTV-16 Olympic Channel also achieved a record high since its launch when its viewing share reached 0.58% on Beijing 2022's opening day, ranking 26th in the country(CCTV, 2022).

2.2. Digital Initiatives at the Olympic Games

The landscape of Olympic Games viewership has undergone significant transformation in recent years, with the rise of digital media and social platforms exerting a growing

influence on communication and engagement (Fernández-Peña, 2011; Fernández-Peña & Ramajo, 2021; Fernández-Peña et al., 2014). While television has traditionally been the primary platform for accessing Olympic content, the advent of the internet marked a pivotal turning point in how Olympic news and updates were shared, beginning with the 1996 Atlanta Olympic Games. Since then, each successive edition of the Games has witnessed notable advancements in digital and social media integration, reshaping how audiences consume and engage with the Olympic Games. The Beijing 2008 Olympic Games, for example, were a significant milestone as the first digital Olympics, with the internet playing a crucial role in delivering real-time news, highlights, and behind-the-scenes content to viewers worldwide. London 2012 Olympic Games marked the first social media Olympics, where platforms like Facebook and Twitter became essential channels for sharing and discussing Olympic moments, enhancing the sense of community and engagement among fans and athletes alike. In a study analysing the engagement metrics of the IOC's Facebook fan page during the London 2012 Olympic Games, researchers identified specific content characteristics that generated the most participation (Fernández-Peña et al., 2017). They found that posts containing photographs, content related to the opening and closing ceremonies, references to renowned athletes, or light-hearted material were most likely to elicit higher levels of interaction, measured through "Likes", "Comments", or "Shares". This underscores the importance of content type in driving social media engagement during major global events.

Rio 2016 Olympic Games marked a significant milestone in propelling the Olympic Games into the realm of digital and social media success. With over 3 billion streaming minutes consumed and a staggering 75 billion social media impressions (IOC, 2016),

Rio 2016 solidified its position as the "most social Games" (Lui, 2016). Similarly, Tokyo 2020 Olympic Games set new records and further pushed the boundaries of digital and social media engagement. With 3.05 billion unique viewers across linear TV and digital platforms, Tokyo 2020 achieved the status of "the first streaming Games" and the most-watched Olympic Games on digital platforms in history (IOC, 2021b). The widespread adoption of streaming services and the ubiquity of digital devices have enabled viewers to access Olympic content anytime, anywhere, contributing to the Games' unparalleled reach and impact. These advancements underscore the evolving nature of media consumption and the changing preferences of audiences. The ability to stream live events, access on-demand content, and actively participate in online discussions has democratized the Olympic experience, empowering viewers to personalize their engagement and immerse themselves in the Games on their own terms. Moreover, the integration of social media platforms has fostered a sense of community, enabling fans to connect, share their enthusiasm, and support their favourite athletes in unprecedented ways. As the Olympic Games continue to develop, the digital and social media landscape will undoubtedly play an increasingly pivotal role in reshaping the landscape of Olympic communication.

The role of digital media in the context of the Beijing 2022 proved to be more substantial and influential than in any previous edition. A notable rise in user engagement on the Olympics' social media accounts and digital platforms emphasized the increasing significance of digital channels in connecting with global audiences (IOC, 2022h). Compared to the Pyeongchang 2018 Games, there was a significant twofold increase in user interactions during Beijing 2022, with a 3.2 billion engagements recorded across various social media platforms. At the same time, the Olympics' official

website and app saw the active participation of 68 million unique users, highlighting the growing popularity and accessibility of digital platforms for engaging with the Games. The official Olympics Channel on YouTube and Facebook is “Olympics.com”, which released daily highlights from the Beijing 2022 to fans across 72 territories(IOC, 2022b). These outcomes were summarized by the managing director of IOC Television Marketing Services, Timo Lumme, as follows:

> We aim to bring people together all over the world. In the absence of international fans in Beijing, it’s more important than ever to provide opportunities for people to do this digitally, no matter where they are or what platforms they use. Through these wide-ranging digital offerings, Olympic fans can connect, join the conversation, and experience the action and emotion of the Olympic Winter Games (IOC, 2022c).

In the United States, various digital platforms of the National Broadcasting Company (NBC) – including Peacock, NBCOlympics.com, and the NBC Sports app – achieved a record high during the Beijing 2022 Olympics, surpassing any previous Olympics with an average of 516,000 viewers during primetime, marking an 8% increase from Tokyo 2020 (NBC SPORTS, 2022a). According to statistics released by NBC, streaming accounted for approximately 4.5% of the total primetime audience during the Beijing 2022, while the overall audience increased by 78% compared to PyeongChang 2018 (NBC SPORTS, 2022a). Collaborations with leading digital platforms were also at a record high for Beijing 2022, offering viewers greater convenience to experience this sporting mega event. For instance, a content hub on TikTok provided seamless access to the latest news and information about favourite teams, athletes, and sports,

allowing supporters to engage in the #OlympicSpirit hashtag challenge to share their involvement with Beijing 2022. Instagram users were given the opportunity to virtually try on ski goggles, ice skates, and a luge helmet through three bespoke Instagram filters available via the @Olympics handle. Additionally, fans could express themselves with a selection of 500 Olympics Winter GIFs via Tenor (IOC, 2022c).

On Chinese social media platforms, the Douyin account of the Olympic Games amassed 782 million video views, while Weibo accumulated 24 billion impressions from two dedicated Beijing 2022 hashtags. The IOC President, Bach, referenced this achievement in the following statement: “During Beijing 2022, we observed that the trend towards digital consumption of broadcast coverage is not only continuing – it is accelerating at a record-breaking pace” (IOC, 2022b), leading to Beijing 2022 being hailed as “the most digitally engaged Olympic Winter Games ever”.

Moreover, in accordance with the IOC’s long-term objectives, maximizing broadcasting rights through various media channels and utilizing cutting-edge media communication technologies are crucial considerations (IOC, 2022g). The growing importance of streaming platforms in Olympics communication has meant that new Olympics broadcasting rights have been necessary in China. The Tokyo 2020 Games were the first to see an amendment to existing broadcasting rights as previously only CCTV possessed the exclusive broadcasting rights for the Olympics in China. On December 8, 2020, Migu, a subsidiary of the Chinese telecommunications group China Mobile, entered into a cooperative agreement with CCTV, thereby securing sub-licensed rights to broadcast live and on-demand coverage of both the Tokyo 2020 and Beijing 2022. Subsequently, in June and July 2021, two prominent Chinese technology

giants, Tencent and Kuaishou, also acquired sub-licensed broadcasting rights from CCTV to stream Tokyo 2020 and Beijing 2022. This marked a significant shift, with streaming media platforms assuming the role of rights-holding broadcasters for the Olympic Games, augmenting their influence and challenging the historical dominance of television as the primary medium for Olympic viewing.

The advent of streaming media platforms as pivotal entities in the broadcasting ecosystem prompts a profound inquiry into the pattern of Olympic broadcasting within China. The incorporation of these platforms as sub-licensees has not merely broadened the accessibility and reach of Olympic broadcasts, but has concurrently challenged the entrenched paradigm of television broadcasting. Can CCTV maintain its historically robust viewership figures, or will there be an incremental shift towards streaming media platforms overshadowing its broadcast services? Such shifts necessitate an in-depth analysis of the evolving interplay between traditional television broadcasting and nascent streaming mediums. Understanding the implications of these transformations requires a holistic investigation into audience predilections, viewing patterns, and the prospective consequences for the subsequent dissemination of Olympic content.

Chapter Three: China's Media Landscape in the Digital Age

The traditional mass media landscape in China is primarily composed of television, newspapers, radio, and magazines. In 2022, the total revenue of the national broadcasting and television industry reached 1.2419 trillion CNY, marking an 8.10% year-on-year growth (National Radio and Television Administration, 2023). By the end of 2022, there were 2,527 broadcasting stations and television institutions, with approximately 57,000 organizations engaged in the production and operation of broadcast and television programs. Additionally, 2,974 online audio-visual institutions were officially licensed or registered. The total number of employees in the national broadcasting and television sector amounted to 1.0475 million (National Radio and Television Administration, 2023). While the revenue of China's television industry shows an increasing trend, the number of subscribers to China's cable television has been continuously declining in recent years (Figure 1). Similarly, according to CSM viewing data, in 2021, the average daily viewing time per viewer across the country was 118 minutes, a decrease of 14 minutes compared to the same period in 2020 (Media, 2022).

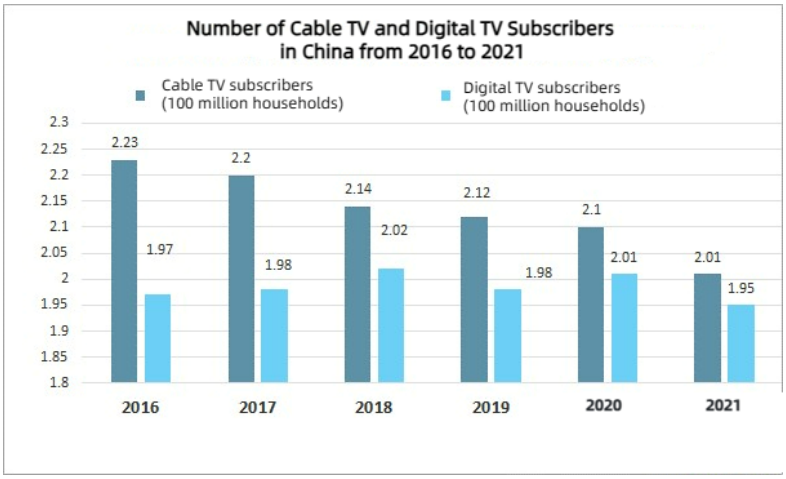


Figure 1: Number of Cable TV and Digital TV Subscribers in China

Source: The data are from National Bureau of Statistics and compiled by Zhiyan Consulting in 2022, https://www.chyxx.com/industry/1100962.html

The Communist Party of China (CPC) exercises stringent control over media in China. Major media entities, such as CCTV, the People's Daily, and the Xinhua News Agency, operate under the aegis of the Publicity Department of the CPC. Historically, Chinese media outlets, exemplified by entities like the People's Daily and CCTV, were not just channels for information dissemination. They played a pivotal role in nation-building, amplifying state-endorsed narratives throughout the nation. Recently, the influence of traditional media has waned, posing significant challenges for China's established media platforms. Traditional pillars of media like newspapers, radio, and television are navigating unprecedented challenges. While flagship national media have retained their influence, many local entities face pressing challenges to their continued existence, nearing the precipice of viability.

The digital era has catalysed a significant transformation in the global media landscape, with China standing as a prime example of this shift. Home to the world's largest media audience and internet user base, China's transition from traditional print and broadcast mediums to diverse digital platforms has been swift and substantial. This transition is not merely a product of technological progress but also reflects socio-political dynamics unique to China. According to statistics from the China Internet Network Information Centre (CNNIC), by the end of 2021, the number of internet users in China had exceeded 1 billion, accounting for approximately one-fifth of the global internet user population (CCTV, 2021e). The 1.01 billion online consumers have established the world's largest and most vibrant digital economy. The surge in digitalization, catalysed

by the omnipresence of smartphones and the proliferation of internet platforms, has radically redefined media consumption patterns. Since the dawn of the 21st century, the Internet has become a pivotal medium of mass communication. Social media platforms such as Weibo and WeChat have become indispensable in the daily routines of the Chinese public. These platforms, far from being mere information channels, have metamorphosed into hubs for commerce, social connectivity, and governance. Their multifaceted nature, encompassing everything from information seeking to e-commerce, is redrafting media's role in the digital epoch. Moreover, short video platforms like Douyin and Kuaishou epitomize China's digital prowess, leveraging artificial intelligence to deliver customized content experiences for its expansive user community.

In navigating this digital landscape, the complexity of the media environment is unprecedented. The emergence of new platforms, tools, and data sources presents both challenges and opportunities for media professionals and their respective audiences. The evolution of news media in China over the past decade is characterized by a profound convergence of traditional outlets with mobile platforms. President Xi Jinping proposed the plan for "media convergence in China" in 2013, describing the fusion of traditional mediums such as print, TV, and radio with digital channels, including social media, short video apps, podcasts, and news applications (Jia & Lu, 2023). This convergence aims to enhance the efficacy of content dissemination and integration. Following President Xi's emphasis on the "integrated development of traditional and new media," Chinese media organizations have pursued the amalgamation of various media formats. They have honed operational processes and transformed platforms, aiming to harness the strengths of diverse media resources and adapt to a shifting media

paradigm. This evolution is not mere happenstance; it reflects the skyrocketing popularity of social media and the exponential rise in mobile users.

In a deliberate strategy to deepen the fusion of traditional media and expedite its digital transition, the Chinese government has instituted specific administrative actions (Huang & Lu, 2017; Wang, 2022a). Notably, at the national level, media behemoths like CCTV, CNR, and CRI have been merged into the CMG conglomerate. Concurrently, at the county tier, entities spanning radio, television, and print have unified under integrated media hubs. Moreover, to bolster the digital presence of traditional outlets, these entities have embraced digital adaptations, giving rise to online editions, mobile applications, and interactive platforms. This transformative phase is exemplified by enhanced audience interactivity and the emergence of non-linear communication pathways. Numerous traditional outlets, for instance, have established their social media accounts on platforms like Weibo, WeChat, and Douyin, ensuring timely news dissemination through these channels. The agility and real-time nature inherent to digital platforms are reshaping media production methodologies and commercial models. In this confluence, traditional and emerging media entities exhibit mutual traits and exert reciprocal influences, embodying the essence of media convergence. Hence, grasping the dynamics of this new media landscape and its implications is crucial for industry stakeholders.

The current epoch underscores an integration of digital and traditional media. Amidst challenges, this environment offers numerous opportunities. China's media trajectory reveals a balance between state mandates and digital advancements, illustrating the adaptability of established media entities, and providing insights of relevance to both

domestic and international media industry.

3.1 Television: A Dominant Medium

Television holds the distinction of having the broadest reach among traditional media in China. At the forefront of this expansive sector is CCTV, now operating under the umbrella of the CMG. The following part traces the metamorphosis of CCTV from its inception to the present day.

The origin of CCTV can be traced back to 1954 when Chairman Mao Zedong emphasized the need for a national broadcaster in the People's Republic of China. This notion materialized on February 5, 1955, when the central broadcasting authority presented a proposal for a national television station to the State Council. This initiative was incorporated into China's first Five-year plans of China under Premier Zhou Enlai's guidance. Beijing Television Station (the predecessor of CCTV) commenced broadcasting on September 2, 1958. After two decades, on May 1, 1978, it rebranded to CCTV with an updated logo. Until the late 1970s, CCTV's broadcasts were predominantly evening-based, concluding by midnight. The 1980s marked a shift, with CCTV introducing news segments. Currently, CCTV offers a diverse range of programs through 21 free-to-air and 17 subscription channels.

After six decades in the Chinese television industry, a significant transition occurred in March 2018 when CCTV integrated into the CMG. CMG represents an amalgamation of principal state-media organizations, comprising CCTV, CNR, and CRI. Under the direct supervision of the Publicity Department of the Central Committee of the CPC,

CMG, also referred to as the “Voice of China,” aims to shape societal viewpoints, elevate public discourse, strengthen multimedia integration, expand global reach, and construct compelling narratives pertaining to China. CMG administers 51 television channels, with 31 being public and 20 subscription-based; among these, 9 cater to international audiences. Additionally, CMG operates 23 domestic radio channels, offers foreign communications in 68 languages, and manages 25 new media platforms and websites.

On the international communication front, the China Global Television Network (CGTN) operates as CMG’s global arm. Originating as CCTV’s English Channel, CCTV-9. Throughout the mid to late 2000s, the network diversified with channels catering to multiple languages. A significant overhaul occurred in December 2016 when the non-Mandarin channels under CCTV International adopted the CGTN identity. CGTN’s rich bouquet of channels, disseminating news and insightful content across five languages, bridges global audiences with the nuances of China's vast cultural, historical, and contemporary tapestry (Economist, 2018).

CCTV has always attached great importance to the development of the digital platform. In December 1996, CCTV launched its online presence with CCTV.com, making it one of the pioneering websites in the nation to disseminate information in Chinese. By October 2000, CCTV.com was recognized as the central government’s key news website, solidifying its status as a primary figure in online news media. On May 25, 2001, in further recognition of the digital age, CCTV initiated the Internet Publicity Department and integrated the website into its program publicity division. The development of CCTV.COM intensified thereafter, swiftly becoming a leading online

media entity. By April 28, 2006, the Network Communication Centre was established alongside CCTV International Network Co., Ltd, leading to a significant revamp of the CCTV website. December 2009 saw the introduction of China Network Television (CNTV), a subsidiary of CCTV, representing a national online radio and television broadcasting organization. Although CCTV.com and CNTV functioned as distinct online broadcasting entities under CCTV, their eventual merger in June 2010 unified them under the domain https://www.cctv.com/. By 2013, the platform had transitioned its focus from web to mobile with the release of the CCTV news app. Currently, CCTV.com boasts four mobile applications: CBox, CCTV Yuedong, CCTV News, and CCTV Sports. Despite these achievements, the journey of CCTV's digital transformation has not been without challenges.

In terms of mobile applications, although CMG has built a strong new media matrix (Figure 2), CMG has identified China Media Group Mobile (CMGM) and CCTV News as the two flagship mobile applications for key development. As of June 2023, the CMGM has been downloaded over 491 million times, with a total of 185 million activated users. The total number of downloads for the CCTV News app has exceeded 191 million, and the number of users on its social platforms has surpassed 738 million (CCTV, 2023). Among them, the newly-created CMGM is particularly noteworthy. Following the establishment of CMG, the CMGM short video platform was inaugurated in November 2019. Positioned as China's premier national 5G new media platform, CMGM pioneers the concept of "quality video social media" within mainstream outlets. Both its user base and active user count rank first among the central media's new media platforms. The launch of CMGM was primarily aimed at addressing the uneven development across existing new media accounts of CCTV, CNR, and CRI. These

accounts often grapple with limited audiences, reduced influence, and fragmented management. In terms of its role, CMGM emerges as a paradigm of high-quality video social media. It transcends conventional content distribution approaches by integrating the primary station's video strengths with the social engagement techniques favoured by users (CNR News, 2019). As such, it claims the distinction of being the first "video social media" platform within the mainstream media landscape. Distinctly setting it apart from apps like CCTV Video and CCTV News, which predominantly draw on CCTV content, CMGM's standout attribute is its open invitation to content creators across society. CMGM not only offers them a platform but also augments their visibility with promotional support, data incentives, and exposure on national media channels. Furthermore, content curated by these creators might also gain the privilege of being showcased on the main station's big screen.



Figure 2: CMG New Media Platforms Matrix
Source: The data are from my own.

3.2 Digital Media Landscape in China

With a population exceeding 1.3 billion, China has swiftly embraced the digital age. Though its foray into the internet began later than that of developed countries, the digital realm quickly became an essential source of information for its populace. According to the 50th "Statistical Report on Internet Development in China" released by the CNNIC, as of June 2022, China boasts 1.051 billion internet users, marking an increase of 19.19 million since December 2021, and reaching an adoption rate of 74.4%. On average, these internet users spend 29.5 hours online weekly, with a staggering 99.6% accessing the internet via mobile devices (Xinhua News, 2022b). These figures not only highlight China's pronounced shift towards mobile technology but also reflect the deep engagement of its population with digital content.

On a global scale, the discourse surrounding social media frequently orbits around platforms such as Facebook and Twitter. However, the Chinese situation diverges considerably. In spite of the rigorous regulatory framework and restricted accessibility to several international applications, China's domestic social media platforms have burgeoned. Many of these platforms, fortified by their multifaceted capabilities, have cultivated their user base and, in the process, nurtured unique digital ecosystems, setting benchmarks in user engagement.

Within China's digital milieu, a triumvirate consisting of Tencent, Byte Dance, and Alibaba holds considerable sway, jointly accounting for over 70% of mobile interactions (Sina Technology, 2019). Weibo and WeChat reign supreme in the social

media realm of Chinese society. WeChat, characterized by its privacy features, fosters relationship-oriented interactions. Weibo thrives on its open, fast-paced, and highly visible platform, encouraging rapid dissemination of information and engagement. On the other hand, China's video platforms present a complex landscape (Figure 3). The ascendancy of short video and streaming platforms such as Douyin, Bilibili, Migu Video, and Kuaishou has garnered substantial user engagement. These platforms are steadily evolving as the primary media consumption outlets for the younger demographic. In subsequent sections, a deeper exploration into the predominant digital media platforms relevant to this research will be presented, providing a more comprehensive view of China's digital media landscape.

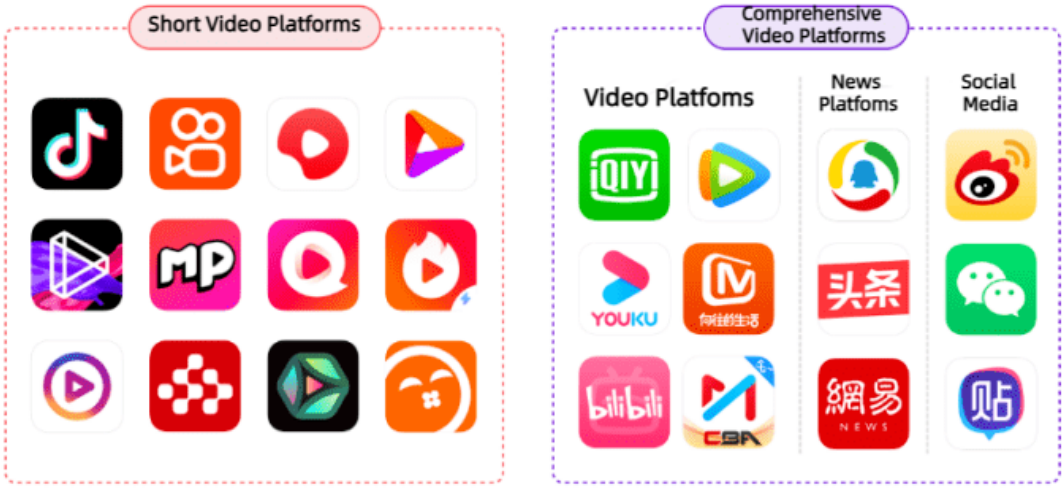


Figure 3: Chinese Video Platforms
Source: The data are from my own.

3.2.1 WeChat: a facilitator of online dialogue

WeChat, known as Weixin in its original Chinese context, stands as a groundbreaking achievement in mobile communication, developed by the China technological giant

Tencent. This versatile application offers a wide range of features, from basic text and voice messaging to more advanced functionalities like video calling, QR code scanning, and location-based services such as “Shake”. Moreover, its extensive integration of mobile commerce features underscores its multifaceted nature.

Since its inception in 2011, WeChat has experienced remarkable growth. By June 2023, the platform boasted an impressive 1.319 billion monthly active users (Yahoo Finance, 2023), nearing complete saturation of the Chinese population. This vast user base highlights WeChat’s dominance within China and signals its expanding global presence. Its worldwide recognition is further affirmed by its ranking as the fifth largest application in terms of MAUs, surpassing Western counterparts like Instagram and Facebook (Dreamgrow, 2023).

From the perspective of social needs, WeChat is particularly renowned for its “Moments” feature. Initially launched in 2012 as a rudimentary platform for photo and article sharing, “Moments” has since evolved into a holistic content-sharing ecosystem, with its usage peaking at 750 million daily users in 2021. Drawing parallels with global platforms, “Moments” bears semblance to Facebook, enabling users to share diverse content ranging from text and photos to hyperlinks. Furthermore, since 2015, WeChat has extended its commercial outreach by introducing “Moments Ads”, which strategically redirects users to specific landing pages, amplifying business visibility.

In the realm of news dissemination, WeChat’s unique architecture fosters rapid information propagation within intimate social circles. One of its salient features, the WeChat Official Account, acts as a subscription-based service allowing entities to

broadcast diverse content formats to their audience. Since its rollout, the WeChat Official Account has witnessed exponential growth, emerging as a primary content conduit for users. Fan (2020) delineates that an overwhelming 77% of online users predominantly source their news from WeChat. Distinctively, WeChat eschews algorithm-driven content dissemination, opting for relationship-centric recommendations, thereby enhancing its credibility and user trust. Another lauded feature is the "WeChat mini-programs". These are essentially lightweight applications nested within the WeChat framework. Not restricted to Tencent's development, corporations can also design these programs tailored to myriad user requirements—be it mobile shopping, gaming, or even health services.

One could posit that WeChat's prominent position in the Chinese digital landscape is due to its comprehensive functionalities. WeChat serves as an illustration of the integration of communication, social media, commerce, and public services within a single digital medium. Its significant growth and incorporation into daily routines highlight its relevance both as a technological tool and as an element of socio-cultural interest in digital communication studies.

3.2.2 Weibo: a public opinion platform in China

Weibo, initiated by Sina Corporation on 14 August 2009, stands as a paramount microblogging platform in China. As of Q1 2023, it commands an impressive presence with over 593 million monthly active users, of which 255 million engage daily (Zhao, 2023). Structured around the ethos of cultivating user interactions, Sina Weibo facilitates the dynamic sharing, dissemination, and reception of information. Through its website and mobile application, users can seamlessly upload multimedia content,

while also engaging in real-time conversations enriched with text, images, and videos. Recognizing the importance of influencer engagement, the platform initially garnered momentum by inviting a large number of celebrities. Subsequently, it expanded its outreach by integrating media figures, governmental entities, businesses, and non-profit organizations, thereby fostering a diverse and vibrant communication ecosystem.

Several features of Weibo closely align with those of Twitter. For example, users are constrained to a specific character limit for posts, and interaction methodologies, including the "@UserName" convention, hashtags, and user-following protocols, seem analogous. Nonetheless, designating Weibo merely as a Chinese adaptation of Twitter oversimplifies its scope. The platform incorporates characteristics akin to various global platforms, encompassing Twitter, Facebook, and Medium. Interactions on Sina Weibo may be more pronounced than those on Twitter. Additionally, the emergence of prominent topics on Weibo often has internal roots, diverging from Twitter where trends commonly arise from external events.

A distinct facet of Weibo is its "trending topics", a curated list shaped by user engagement metrics and the discretionary inputs of Weibo's editorial team. These trending narratives often catalyse robust discussions, thereby redefining the relationship between Chinese citizens and their news consumption patterns. Another innovative feature is the introduction of "super-hashtags". Unlike conventional hashtags, these are centralized thematic hubs, within which users can initiate and engage in discussions. A unique attribute of this feature is the user's capability to apply for hosting responsibilities, granting them oversight on content moderation within that super-hashtag. Subscribing to a particular super-hashtag inducts the user into its community,

and their engagement levels, gauged through activities such as posting, commenting, and daily sign-ins, determine their hierarchical status within the community.

In summation, Weibo, with its nuanced blend of features and a vast user base, stands as a testament to China's innovative prowess in the digital social media domain. Its ability to adapt, innovate, and cater to a diverse audience ensures its sustained relevance in the ever-evolving digital landscape.

3.2.3 Douyin: the most popular short-video platforms in China

Short video platforms have revolutionized the way information is disseminated, offering content in condensed, easily consumable formats that are both engaging and entertaining. Enhanced by algorithms designed for virality, the rise of these platforms is undeniably swift. According to the "Statistical Report on Internet Development in China" released by CNNIC (2022), the growth of short video users in China has been the most significant, reaching 962 million. This is an increase of 28.05 million compared to December 2021, accounting for 91.5% of the total internet users (CCTV, 2021e). Among these platforms, Douyin and Kuaishou emerged, originally, as entertainment video platforms.

As of July 2022, Douyin, China's foremost short-video application boasting 680 million MAUs (Quest Mobile, 2022), solidifies its position as a leading social media platform in China. Serving as a hub for user-generated videos, Douyin allows content durations ranging from 3 seconds to 10 minutes. The platform enables users to create short videos accompanied by music, offering options for speed adjustments, editing, and applying

filters. Users also have the freedom to overlay their chosen soundtracks onto the default background music, with Douyin offering an extensive musical library spanning various genres to facilitate video creation. Once a background track is selected, users can further customize their videos by applying filters and adjusting the speed, resulting in a polished 15-second video ready for sharing on Douyin.

It should be noted that Douyin and TikTok, both renowned for short-form video content, exhibit notable distinctions despite their shared ownership by ByteDance. In terms of market presence, Douyin is the Chinese version and primarily operates within China. However, TikTok serves as the international version, available in numerous countries worldwide. As for the target audience, Douyin predominantly targets Chinese-speaking users, focusing on the Chinese market specifically. In contrast, TikTok has a global audience and is accessible in multiple languages, catering to users from diverse countries and cultures. Regarding features and content, while both platforms are rooted in the core concept of short-form video sharing, variations may exist in the available features and content. These distinctions could arise from diverse user preferences, cultural nuances, or regulatory requirements across different regions. Concerning branding, Douyin and TikTok employ distinct branding and marketing strategies tailored to their respective markets. Although the core functionality remains consistent, the branding and messaging may be adjusted to resonate with the target audience in each region. In summary, Douyin stands as a testament to the burgeoning potential of short-video platforms within China, offering a rich tapestry of features and integrations that resonate with its vast and diverse user base.

3.2.4 Kuaishou: the grassroots' social media in China

Established in 2011, Kuaishou holds the distinction of being China's pioneer in the short video platform arena. As of the third quarter of 2022, it has firmly positioned itself as the operator of China's second-largest short-video application, with a staggering daily active user base exceeding 360 million and an average daily usage of 129.3 minutes per user (Wu, 2022). These metrics undeniably mark Kuaishou as a formidable force in China's social media ecosystem.

When contrasting Kuaishou with Douyin, a distinctive demographic inclination of Kuaishou becomes evident. According to a Chinese third-party statistic, users from first-tier cities account for only about 6%. The majority, around 22%, come from third-tier cities (Qianfan, 2022). The majority of Kuaishou's user base is concentrated in China's non-first cities, resulting in its portrayal as a platform for the "average social person".

Kuaishou's core attributes can be summarized as follows: Firstly, grassroots focus. Unlike Douyin, which often features celebrities and key opinion leaders, Kuaishou caters predominantly to users from second- and third-tier cities and rural areas. The platform provides a space for these "grassroots" communities to showcase themselves authentically. Secondly, authenticity. Kuaishou encourages organic content by eschewing a celebrity-driven model. Rather than favouring users with vast follower counts, the platform promotes an egalitarian approach, wherein each creator can achieve comparable exposure. This democratic data distribution fosters creativity, although it does pose challenges in ensuring content quality. Thirdly, economic pragmatism. With a user base primarily in the lower income bracket, Kuaishou's

audience prioritizes affordability and cost-effectiveness when engaging with goods and services promoted on the platform. Fourth, entertainment-oriented. Content on Kuaishou is heavily skewed towards entertainment, with users expressing a preference for humorous, satirical, musical, and dance-related content. Such content allows users to unwind and showcases their individuality and creativity. Kuaishou's distinct user demographics and platform ethos have birthed a unique "grassroots culture" and the "old iron culture." The platform offers a more genuine, down-to-earth, and straightforward experience compared to Douyin. Nevertheless, Kuaishou's strategic focus on users from second- and third-tier cities, coupled with its liberal content policies, did result in an influx of crude content during its early days. Although corrective measures have been taken to address this, the inherent user base and content orientation pose challenges to Kuaishou's ambitions for broader user engagement and content evolution.

3.2.5 Migu Video: China's emerging sports broadcasting platform

Migu Video was launched in 2014 as a video content application introduced by China Mobile, one of China's largest mobile telecommunications operators. It provides a a vast number of film and television content viewing services to users through various devices, including mobile phones, tablets, or televisions. Leveraging China Mobile's extensive network infrastructure, Migu Video can reach hundreds of millions of users.

China's video streaming ecosystem is characterized by intense and multifaceted competition. Main platforms for medium to long-form videos are led by Youku, iQiyi, Tencent, and Mango TV. Aggregated video platforms include Bilibili, Haokan Video, and Xigua Video. Short video platforms feature Douyin, Kuaishou, and WeChat Video

Channel. Social media platforms, such as Xiaohongshu and Zhihu, are also rushing to capture the video market. In the “2021 China Online Audiovisual Report”, Migu Video was categorized as a third-tier video platform (Yang, 2022). As of June 2021, Migu Video had 242 million monthly active users across all scenarios. In comparison, iQiyi and Tencent Video had approximately 600 million and 580 million monthly active users respectively, highlighting the significant gap between Migu Video and the top-tier platforms. Faced with this scenario, China Mobile began broadcasting sports events to enhance its brand impact.

In 2020, Migu Video acquired broadcasting rights for mega sports events such as the 2020 Tokyo Olympics, the 2020 UEFA European Championship, the Beijing 2022, and the 2022 Qatar World Cup. Furthermore, they secured rights to Europe’s top five football leagues and various other sports events, including the NBA, CBA, Chinese Super League, UEFA Champions League, Super Volleyball League, UFC, among others. Collectively, Migu Video possesses the rights to over 30 sports events, amounting to more than 8,000 matches annually. This translates to an average of over 20 matches daily and a cumulative annual live broadcast duration surpassing 16,000 hours (Hu, 2022). Such acquisitions positioned Migu Video as a premier sport viewing platform, drawing significant user interest.

However, a distinct pattern has emerged where users, initially attracted by specific events, and lose interest once the event concludes quickly. For instance, Migu Video witnessed a surge in daily active users to 12 million on the opening day of the 2018 FIFA World Cup—an increase of over 10 million users, representing a monthly active growth rate exceeding 90%. However, following the World Cup, the daily activity

penetration rate dropped significantly from 1.7% to 0.6% (iiMedia, 2018). A similar trend was observed during the Tokyo 2020 Olympic Games, where Migu Video's monthly active users peaked at 36 million in July 2021—a sequential growth of 14.55%. Nevertheless, this number declined by 32.28% to 25 million following the conclusion of the Olympics. Similarly, during the Beijing 2022, data indicated that Migu Video's daily active users reached 7.27 million on the inaugural day—an increase of 114% compared to before the start of the event (Quest Mobile, 2022). However, this heightened engagement quickly waned post-event (Tan, 2022).

Platforms like Tencent and iQiyi have already established significant leads, leaving Migu Video behind. However, China Mobile's substantial investment in copyrights underscores the powerful synergy between its technological prowess and high-profile events. Positioned as an emerging contender, Migu Video derives its core strength from the novel 5G paradigm. By emphasizing an enhanced viewer experience, the integration of "5G+4K" technology offers clearer and smoother live streaming quality, while "5G+Cloud Interaction" technologies enable instantaneous multi-screening interactivity. These technological attributes set Migu Video apart, as they are not readily available on competing platforms.

Chapter Four: Sports and Olympics Broadcasting in China

Recognizing outstanding coverage of the Beijing 2022, the IOC awarded the Olympic Golden Rings to rights-holding broadcasters worldwide on December 30, 2022. CMG, China's leading state media organization, commended for its exemplary performance in two categories: Most Sustainable Operation and Best Olympic Programme. Additionally, CMG received silver accolades in both the Best Innovation and Set Design, and Best On-Air Promotion categories (IOC, 2022i). This recognition marks not the first time the IOC has lauded CMG for its significant contributions to the Olympic Movement. Following the conclusion of Beijing 2022 on February 19, 2022, IOC President Bach personally acknowledged CMG's broadcasting achievements. He presented the Krivosheiw Trophy to Shen Haixiong, President of CMG (IOC, 2022e). The IOC President's Trophy is a prestigious IOC award for international contributors to the Olympic Movement. The sculpture was designed by renowned artist Alexander Krivosheiw. It symbolizes the story of a gold medallist, from conception to their consecration as a champion, representing growth, achievement and victory. These accolades underscore CMG's pivotal role in covering the Beijing 2022 and its efforts in fostering the Olympic spirit and promoting the Olympic Movement.

Broadcasting sports entails more than merely airing major sporting events; it serves to broaden audiences, develop innovative production techniques, and introduce diverse program formats (Socolow, 2022). While CMG has emerged as a significant global player in sports broadcasting, its Olympic coverage experience spans only 40 years, which is relatively shorter compared to Western media giants like the British

Broadcasting Corporation (BBC), which commenced Olympic broadcasts in 1948, and the Japan Broadcasting Corporation (NHK), which started in 1964 (Chisari, 2002; Meichtry & Sánchez, 2021). CCTV, China's national broadcaster, embarked on Olympic Games coverage during the Lake Placid Winter Olympics in 1980, initially deploying just four on-site reporters (Xia & Wei, 2022). By the Beijing 2022, CMG had experienced significant growth, involving over 3,000 employees in its comprehensive coverage and reporting efforts (Gao & Wei, 2022). Throughout the decades, CMG has made substantial strides in improving its broadcasting standards, demonstrating a steadfast commitment to enhancing the quality and breadth of its sports coverage.

On May 6, 2023, in Beijing, OBS and CMG signed a memorandum of understanding, establishing a framework for long-term cooperation. CMG has received an official invitation to act as a main broadcaster for the Paris Olympic Games and will be responsible for producing international public signals for four major sports: gymnastics, table tennis, badminton, and sport climbing. To fulfil this role, CMG will form a production and broadcasting team of over 2,000 members, utilizing advanced "5G+4K/8K+AI" technology to provide high-quality coverage to viewers around the world (CGTN, 2023). During the signing ceremony, IOC President Thomas Bach acknowledged CMG as one of the IOC's key media partners globally, emphasizing its substantial contribution to the growth of the Olympic movement. This accomplishment highlights CMG's rise to becoming a leading sports broadcasting organization worldwide.

This section aims to delineate the evolution of sports broadcasting in China, centring on the Olympic Games as a pivotal case study, and to provide an in-depth analysis of

the Chinese sports broadcasting landscape. Initially, I examine the historical trajectory of sports television broadcasting in China, with a particular emphasis on the transformation of CCTV's Olympic Games coverage over time. The growth of Chinese sports broadcasting is then segmented into five primary phases: the emergence of sports television in China (1958-1979), CCTV and Olympic Games (1980-1994), establishing professional sports broadcasting (1995-2007), sports broadcasting connects with the world (2008-2019), streaming media platform participates in live broadcast (2020-Nowadays), each signifying distinct stages of advancement in the field. Moreover, this analysis delves into the political economy of Olympic broadcasting evolution in China, investigating the impact of advanced technologies and emerging media trends on the evolution of Chinese sports television. It also explores the influence of media authorities, under the purview of administrative power, on the dynamics of sports broadcasting.

4.1 The Emergence of Sports Television in China: 1958-1979

Before delving into the history of Olympic Games broadcasting in China, it's essential to grasp the evolution of sports television within the nation. The television industry in People's Repulic of China emerged in the 1960s, with the establishment of the Beijing Television Station (BTS), now known as CCTV, launched on May 1, 1958. Sports swiftly became a cornerstone of BTS's broadcasting content from the outset. Just a month after its inception, on June 19, BTS utilized a two-channel outside broadcast truck, previously employed by Japanese TV teams during an EXPO in Beijing, to live broadcast a basketball game between the Bayi and Beijing men's and women's teams. This event marked the inception of sports broadcasting on Chinese television (Tang, 2003). Following this triumphant live broadcast, BTS aired another event on July 20 of

the same year: a football match between the Hungarian and Beijing teams, marking BTS's inaugural international sports broadcast (Wei, 2011, p.144). It wasn't until 1961 that China hosted its first international sports event: the 26th World Table Tennis Championships in Beijing, in April 1961. BTS televised 14 matches over the 12-day tournament, amounting to 35 hours of coverage. This marked the first time an international event was televised in China, signifying a significant milestone in the development of sports television in the country (Sun, 2013). Subsequent to this initial success, BTS consistently broadcasted numerous sports events, including the Second National Games in 1965, the 1st Asian Table Tennis Union Championships in 1972, the Asian-African-Latin American Table Tennis Invitational Tournament in 1973, the 3rd National Games of China in 1975, and the Beijing International Football Friendly Invitational Tournament in 1977. The successful coverage of these events laid a robust foundation and garnered invaluable experience for BTS's future sports broadcasts.

From the 1970s onward, China's sports television broadcasts garnered increasing attention from the central leadership, to the extent of direct instructions being given to commentators. For instance, during an August 1970 friendly table tennis match between China and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, commentators were instructed to focus less on table tennis techniques and more on political topics. Former Premier Zhou Enlai advised the commentators to be cautious not to overly emphasize China and neglect other nations. Additionally, in April 1971, during a friendly table tennis match involving China, Colombia, and Canada, Zhou Enlai remarked that the commentary was too lengthy; it should be more concise, use fewer adjectives, and focus more on the gameplay (Wei, 2011, p.178). Furthermore, the 1977 International Football Friendly Invitational Tournament in Beijing was notable for the attendance of Deng Xiaoping,

who was then the Vice Chairman of the central government and Vice Premier of the State Council. His presence in the audience added a significant political dimension to the event, generating interest in both the sports and political spheres (Wei, 2011, p.180).

The introduction of China's reform and opening-up policy in 1978 marked the start of an era of international engagement, which in turn boosted the growth of China's television industry. That same year, China began establishing its first colour TV production line. Although it wasn't fully operational until October 22, 1980, this development significantly spurred the expansion of the TV industry and increased television ownership nationwide. On May 1, 1978, a key transition occurred in the Chinese television broadcasting landscape as BTS officially became known as CCTV. This change led to broader coverage in sports broadcasting. The launch of CCTV promoted with the broadcasting of major sports events. A notable moment for CCTV was the 11th FIFA World Cup in Argentina in June 1978. CCTV broadcasted the semi-finals and finals live nationwide, marking its first transmission of a major sports event via international communication satellites (Yu, 2022). However, it's important to note that the broadcast was managed and produced by the International Telecommunication Satellite Organization, with CCTV simply receiving the signals. Nonetheless, this was a significant step in CCTV's journey of broadcasting major sports events. Additionally, from December 4th to 22nd, 1978, the Eighth Asian Games were held in Bangkok. CCTV commentators provided live commentary from the event for the first time. CCTV rented a commentary seat at a major international sports event, marking a milestone in its sports broadcasting endeavours (Chen & Li, 2008). In summary, 1978 was a crucial year for China's sports television. It saw the launch of colour TV production, making television more accessible to the public. The establishment of

CCTV marked a significant advancement in sports broadcasting.

Although sports television production in China experienced rapid development during this period, it still lagged significantly behind international standards. The main broadcaster for the 1964 Tokyo Olympics was Japan's NHK. This edition of the Olympics was groundbreaking in the history of broadcasting and amazed the world by introducing several firsts: the first use of satellite transmission technology, the first use of colour television broadcasting, the first application of slow-motion technology, and the first time commentators wore headset microphones. In 1968, for the Mexico City Olympics, American broadcaster ABC, Mexico's Grupo Televisa, Japan's NHK, Canada's Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, and the European Broadcasting Union formed a consortium to produce a full-colour live broadcast.

4.2 CCTV and Olympic Games: 1980-1994

The origins of Chinese sports broadcasting date back to 1958, but it wasn't until the 1980 Winter Olympics in Lake Placid that China began covering the Olympic Games. This gap in coverage was largely due to a 21-year break in relations between the People's Republic of China and the IOC, which began in 1958. The relationship was restored on October 25, 1979, with the IOC's approval of the "Nagoya Resolution," reaffirming the People's Republic of China's legal status in the International Olympic Movement. As a result, in February 1980, the Chinese Winter Olympic delegation made a historic re-entry into the international Olympic community after a 28-year absence, participating in the 13th Winter Olympic Games in Lake Placid, USA. In 1980, with the establishment of the Sports Coverage Department within CCTV, the network

formed a dedicated sports reporting team. To cover the participation of Chinese winter sports athletes at the Olympics, CCTV sent a team of four journalists and cameramen to Lake Placid. This was the first time CCTV journalists reported on the Olympic Games. Despite challenges due to the small size of the team and limited equipment, this event marked the debut of Chinese sports TV professionals at the Olympics, representing a significant milestone in China's sports TV coverage of the Games. Li Kai, one of the four reporters, vividly remembered their arrival in Lake Placid,

> Unlike CCTV's modest setup, which included just three cameras on-site, ABC, serving as the main broadcaster, deployed a large team of 1,300 personnel. Additionally, they built a 20,000-square-meter state-of-the-art computer room and studio, established four satellite ground stations, and laid several hundred kilometres of transmission cables (Xia & Wei, 2022).

The 1984 Los Angeles Olympic Games were the first Summer Olympics in which China participated after regaining its IOC membership. CCTV spent $100,000 to acquire the TV rights (Ma, 2012, p.2). The network's reporting team was split into two groups: news coverage and game broadcasting. The first group, led by the station director, consisted of five journalists based in Los Angeles. Due to financial and equipment constraints, this team did not bring interview equipment nor rent a workspace. They primarily relied on official signals from the organizing committee, focusing on news and highlights concerning the Chinese delegation's arrival, training, and competition. During the Games, an American news agency provided CCTV with a camera and a cameraman for interviews. CCTV journalist Cen Chuanli, who was part of the Olympic coverage, reminisced that,

> We collaborated with a US news agency, which provided the cameras and cameraman. I was responsible for conducting the interviews. In this context, the news report titled “Xu Haifeng Wins the First Olympic Gold Medal, realizing China’s First Olympic Gold Medal Breakthrough” was created after China won its first gold medal. This report received the National Good News Selection first prize in 1984 (Chen, 2008).

The second group included editors and sports commentators. Due to limited reporting capabilities and the lack of a dedicated broadcasting infrastructure at the time, they operated from Hong Kong in collaboration with Hong Kong Television Broadcasts Limited (Lu, 2011). During the 1984 Los Angeles Olympic Games, CCTV successfully broadcasted live 10 matches, aired 30 Olympic-themed programs, and produced 53 news reports, amounting to a total of 70 hours of coverage (Lu,2011). While China’s coverage of the Olympic Games, in terms of broadcast quality, quantity, and impact, was still in its early stages compared to global standards at the time, CCTV’s coverage of the Los Angeles Olympics marked a new phase in China’s coverage of the Summer Olympics.

The Seoul 1988 Olympics marked a pivotal moment in the history of Olympic television coverage, with an unprecedented world feed production of 2,228 hours (Meichtry & Sánchez, 2021). This year also saw significant developments in CCTV’s approach to Olympic broadcasting. CCTV paid $250,000 for the broadcasting rights to the Seoul 1988 Olympic Games, representing 4% of the Asia and Oceania Broadcasting Union’s share (Ma, 2012, p.29). For these Games, CCTV expanded its reporting team to 18 members and, for the first time, equipped them with cameras for interviews in

Seoul. CCTV introduced on-site program production, transmitting content from Seoul to Beijing via satellite for broadcasting. The total coverage of the 1988 Olympics on CCTV reached 180 hours (Lu, 2011). However, due to the lack of diplomatic relations between China and South Korea in 1988, CCTV opted for delayed broadcasts instead of live ones.

The Seoul 1988 Olympic Games marked the beginning of China's provincial TV stations, other than CCTV, broadcasting the Olympic Games. First, I need to explain China's four-level TV station system. The concept of a "four-level television operation" system was established in China in 1983, allowing the central government, provinces, cities, and counties to set up their own TV stations. This strategy, introduced at the Eleventh National Radio and Television Work Conference in 1983, spurred local governments to establish TV stations using local funds, driving growth in the sector. This four-tiered model significantly contributed to the development of the television industry for a time, promoting infrastructure expansion in rural areas and aiding the growth of the media industry. For instance, the national TV penetration rate in China increased from 57.3% in 1982 to 87.6% in 1987 (Zhou & Huang, 2020). However, the effectiveness of this model began to diminish in the new millennium, facing challenges such as overproduction, competition between stations, and the rise of the internet. This situation also led to the duplication of programs across TV stations at different levels, resource wastage, and disorganized competition. Regarding the 1988 Seoul Olympics broadcast, Guangdong TV Station acquired the rights from CCTV to broadcast the Olympic Games, becoming the first provincial station to air the Olympic Games live. However, during the live transmission of the opening ceremony, a broadcasting accident occurred on Guangdong TV Station. This incident led to CCTV's reluctance

to collaborate with provincial stations in broadcasting sports events for a considerable time afterward.

Although consistent coverage of the Olympic Games had provided CCTV with extensive broadcasting experience, it had not previously served as the main broadcaster for international sports events. The 1990 Beijing Asian Games presented a significant opportunity for the Chinese television industry to enhance its production experience. The 11th Asian Games, hosted in Beijing in 1990, marked China's first time hosting an international sports event. Traditionally, the host country is responsible for producing and providing live signals and video recordings. Under CCTV's unified coordination, several provincial TV stations and the Beijing Broadcasting Institute also participated in broadcasting the Asian Games (Chen, 2009). This event was a crucial opportunity for Chinese television outlets to improve their sports event production experience.

The Barcelona 1992 Olympic Games marked a significant shift in Olympic television broadcasting, as they introduced a multi-tier television structure for the first time (Fernández-Peña, 2015; Fernández-Peña & Gila, 2017). The Radio Television Olimpica (RTO' 92), established specifically for the 1992 Barcelona Games, was the first host broadcaster within the Olympic Organizing Committee not linked to any Rights-Holding Broadcaster (RHB) (Moragas, 1992; (Fernández-Peña, 2017). Concurrently, China's Olympic broadcasting strategies began to align more closely with international standards. CCTV paid $300,000 for the broadcasting rights to the Barcelona 1992 Olympic Games (Ma, 2012, p.55). For these Games, CCTV sent a 25-member reporting team (Sun, 2013). They set up a studio and a broadcast centre at CCTV's headquarters, where all signals were processed and transmitted after secondary packaging at the

central broadcast centre. Additionally, CCTV introduced a morning special program for the Barcelona 1992 games, broadcasting live every morning from 6:30 to 7:00, with a rebroadcast at noon (Wei, 2011, p.255). CCTV covered every event involving Chinese athletes throughout the Games. With 250 hours of programming, CCTV set a new record for itself with 90 continuous hours of broadcasting. Among all participating countries and regions, CCTV's coverage duration ranked fourth, further closing the gap between itself and the leading global TV media (Lu, 2011).

During this time, due to the relatively low popularity of winter sports in China, CCTV's coverage and involvement in the Winter Olympics were somewhat limited. For example, for the 1992 Albertville Winter Olympics in France, CCTV sent only a six-person reporting team. The same number of reporters was also deployed for the 1994 Lillehammer Olympics in Sweden (Chen, 2010b).

4.3 Establishing Professional Sports Broadcasting: 1995-2007

The live broadcast of the Barcelona 1992 Olympic Games significantly increased the influence of the Olympic Games and sports in China, leading to a growing demand among Chinese viewers for sports programming. In response to this increasing interest, CCTV launched its dedicated sports channel, CCTV5, in 1995. This launch marked the debut of CCTV's first specialized channel and China's first sports channel predominantly featuring self-produced content. On a global scale, CCTV5 followed in the footsteps of American ESPN and PRIME, a Hong Kong Satellite TV Sports Channel, becoming the world's fourth professional sports channel. This development marked the beginning of a transformative era in Chinese sports television.

The 1996 Olympic Games in Atlanta marked the first major sports event covered by CCTV5 since its inception. In preparation for this coverage, CCTV proposed the slogan "Let the nation's audience journey to Atlanta with you" (Du, 2009). To facilitate this, CCTV dispatched a reporting team of 59 members to Atlanta and established an independent reporting centre within the Atlanta International Broadcast Centre. This centre, covering nearly 300 square meters, housed studios, broadcast facilities, and office spaces. Throughout the Olympics, CCTV aired programming on both its Sports Channel (CCTV-5) and its General Channel (CCTV-1), producing approximately 602 hours of Olympic content, including 502 hours of live broadcasts and 96 hours of recorded coverage (Chen, 2008). Moreover, the 1996 Atlanta Olympic Games witnessed the participation of Chinese provincial television stations, which covered the event on-site for the first time. Provincial stations from Beijing, Guangdong, Liaoning, and Shanghai organized an Olympic reporting delegation, marking their inaugural involvement in such a capacity. These regional TV stations collaboratively produced two daily television programs titled "Olympic News" and "Torch 96: Dispatches from Atlanta." The broadcasts were transmitted back to China via international communication satellites, enabling simultaneous coverage across 18 provincial television stations.

In 1998, CCTV signed a contract with the IOC through the Asia-Pacific Broadcasting Union to obtain the exclusive television broadcasting rights for the 2000, 2004, and 2008 Summer Olympics within mainland China. As China's primary national television broadcaster, CCTV holds exclusive broadcasting rights for major sports events in the country, backed by political influence. The 2000 directive "Strengthening the

Management of Television Coverage and Broadcasting of Sports Events" from the State Administration of Radio, Film, and Television centralized all broadcasting rights for mega sports events under CCTV. This directive solidified CCTV's dominant position in broadcasting sports events in China. In response, CCTV significantly ramped up its investment in broadcasting the Olympics in Sydney and Athens. For the 2000 Sydney Olympic Games, CCTV deployed a reporting team of 126 journalists, providing extensive coverage totalling 700 hours. This coverage included broadcasting 160 live events, 30 recorded events, and dedicating a total of 4,080 minutes to news and specialized content (Lu, 2011). Reflecting on these experiences, Ma Guoli, the former director of CCTV5, wrote in his autobiography,

> China's sports broadcasting has matured significantly since the Sydney 2000 Olympics. This development is attributed to CCTV's comprehensive use of modern sports TV reporting techniques during the Sydney 2000 games. These techniques primarily included live broadcast studios, on-site commentary positions, and live coverage from mixed interview areas, among others (Ma, 2012).

On July 13, 2001, at the 112th IOC Session held in Moscow, Beijing was chosen to host the 2008 Summer Olympics, winning over competing bids from Toronto, Paris, Istanbul, and Osaka. In preparation for the Beijing 2008 Olympics, CCTV began expanding its resources as early as the Athens 2004 Olympic Games. This expansion included increasing its reporting team to 160 members (CNTV, 2004). During Athens 2004 Olympic Games, from August 13 to 29, 2004, CCTV provided extensive coverage, totalling 1200 hours of Olympic content, which was broadcast across five of its

channels (CCTV, 2012a). Additionally, in a notable first, CCTV collaborated with the OBS' official signal production team during the Athens 2004 Games. CCTV was given the responsibility of producing the public broadcasting signal for three sports events: table tennis, badminton, and the modern pentathlon. This marked a significant step in the internationalization and standardization of CCTV's Olympic broadcasting capabilities (Chen, 2008).

During this period, China's rising develops in winter sports prompted CCTV to significantly expand its coverage of the Winter Olympics. The 2002 Winter Olympics in Salt Lake City, following China's successful bid for the 2008 Olympic Games in 2001, offered a crucial opportunity for CCTV to enhance its Olympic reporting skills. CCTV5 deployed a 20-member team to the 2002 Salt Lake City Olympics, resulting in a total of 100 hours of broadcast time (Wei, 2011, p.292). This event was marked by Yang Yang's historic win, becoming the first Chinese athlete to claim a Winter Olympic gold medal. The 2006 Turin Winter Olympics, being the last Olympic Games before Beijing 2008, heightened anticipation for the upcoming Beijing Olympics. CCTV organized a 25-member reporters' group and established its first on-site studio at a Winter Olympics. This facility enabled live interviews in addition to regular news broadcasts. CCTV's Sports Channel averaged 17 hours of daily coverage during the Turin Olympics, amounting to nearly 300 hours in total. CCTV was ranked third place among broadcasters worldwide the coverage provided for the Salt Lake City Olympics (Chen, 2010b), setting a new standard in Winter Olympics broadcasting.

It is worth mentioning that during this period, there were significant advancements in sports reporting by Chinese online media. Prior to the 2006 Winter Olympics in Turin,

Sina.com, with the active assistance and mediation of senior officials from the International Olympic Committee, successfully obtained the first official press credential for the Chinese internet in Olympic history.

4.4 Sports Broadcasting Connects with the World: 2008-2019

The Beijing 2008 Olympic Games marked a pivotal moment in China's history as it assumed the role of host nation. This significant event not only spurred the growth of China's sports industry but also paved the way for advancements in its sports television and broadcasting sector. In preparation for the Olympics, CCTV allocated seven of its channels exclusively for Olympic broadcasts, spanning from January 1 to September 30, 2008. Additionally, it rebranded its sports channel as the "Olympic Channel." CCTV's commitment to the 2008 Beijing Olympics was unparalleled, with over 80 anchors and commentators dedicated solely to Olympic content. This extensive effort involved a team of more than 3,000 personnel, directly or indirectly involved in Olympic reporting (Zhao, 2008a). The coverage achieved an impressive cumulative broadcast duration of approximately 2,796 hours (Zhao, 2008a).

The Beijing 2008 Olympic Games marked a significant turning point in the involvement of China's internet platforms in Olympic broadcasting and reporting. The 2008 Beijing Olympics marked the first time in Olympic history that new media was formally integrated into the Olympic communication system. CCTV.com served as the exclusive official new media broadcasting organization for the 2008 Beijing Olympics. On December 18, 2007, a landmark agreement was reached, with CCTV.COM signing a contract with the IOC. This agreement designated them as the sole official broadcaster

for the Beijing 2008 Olympic Games on Internet and mobile platforms within mainland China and Macao. Importantly, this marked the first time a Chinese new media platform was involved in Olympic broadcasting.

To safeguard CCTV.com's exclusive rights to the new media coverage of the Olympics, a collaborative directive was issued in June 2008. This directive was a joint effort by the National Copyright Administration, the Ministry of Industry and Information Technology, and the State Administration of Radio, Film, and Television. Its purpose was to prevent unauthorized breaches of the Beijing 2008 Olympic Games broadcasting rights while also nurturing China's growing new media landscape. The directive explicitly stated that any internet or mobile platforms wishing to use the video and audio signals of the Olympic Games and related events must first obtain authorization from CCTV. By doing so, this directive not only reinforced CCTV.com's advantageous position but also prevented other commercial websites from directly obtaining copyrights from the IOC.

Throughout the Beijing 2008 Olympic Games, CCTV.com emerged as the leading digital broadcasting platform. With an impressive offering of 3,800 hours of Olympic content available both live and on-demand, it garnered an average daily viewership of 301 million (CCTV, 2009b). Meanwhile, CCTV.com joined forces with 9 other websites to form a collaborative communication network known as the Internet Alliance. They also partnered with 174 websites for joint promotion, creating the largest communication platform in Olympic history. During the Olympics, these 9 websites reached 90% of the national internet users, with a daily page view of 6.329 billion and a daily unique user count of 138 million, maximizing the dissemination of Olympic

content (CCTV, 2009b).

The Beijing 2008 Olympic Games represented a crucial milestone in the evolution of Olympic television production. To cultivate a more coordinated and systematic approach to host broadcasting, the IOC instituted a policy whereby host broadcaster operations would fall under its supervision. Consequently, in May 2001, the IOC established OBS and commenced its operations in May 2004, eliminating the need to perpetually re-staff and restructure the host broadcast operation for each Olympic Games (Whannel, 2012). In accordance with agreements reached between the Beijing 2008 Olympic Games Organizing Committee (BOCOG) and the IOC during the bidding process, BOCOG and OBS jointly established the Beijing Olympic Broadcasting Co., Ltd. (BOB), serving as the principal broadcasting organization for the 29th Olympic Games. The formation of BOB presented an invaluable opportunity for the development of China's sports television sector and bequeathed a rich legacy of talent and technology to the Chinese broadcasting industry. Ma Guoli, a former chief operating officer of BOB, commented on the impact of the Beijing Olympic Games on China's TV broadcasting, stating:

> Chinese television crews, particularly those from CCTV, exhibited unparalleled zeal and camaraderie during the television broadcast of the Beijing Olympic Games. Their broadcasting techniques have witnessed consistent advancements, positioning them, in my estimation, alongside the global elite in the field (Ma, 2008).

After the Beijing 2008 Olympic Games, CCTV's Olympic broadcasts ushered in faster

development. On March 25, 2009, in Denver, USA, a significant agreement was reached between CCTV and the IOC regarding the broadcast rights for the 2010 and 2012 Olympic Games. This marked the first time CCTV negotiated directly with the IOC, separate from the Asia-Pacific Broadcasting Union, to secure the television broadcast rights (IOC, 2009). Under the terms of the agreement, CCTV obtained television broadcasting rights, as well as new media rights, for the 2010 Vancouver Winter Olympics and the 2012 London Olympics within mainland China.

The 2010 Vancouver Winter Olympics held a special significance as it marked the first time CCTV mounted a large-scale coverage operation for a Winter Olympic event. Throughout the Vancouver 2010 Olympics, CCTV implemented a comprehensive multi-channel and integrated online television coverage strategy. They deployed an on-the-ground reporting team comprising approximately 200 members to Vancouver. Content from the Vancouver Winter Olympics was broadcasted on CCTV-1, CCTV-5, and CCTV-7. Notably, CCTV-5 dedicated itself to uninterrupted 24-hour broadcasting (Chen, 2010a). In conjunction with these efforts, CNTV, the sole media entity in mainland China with video streaming and mobile platform broadcasting rights for the Vancouver 2010 Winter Olympic Games, collaborated closely with CCTV. Their joint endeavour showcased the seamless integration between the traditional television broadcasting realm and the emerging new media platforms.

During the London 2012 Olympics, CCTV allocated broadcasting resources to eight channels to facilitate comprehensive coverage (Cheng, 2012). Spanning from July 3 to August 15, CCTV initiated its coverage by establishing studios and deploying 143 technical staff on-site, occupying over 1,000 square meters at the International

Broadcasting Centre. This extensive effort resulted in the airing of a total of 1,052 Olympic games and the dissemination of 9,547 news reports, culminating in over 1,900 hours of broadcast time. In the realm of new media, CNTV achieved a milestone by live-streaming all Olympic events for the first time, reaching an audience of approximately 485 million users across various platforms. The aggregate number of video views across multiple terminals, including mobile TV, mobile applications, and IPTV, amounted to 610 million (CCTV, 2012c). Additionally, CCTV spearheaded the 3D broadcasting of Olympic Games, with the experimental 3D channel live-streaming the opening and closing ceremonies, as well as 53 events covering swimming, diving, gymnastics, and athletics, resulting in an average daily broadcast and replay time of 19 hours. With the advent of the London 2012 Olympic Games, the integration of new media and the latest media technology in Olympics broadcasts has become increasingly apparent (CCTV, 2012c).

On December 1, 2014, a significant agreement titled the “Agreement on Full Media Rights for the Olympic Games 2018-2024” was solidified between CCTV and the IOC. According to this accord, CCTV obtained exclusive full media rights to broadcast the Olympic Games from 2018 to 2024, covering the 2018 Winter Olympics, 2020 Summer Olympics, 2022 Winter Olympics, and 2024 Summer Olympics. Furthermore, this agreement extended to include the Youth Olympic Games held during this period within mainland China and Macau (Sport Business, 2014).

In a concurrent development during the same year, China’s State Council promulgated the “Opinions on Accelerating the Development of the Sports Industry and Promoting Sports Consumption.” This directive heralded a relaxation of the erstwhile stringent

regulations on sports event broadcasting rights, effectively punctuating CCTV's longstanding monopoly in the domain. Despite this liberalization, CCTV continued to hold exclusive broadcasting rights for mega events such as the Olympic Games, Asian Games, and the FIFA World Cup (Ya & Liu, 2022). This calibrated liberalization ushered in a new era for streaming media and commercial media platforms, catalysing their active involvement in the sports broadcasting arena.

The Rio 2016 Olympic Games marked a significant metamorphosis in CCTV's Olympic broadcasting paradigm. To guarantee a panoramic coverage of the Rio Olympics, CCTV organized a formidable ensemble of 396 journalists, complemented by 263 personnel dedicated to public signal production (Yi & Hong, 2016). Collectively, CCTV disseminated 369 hours of both live and recorded content.

As mobile platforms surged in popularity, CCTV implemented an integrated approach. The Rio Olympics were relayed not only on the CNTV web platform but also via the autonomously introduced CCTV sports mobile application (CCTV, 2016). Content sourced from CCTV correspondents received concurrent broadcast on both television and mobile platforms, forging a harmonious nexus between the traditional "big screen" and the contemporary "small screen." This strategic alignment augmented viewer accessibility, allowing audiences to immerse in the Olympic spectacle via CCTV, unhindered by spatial constraints.

During this period, CCTV significantly increased its investment in Winter Olympics coverage. For instance, during the 2014 Sochi Winter Olympics, even though China was represented by just 66 athletes, CCTV sent a robust 208-member reporting team

(Sun & Chu, 2014). These broadcasts were spread across three dedicated channels, capturing the attention of an impressive 662 million viewers.

In anticipation of the Beijing 2022, CCTV further amplified its coverage efforts for the preceding PyeongChang 2018 Winter Olympics by fielding a 257-member reporting crew. Comprehensive live coverage was made available across multiple platforms, including the CCTV Sports Channel, Sports Events Channel, and a variety of new media outlets like the CCTV website, and CCTV sports mobile application. A memorable highlight of the PyeongChang Winter Olympics was the "8 Minutes of Beijing" segment during the closing ceremony. The CCTV broadcast of the PyeongChang Winter Olympics attracted a total of 68.86 million viewers across the country. The CCTV also elevated its proficiency in broadcasting winter sports through the coverage of the PyeongChang Winter Olympics, preparing itself adequately for the Beijing 2022. (Li & Ge, 2018).

4.5 Streaming Media Platform Participates in Live Broadcast: 2020- Nowadays

The Tokyo 2020 Olympic Games, preceding the Beijing 2022 Olympics, marked a critical juncture for CCTV. The global COVID-19 pandemic necessitated the postponement of the Tokyo 2020 Olympic Games by a year, posing significant challenges to the Olympic television broadcasting. In this situation, the Tokyo Olympics offered valuable insights for managing the broadcasting of the Beijing Winter Olympics under pandemic conditions. For the Tokyo 2020 Olympics, CCTV deployed a robust team of 796 personnel, subdivided into 360 members dedicated to Olympic coverage, 316 members focused on public signal production and technical support, and a staff of 120 attending to Paralympics-related tasks (CCTV, 2021b). The total duration

of CCTV's live broadcasts surpassed 3,500 hours (CCTV, 2021c). Notably, on the evening of July 23, the cumulative viewership of the CCTV opening ceremony's live and on-demand broadcasts peaked at 376 million (CCTV, 2021d).

The Beijing 2022 stands as a landmark in China's history, marking Beijing as the only city globally to host both the Summer and Winter Olympic Games. CCTV's coverage of the Olympics has evolved significantly over a remarkable 42-year period, stretching from the 1980 Lake Placid Winter Olympics—when CCTV initially covered the event with just three cameras—all the way to the grandeur of the Beijing 2022 Olympics. CCTV transitioned from a peripheral role to becoming a full-fledged broadcaster, resulting in its inclusion in the international Olympics broadcasting as an integral part of the global production consortium. The inception of CMG further strengthened this broadcasting prowess, facilitating the amalgamation of resources. To capture the essence of this monumental event, CCTV deployed an extensive array of talents and technological resources.

Throughout the Beijing 2022, CMG deployed nearly 3,000 employees for broadcasting and reporting. Fourteen television channels and seventeen broadcast streams, coupled with new media platforms like CCTV Video, CCTV News, and CCTV Sports, provided comprehensive coverage of the Beijing 2022 (Wang, 2022b). According to rating data released by CMG, the opening ceremony achieved a remarkable audience rating of 20.1%, reaching a live TV audience of 316 million people (Zhang, 2022). Moreover, CMG was commissioned by the OBS to produce the public signal for winter sports, including curling, snowboard halfpipe, freestyle skiing halfpipe, freestyle aerials, slopestyle, and parallel giant slalom, marking the first time a Chinese media

organization participated in such production for the Winter Olympic Games. Furthermore, CMG employed state-of-the-art 8K technology, marking a historic debut of 4K production and broadcasting throughout the Games. The broadcast and production of the Beijing 2022 signify that CCTV has covered both the reports and signal production of the Summer and Winter Olympics, elevating the production level of CCTV sports TV to a new historical height.

From the Tokyo 2020 Olympic Games to the Beijing 2022, CCTV achieved a significant breakthrough by liberalizing broadcasting copyright restrictions. Several prominent digital media platforms acquired rights for live and on-demand broadcasts, ushering in a new era of sports broadcasting in China. On May 21, 2021, both Tencent and Kuaishou announced their purchase of sub-broadcasting rights for the Tokyo 2020 Olympic Games and the Beijing 2022 from CCTV. Furthermore, in December 2020, Migu, established a partnership with CMG. This unveiled the updated landscape of the domestic sports copyright market for the Olympic Games (Shi, 2021). It is worth noting that the broadcast rights obtained by these three digital media platforms differ. Tencent and Kuaishou secured rights for video-on-demand and short video, while Migu acquired live broadcast rights for the Tokyo 2020 Olympic Games. This made Migu the exclusive provider of real-time broadcasts for all Tokyo Olympic games, marking the first time that a Chinese media entity other than CCTV has acquired the live broadcast rights for the Olympic Games.

In January 2022, CCTV issued a statement regarding the copyright protection of the Beijing 2022, emphasizing CCTV’s exclusive broadcasting rights for mainland China and Macau. The statement also mentioned that Migu, Tencent, Kuaishou, the Beijing

TV Station Winter Olympics Documentary Channel, Shanghai Five-Star Sports Channel, and Guangdong Sports Channel have been granted authorization by CCTV to broadcast the Beijing 2022. It is notable that three provincial-level TV stations have also secured broadcasting rights for the Beijing 2022. While Chinese provincial TV stations have been broadcasting the Olympic Games since 1988, the complex relationship between CCTV and provincial TV stations, combined with the significant costs of acquiring broadcasting rights from CCTV, has limited this capability. As a result, only economically advanced regions in China such as Beijing, Shanghai, and Guangdong have the financial capability to acquire Olympic broadcasting rights from CCTV.

Throughout Beijing 2022, streaming media platforms also achieved impressive viewership numbers. Migu produced more than 530 self-generated programs, resulting in over 1,000 hours of content, which garnered 34 billion views and 511 trending searches (Yi, 2023). Stimulated by Migu's high viewership ratings, China Mobile, Migu's parent company, experienced a significant surge in stock price, resulting in a market value increase of over 100 billion yuan (National Business Daily, 2022). Furthermore, throughout the Beijing 2022, Kuaishou's Olympic-related content and topical videos garnered a record number of views, with the Beijing 2022 on-demand room surpassing 7.9 billion views. Leveraging its Winter Olympics broadcasting rights, Kuaishou initiated its commercial layout, partnering with over 20 brands including Anta, Procter & Gamble, and Toyota China (Ikanchai, 2022). Kuaishou offered a comprehensive marketing strategy, including event copyright content, multiple spin-off columns, and creative lightweight interaction, catering to the diverse marketing needs of various industries with a highly adaptable and high-return Winter sports marketing

approach.

4.6 Conclusion

This section provides a comprehensive examination of the evolution of sports and Olympic broadcasting in China, especially focusing on the development of CCTV. Since the inception of China's television industry in 1958, sports event broadcasting has been closely intertwined with the sector's development. Progressing to CCTV's first coverage of Olympic events in 1980, and to the extensive coverage of the Beijing 2022, CCTV's portrayal of sports events in China has made significant strides over a span of 65 years.

Firstly, CCTV has progressively increased its capacity in sports event coverage (refer to Table 1 and Table 2). I provide a detailed analysis of CCTV's investment in Olympic coverage from 1980, marking China's return to the IOC, up to the Beijing 2022. The scale of reporting has expanded from a mere four-person team at the 1980 Lake Placid Winter Olympics to a nearly 3,000-strong team for the Beijing 2022. It is noteworthy that China has made significant progress in sports broadcasting, from relying on American colleagues to provide equipment during the 1984 Los Angeles Olympics, to joining the international Olympic broadcasting team in 2004 Athens Olympic Games, and then to CMG undertaking the international public signal production of four major sports in gymnastics, table tennis, badminton, and rock climbing at the Paris 2024 Olympics. China has become the national broadcaster with the most international public signal production projects at the Paris Olympics, demonstrating remarkable advancements in sports broadcasting.

Second, as CCTV's reporting scale and expertise grew, it transitioned from sharing Olympic signals to becoming a rights-holding broadcaster and ultimately a primary broadcasting organization. CCTV's journey included a partnership with the Asia Broadcast Union to broadcast the Olympic Games during the 1984 Los Angeles Olympics and signing a broadcast agreement directly with the IOC since the 2010 Vancouver Winter Olympics. By 2024, CMG was selected as one of the main broadcasters for the Paris Olympics, demonstrating its growing global influence.

Thirdly, it is worth noting that CCTV's coverage of the Summer Olympics significantly exceeded that of the Winter Olympics. This difference can largely be attributed to the lesser popularity of the Winter Olympics within China. A pivotal shift towards paying more attention to Winter Olympic Games coverage began when Yang Yang won the gold medal in the women's 500-meter short track speed skating competition at the 2002 Salt Lake City Games, making her China's first Winter Olympics champion. This momentum intensified further after CCTV became an autonomous broadcaster for the 2010 Vancouver Winter Olympics, leading to comprehensive coverage and in-depth reporting of winter sports events.

Last but not least, I have also explored deeply into the progression of Olympic broadcast right-holders in China, examining the Chinese administration's influence and involvement in the development of sports television (refer to Table 3). While the television industry is expected to be predominantly market-driven, China has consistently employed administrative measures to reinforce CCTV's exclusivity in broadcasting sports events. As the nation's singular state-level television entity, CCTV

has historically held a tight grip on the broadcasting rights for premier sports events. During the late 20th and early 21st centuries, economically advanced regions, such as Shanghai and Guangdong, began challenging this monopoly by securing broadcasting rights for international sports events. However, in 2000, administrative directives forcefully fortified CCTV's preeminent position, limiting provincial TV stations and emerging media platforms in their capacity to broadcast and report on international sports. In 2014, prompted by a proposal from China's State Council to liberalize sports broadcast rights, CCTV embarked on collaborative coverage efforts with emerging media platforms. This marked a significant shift in China's broadcasting landscape, allowing for greater diversity and competition in the industry. However, it's worth noting that this liberalization was initially limited in scope, focusing primarily on select international competitions with relatively limited impact. Despite these changes, CCTV continues to maintain a firm grip on the rights to broadcast major sporting events, such as the Olympic Games and FIFA World Cup. This underscores the enduring influence and dominance of state-owned media in China's broadcasting sector. However, a notable development occurred leading up to the Tokyo Olympics when Migu, a digital media platform, secured the Olympic Games live broadcast rights from CCTV for the first time. This move highlights a shift in the broadcasting landscape, as newer media platforms begin to play a more prominent role in the dissemination of sports content. However, it is important to recognize that Migu's parent company, China Mobile, remains a state-owned enterprise. This underscores the continued control exerted by the central government over live video broadcasts, especially those with ideological implications, firmly placing broadcast rights within the purview of state-owned media entities.

Table 1: CCTV Summer Olympics Report Statistics

Olympic Games	Number of people reporting on site	Reporting time (hours)
1984 Los Angeles	5	100
1988 Seoul	18	180
1992 Barcelona	28	250
1996 Atlanta	60	502
2000 Sydney	110	700
2004 Athens	160	1200
2008 Beijing	2700	3000
2012 London	450	1900
2016 Rio	396	1972
2020 Tokyo	360	3500

Source:

Chen, G. (2008). The History of Chinese TV Olympic Reporting. *News and Writing* (08):17-19.

Zhao, W. (2008a). *CCTV sets a record with 3,000 people covering the 2008 Beijing Olympics (央视3000人报道2008北京奥运创历史纪录)*. Sina. http://ent.sina.com.cn/v/m/2008-07-15/12092101213.shtml

Tang, Z. (2008). Extraordinary Olympics and Extraordinary Broadcasting—A Review of the "Olympic Television Reporting and Communication High-Level Forum". *Contemporary Television* (10), 16-17. https://sports.sina.com.cn/s/2005-08-26/0541646368s.shtml

Chen, G. (2009). The History and Current Situation of Chinese Sports TV Broadcasting. In Zhou. T, Hu. Z, & Long. Y (Eds.), Olympic Communication Studies (pp.90-99). *Communication University of China Press.*

Lu, X. (2011). *Research on the evolution of Chinese TV media reporting Olympics—take the coverage of Olympic on CCTV as an example (Publication No. BT61552851521)* [Master dissertation, Beijing Sports University]. CNKI.

CCTV. (2012a, March 2). *CCTV 2012 London Olympics Reporting Plan,* https://1118.cctv.com/special/2012aoyun/20120302/118040.shtml.

CCTV. (2012c, August 15). *The opening ceremony of the London Olympics will be held on July 27, triggering an imminent intense media battle,* https://news.cntv.cn/world/20120725/122639.shtml

China Sports Press New Media Center. (2012). Research report on Chinese media coverage of the 2012 London Olympics. *Journalism and Writing* (09), 6-17.

CCTV. (2016, August 24). *CCTV Successfully Completed the Broadcasting and Reporting Work of the Rio Olympics.* https://www.cctv.com/2016/08/24/ARTIUWUUx64GB8wbeLbXPleG160824.shtml

Sohu Sport. (2016). *[Rio Olympics] Revealing CCTV's Olympic live broadcast plan, commenting that the opening ceremony will still be the "Bin and Tong Group",* https://www.sohu.com/a/108181152_349653.

CCTV. (2021b, July 14). *CMG commends the Tokyo 2020 Olympic Games and reporting team,*

https://baijiahao.baidu.com/s?id=1708699137985556440&wfr=spider&for=pc.
CCTV. (2021c, July 28). *China Red" Passes Good News | Demystifying the "CMG Strength" Behind the Tokyo Olympics Report,* http://ghrp.cctv.com/2021/07/28/ARTIij240SEkHlS3FynNixEO210728.shtml.

Table 2: CCTV Winter Olympics Report Statistics

Winter Olympic Games	Number of people reporting on site
1980 Lake Placid	4
1984 Sarajevo	/
1988 Calgary	/
1992 Albertville	6
1994 Lillehammer	6
1998 Nagano	/
2002 Salt Lake City	20
2006 Turin	24
2010 Vancouver	200
2014 Sochi	208
2018 Pyeongchang	257
2022 Beijing	3000

Source:

Chen, G. (2010b). 30 years of TV coverage of Winter Olympic Games in China. *Global Sports Market* (01):36-37.
Wei, W. (2011). *History of International Sports Broadcasting.* China Radio and Television Press.
Sohu Sports. (2010, March 5). *Audiences at the Vancouver Winter Olympics are enthusiastic and CCTV ratings set a historical record,* https://sports.sohu.com/20100305/n270608528.shtml.
Sohu Sports. (2014, February 4). *China's official media focuses on Sochi Winter Olympics, CCTV coverage reaches new heights,* https://sports.sohu.com/20140207/n394538360.shtml.
Xue, J. (2018). Overall plan of CCTV PyeongChang Winter Olympics broadcast front technology system (中央电视台平昌冬奥会转播前方技术系统总体方案). *Modern Television Technology(现代电视技术)*, (05):44-48+52.

Table 3: Olympic rights-holding broadcasters in China

Olympic Games	Rights-holding broadcasters	Sub-rights-holding broadcasters (new media)
1984 Los Angeles to 2004 Athens	The broadcasting rights of CCTV are a part of the Asia-Pacific Broadcasting Union.	
2008 Beijing	CCTV	CCTV.com
2010 Vancouver	CCTV	
2012 London	CCTV	Tecent, Sohu, Netease
2014 Sochi	CCTV	
2016 Rio	CCTV	Tecent, Alibaba
2018 Pyeongchang	CCTV	Tecent, Youku
2020 Tokyo	CMG	Tecent, Migu, Kuaishou
2022 Beijing	CMG	Tecent, Migu, Kuaishou

Source:

Ma, G. (2012). *Let's start the talk right away—experience the 30 years of Chinese sports TV.* Communication University of China Press.

CCTV. (2012a, March 2). *CCTV 2012 London Olympics Reporting Plan,* https://1118.cctv.com/special/2012aoyun/20120302/118040.shtml,

CCTV. (2009a, March 26). *CCTV wins the broadcast rights for the 2010 Winter Olympics and the 2012 Olympic Games,* by CCTV, 2009, https://sports.cctv.com/20090326/105077.shtml

CCTV. (2012b, July 29). *CCTV becomes the rights-holding broadcaster of the 2014 Winter Olympics/2016 Summer Olympics,* http://2012.cntv.cn/20120729/100027.shtml

Sina Sport. (2014, December 4). *CCTV won the broadcast rights for the four Winter Olympics and Summer Olympics from 2018 to 2024*. https://sports.sina.com.cn/o/2014-12-04/21377435430.shtml.

CCTV. (2007, December 19).*CCTV.com acquires new media broadcast rights for 2008 Beijing Olympic Games,* https://news.cctv.com/society/20071219/106661.shtml

Zhang, B. (2021, May 22). *Through the history of Olympic Internet broadcasting changes, let's see how Tencent entered the "finals" from the edge?*. Baidu. https://baijiahao.baidu.com/s?id=1700461878338599079&wfr=spider&for=pc

Sohu Sport. (2022, February 24). *The history of young people watching the Olympics is essentially a history of the migration of internet traffic,* https://sports.sohu.com/a/525231930_116667

Chapter Five: Predictors of Audience Multi-screening and Second Screening Viewing

5.1 The Definition of Multi-screening and Second Screening

In the era of media convergence, there is a profound transformation in media experiences, characterized by personalization, immediate satisfaction, and an abundance of choices (Shin, 2015). As the modern multimedia environment continues to advance, audiences' media use behaviours are becoming more complex. With users increasingly seeking access to content anytime, anywhere, the evolution of media experiences has led to the proliferation of multi-screening technologies. These devices facilitate innovative forms of multitasking, allowing users to engage with or discuss TV content while exploring divergent content simultaneously. More time is now spent with media by combining media viewing with other activities, a phenomenon referred to as multitasking (Jeong & Fishbein, 2007; Rubenking, 2016; Voorveld et al., 2014; Voorveld & Viswanathan, 2015).

In media studies, researchers have provided different understandings of "media multitasking", shedding light on how audiences manage the fusion of media consumption with non-media activities or simultaneous engagement across multiple media platforms. Some scholars argue that media multitasking involves utilizing media

or engaging with a single medium while concurrently participating in non-media activities (Foehr, 2006; Jeong & Fishbein, 2007; McDonald & Meng, 2009). This concept acknowledges individuals' simultaneous involvement in media consumption and other tasks, whether work-related, household chores, or personal hobbies, recognizing that individuals can use a specific medium, like watching television, while still engaging in other tasks.

On the other hand, some scholars argue that media multitasking encompasses the simultaneous utilization of two or more media platforms (McGill et al., 2015). Individuals engage in multiple media use when they interact with various media sources, such as watching television while browsing the internet on a mobile device or listening to music while playing video games. These definitions emphasize the element of simultaneity in media usage, focusing on understanding how individuals navigate multiple media inputs and the potential implications of such behaviours on their attention, cognitive processes, and overall media experiences. Regardless of the definition used, the significance of multitasking has been amplified with the widespread adoption of media and the integration of technologies (Wang & Tchernev, 2012).

In this dissertation, I commence my discussion by providing an overview of the definitions related to "multitasking" in prior literature such as multi-screening, multi-screen viewing and dual screening (refer to Table 4). Through this examination, I discover that the term "multi-screening" (McGill et al., 2015) resonates most aptly with

my project. “Multi-screening” not only encompasses a broader spectrum of screen interactions but also emphasizes the integrated use of either a single or multiple screened devices. This adaptable approach to screen utilization can manifest in various patterns – whether it involves simultaneous engagement for multitasking, a sequential progression for specific tasks, or an alternating mode depending on situational demands. The activities conducted on each device may be either interconnected or autonomous (Lin, 2013; Van Cauwenberg et al., 2014). Therefore, I adopt “multi-screening” as the theoretical framework for this study, recognizing its ability to encapsulate the diverse ways in which individuals interact with screens in the modern media environment. By employing this concept, I aim to explore the intricate dynamics of screen usage and its implications for media consumption behaviours and experiences.

Table 4: Summary of Definitions Related to Multitasking and Multi-screening

Concept	Definition	Reference
Multitasking	“The ability to accomplish multiple task goals in the same general time period by engaging in frequent switches between individual tasks.”	Konig, C. J., Buhner, M., & Murling, G. (2005).
	“Using a single medium while engaging in other non-media activity.”	Foehr, U. G. (2006).
Multi-screening	“Viewers utilise two or more screens or devices at the same time.”	McGill, M., Williamson, J. H., & Brewster, S. A. (2015).
	“Consumers’ simultaneous usage of multiple screen-based devices.”	Hoeck, L., & Spann, M. (2020).
Multi-screen viewing	“Multi-functionality of current devices to engage in multiple forms of screen-viewing at the same time.”	Jago, R., Sebire, S. J., Gorely, T., Cillero, I. H., & Biddle, S. J. (2011).
Dual screening	“The bundle of practices that involve	Vaccari, C., Chadwick,

	integrating, and switching across and between, live broadcast media and social media."	A., & O'Loughlin, B. (2015).
	"Using two, or even several 'screens' at the same time to do so."	Gil de Zúñiga, H., & Liu, J. H. (2017).
	"Dual screening is a typical practice of hybrid media systems, where older and newer media logics are intertwined in individuals' experience of and engagement with politics."	Chadwick, A., O'Loughlin, B., & Vaccari, C. (2017).
	"Dual screening is a form of media multitasking that allows users to swiftly shift attention to various tasks on two screens."	Lin, T. T., & Chiang, Y. H. (2017).

Scholars not only focus on the entire ecosystem of multiple screens but also delve into specific uses beyond the main screen. The emergence of "second screening" and "dual screen," viewed as a subset of media multitasking, highlights the importance of delving into multitasking dynamics (Gottfried et al., 2017). "Second screening" and "dual screen" typically involve using devices such as laptops and smartphones, bypassing the traditional TV set (Huber et al., 2019). This concept denotes the simultaneous use of two screens, with the television typically acting as the primary or "first" screen, while another digital device—like a smartphone, laptop, or tablet—serves as the "second" screen (Gil de Zúñiga et al., 2015). In essence, second screening involves users engaging with a supplementary device while consuming content on a primary device. Initially originating from the realms of marketing and technology, the term was primarily employed to demonstrate how various media platforms could enhance the television viewing experience. In contemporary academic discourse, it functions as a

metaphor for the integrated use of television and personal digital devices, such as smartphones and computers (Wohn & Na, 2011; Laursen & Sandvik, 2014).

The usage scenario varies, with examples such as watching a football game on television while simultaneously using a smartphone to access real-time statistics—a behaviour commonly observed among avid football supporters who prefer "functional" services over social or gaming activities (Guo, 2020). Similarly, viewers engaging with a television show may use their smartphones concurrently to share real-time reactions or comments on online platforms. Furthermore, individuals watching political news broadcasts may turn to their secondary screens to delve deeper into the topic, searching for supplementary information or participating in relevant online discussions (Gil de Zúñiga et al., 2015; Ran & Yamamoto, 2019). These phenomena underscore the evolving nature of media consumption habits, emphasizing the interconnectedness between traditional and digital media platforms in modern society.

Although previous studies have already underlined this pattern, where concurrent TV watching and computer usage was common (Carrier et al., 2009; Tang & Cooper, 2018a; Voorveld & van der Goot, 2013). However, the modern media milieu presents a more intricate tapestry, driven by the convergence of traditional broadcasts, live streaming, and real-time social media interaction. This nexus has reshaped viewers' behaviours, ushering in novel consumption patterns and making the "second screen" concept a focal point in contemporary media research (Hutchins & Sanderson, 2017).

Central to this transformative landscape is the profound role of social media. With the burgeoning popularity of platforms like Twitter, Facebook, and Instagram, social media in general has become an indispensable component of the second screening dynamic. It bridges the gap between passive viewing and active participation, enabling audiences to delve deeper into content, share real-time reactions, and engage in vibrant conversations. This blurring of lines between traditional media consumption and digital interaction presents an intriguing frontier, where the symbiotic relationship between primary and secondary screens offers both challenges and opportunities. As these behaviours continue to morph, a comprehensive exploration into how users weave social media and other digital platforms into their viewing habits becomes paramount. Grasping the underlying motivations, discerning user preferences, and understanding the broader implications of such behaviours will illuminate the multifaceted dance between screens, shedding light on its impact on engagement, information assimilation, and the overarching media experience.

In this section, I synthesized the definitions pertinent to “second screening” as delineated in prior scholarly works (refer to Table 5). Among the array of associated notions, I adhere to the definitions advanced by Gil de Zúñiga et al. (2015) and Chadwick (2013) for the term “second screening.” This preference stems from the emphasis within this concept on the practice of accessing social media via the Internet to procure additional information pertaining to the program or event being viewed, or

to engage in real-time discussions about it. In this dissertation, I constrain the notion of second screening to Chinese audiences who seek pertinent information regarding Beijing 2022 through various social media platforms and participate in discussions concerning Beijing 2022.

Mega sporting events have more close relationship with multi-screening and second screening viewing practices, where social media platforms play a crucial role in expanding and connecting viewers beyond traditional television experiences. This phenomenon has been extensively studied, shedding light on the transformative impact of second screen on audience engagement and interaction. For instance, Gong (2020a) conducts a study on Chinese football fans who utilized WeChat as a second screen, forming virtual collectives that transformed their individual and rational approach to televised football. Through WeChat, these fans were able to extend their viewing experience, fostering a sense of community and collective identity. Similarly, Tamir (2020) examines the discourse within WhatsApp sports groups in Israel during the 2018 FIFA World Cup. The study highlights how second screen, such as WhatsApp, served as platforms for obtaining additional information related to the primary screen content, as well as fostering discussions and debates among group members. These investigations shed light on the diverse effects and functionalities of specific social media apps in the context of sports viewing. However, scholars also point out it is essential to expand the scope of research beyond examining the impact of individual social media platforms, as emphasized by (Tang & Cooper, 2018b). A more

comprehensive understanding can be achieved by considering media uses across various platforms and departing from traditional passive and active conceptualizations of audiences and users. This perspective calls for a shift in focus towards the increasing number of viewers who engage with multiple platforms simultaneously during the viewing period, each catering to their distinct and evolving needs.

Table 5: Summary of Definitions Related to Second Screening

Concept	Definition	Reference
Second screening	"In which individuals watching television use an additional electronic device or 'screen' to access the Internet or social networking sites to obtain more information about the program or event they are watching or to discuss it in real time."	Gil de Zúñiga, H., Garcia-Perdomo, V., & McGregor, S. C. (2015).
	"A trending new media use that embodies one aspect of a phenomenon known as hybrid media and highlights the ubiquity of social media and connectedness in modern life."	Chadwick, A. (2013).
	"When individuals utilize digital devices to access the Internet, social media, or enhancement apps to gain additional information or discuss about television content while simultaneously watching television."	Guo, M. (2020).
Second screen	"The simultaneous use of two or more computer screens connected to the same laptop/desktop."	Dias, P. (2016).
	"Using another electronic device while watching television (TV)."	Nielsen (2013).
	"The live broadcast being the primary viewing screen, while a smartphone, tablet or laptop provides the second	Phonthanukitithaworn, C., & Sellitto, C. (2017).

	means of peer-interaction and communication. ”	
	“A techno cultural tool that is capable of hosting ‘deliberative discourse,’ exposing users to multiple viewpoints in a wide social sphere.”	Trilling, D. (2015).
	“The concurrent use of television and personal media such as smartphones, tablets, and personal computers.”	Laursen, D., & Sandvik, K.
	“Second screening experience as engaging with related media content on two screens simultaneously.”	Blake, J. (2016).
Second screening viewing	“Using digital devices such as smart phones or laptop computers to watch television, access the Internet and use social network sites to obtain more information about or discuss the programs that they are watching.”	Choi, B., & Jung, Y. (2016).
	“Viewing television as the primary task and engaging in another secondary task.”	Pilotta, J. J., Schultz, D. E., Drenik, G., & Rist, P. (2004).
Two screen viewing	“With one screen devoted to the program being watched and a second screen (usually a laptop, tablet, or cell/mobile phone) devoted to maintaining the backchannel.”	Johns, M. D. (2012).

5.2 Audience Factors and Media Factors

Research within the field of audience studies, particularly in communication studies, is significant for unravelling the nuances of media consumption behaviour and its broader societal implications. Audience behaviour research involves a systematic exploration of how individuals engage with diverse forms of media, encompassing their preferences,

habits, and responses to media content. This field aims to unveil the underlying factors and dynamics that mould media consumption behaviour, spanning from demographic characteristics to cultural influences and technological advancements. Within the domain of communication studies, audience behaviour research plays a pivotal role in deciphering the intricate mechanisms of media consumption and understanding its profound societal consequences. With the ongoing proliferation of media platforms and technologies, grasping the intricacies of audience behaviour has become indispensable for media practitioners, policymakers, and scholars alike.

Scholars such as Tokan (2011) highlights the pivotal role of audience studies in unravelling the factors that shape media behaviour. By delving into audience factors and media factors, researchers can elucidate how demographic characteristics, technological advancements, and socio-cultural contexts influence individuals' interactions with media content. Understanding these dynamics not only aids in predicting audience preferences and consumption patterns but also informs media content creation, distribution strategies, and regulatory frameworks. Jeong and Fishbein (2007) pioneered the exploration of audience and media factors, providing a foundational framework for studying media consumption behaviour. Their work laid the groundwork for subsequent research endeavours that seek to dissect the complex interplay between individual characteristics and structural determinants in shaping media use patterns.

Building upon this foundation, Webster et al. (2014) further expound on the nuanced relationship between audience and media factors, emphasizing the need for a comprehensive analysis that accounts for both individual and structural influences. By categorizing potential and existing audiences based on demographic attributes and temporal variations, researchers can gain insights into the evolving nature of audience composition and behaviour. At the individual level, studying audience factors such as preferences, social contexts, and awareness of media options provides valuable insights into individual decision-making processes and consumption habits. Concurrently, analysing media factors such as content options, ownership of technologies, and media repertoires offers a holistic view of the media landscape and its impact on audience behaviour (Webster et al., 2014).

Over time, research in audience studies has extended its scope to encompass sports communication, particularly focusing on media consumption during major sporting events. Tang & Cooper (2018b) delve into audience media consumption patterns during the Rio 2016 Olympics, revealing that individual characteristics and psychological needs were not the sole determinants of multi-screening viewing. Instead, they emphasize the role of structures, media routines, and social contexts in influencing audience screen preferences. Expanding on this exploration, Tang et al. (2022) examine the interplay between structural and identity factors in predicting viewership during the 2019 FIFA Women's World Cup across three countries. They found that structural factors significantly predicted World Cup viewing on TV across all countries, albeit

with variations in access. Meanwhile, fandom and identity emerged as significant predictors for digital platform viewership.

Echoing the insights of Webster and Nelson (2016) and Jeong and Fishbein (2007), the distinction between individual and structural levels of audience and media factors poses challenges due to their interrelatedness and potential reciprocal influence. Cooper and Tang (2009) further emphasize the complexity of media consumption, arguing against a singular theoretical construct to explain it. After conducting comprehensive reviews of relevant literature, I have synthesized the current research, which employs a nuanced classification of audience and media factors. Audience factors span a spectrum of demographic details, personal motivations, emotions, patriotism, and team identity. In contrast, media factors represent a fusion of individual and structural definitions, incorporating elements such as satisfaction, efficacy, attitudes towards media use, and viewing contexts.

By summarizing previous literature, the characteristics of audience factors and media factors can be summarized as follows. Audience factors encompass a range of potential characteristics that influence individuals' interactions with media content. These factors include demographic attributes such as age, gender, ethnicity, and lifestyle, as well as individual preferences, social contexts, and awareness of media options. Audience factors provide insights into the diverse preferences and consumption patterns of different audience segments. On the other hand, media factors refer to elements within

the media environment that shape audience behaviour and consumption patterns. These factors are related to the characteristics of media, including the availability and accessibility of media platforms and technologies, coverage content options, ownership of media outlets, and media repertoires. Media factors play a crucial role in determining the variety and quality of media content accessible to audiences, influencing their engagement and satisfaction levels.

In my project, I have built upon the classification of audience factors and media factors established by previous researchers. Additionally, I have introduced new factors to these categories, drawing from their core concepts and foundations. By considering this comprehensive array of factors, I aim to provide a more nuanced understanding of audience engagement with media content during sports spectacles. In the following sections, I will delve deeper into the exploration of audience factors and media factors, examining their roles and interactions in shaping media multi-screening and sports media consumption behaviour. This approach will contribute to a more holistic comprehension of the intricate dynamics at play in the realm of sports communication.

5.2.1 Audience factors

Demographics are an important aspect of audience factors, encompassing variables such as age, gender, educational background, and more others. Firstly, age has consistently emerged as an established universal predictor of diverse media

consumption behaviours (Voorveld et al., 2014). Research indicates that younger individuals are more likely to engage in media multitasking (Brasel & Gips, 2011; Ie et al., 2012), highlighting the pivotal role of age in shaping media consumption patterns. Younger individuals tend to exhibit a greater propensity for multitasking across multiple media platforms. Secondly, gender has long been recognized as a potential predictor of multi-screening behaviours, although previous research outcomes in this domain have yielded somewhat conflicting results (Segijn & Kononova, 2018). Some studies suggest a higher likelihood of women engaging in media multitasking compared to men (Duff et al., 2014; Jeong & Fishbein, 2007), while Segijn and Kononova (2018) indicate that men tend to multitask more than women. This discrepancy underscores the complexity of gender-related influences on media multitasking behaviours, necessitating a nuanced understanding of their interplay. Moreover, it is noteworthy that some studies have found no significant differences between men and women in terms of their media multitasking behaviours (Kononova, 2013; Voorveld et al., 2014). These findings contribute to the existing body of knowledge by suggesting that gender alone may not be a definitive predictor of media multitasking tendencies. However, further research is warranted to explore the nuances and contextual factors that may mediate the relationship between gender and media engagement behaviours.

Motivation, as a critical audience factor in sports communication, holds significant relevance in explaining sports media consumption. Wang (2015) utilizes the integrative model of behavioural prediction to explore the motivations and factors influencing

individuals' intentions to utilize social media while engaging with mediated sports. This research reveals that individuals' personal attitudes towards the experience of using social media during sporting events, including perceptions of its goodness, enjoyability, and pleasantness, play a pivotal role in shaping their intentions to engage with such platforms. The role of motivation in sports media consumption extends beyond personal attitudes. Tang and Cooper (2018b) shed light on the instrumental motives driving individuals' involvement in following and posting about the Rio 2016 Olympics on social media. In addition to personal attitudes, their findings underscore the significant predictive power of instrumental motives, encompassing the desire for communication, connection, and access to information. Furthermore, the social aspect of sports media consumption is noteworthy. For example, viewers actively utilize social media platforms not only to obtain information but also to foster connections and engage in communal experiences. They consciously seek out information, share opinions, and interact with loved ones, thus embracing an overall social experience that enhances their enjoyment and engagement with sports media content (Devlin & Brown-Devlin, 2017; Kim et al., 2016). By understanding the multifaceted nature of motivation in sports media consumption, researchers gain deeper insights into audience behaviour and preferences, ultimately informing the development of more targeted and effective communication strategies in the sports industry.

In my research, I embarked on a comprehensive exploration of audience factors, broadening the scope to encompass various dimensions, including nationalism, sports

fandom, and team identification. The inclusion of these additional elements aimed to unravel the intricate relationship between media consumption and audience behaviour in the context of sports communication. First, I incorporate nationalism into the new variable of audience factors. Notably, the examination of the connection between media exposure to the Olympics and nationalistic attitudes has emerged as an intriguing and captivating area of investigation, prompting further exploration. For instance, Billings et al. (2013) conduct a comprehensive survey during the 2012 London Olympic Games, involving 342 respondents from three different countries. The results of this study revealed that individuals with higher levels of media exposure to the Olympics exhibited significantly greater levels of nationalism, patriotism, internationalism, and even smugness when compared to individuals with lower exposure to Olympic media. These results shed light on the profound influence of media consumption on the formation and expression of nationalistic attitudes among viewers, underscoring the pivotal role played by sports media in shaping viewers' perception of national identity. Similarly, a study conducts by Bravo et al. (2013) identify sport identification, patriotism, and sports knowledge as crucial factors influencing viewers' intentions to watch the U.S. men's team during the 2010 World Cup. Particularly, patriotism emerged as the most potent predictor of viewers' intention, emphasizing the profound impact of nationalistic sentiments on individuals' engagement with sports events on a global scale.

Furthermore, I also introduce the sports fandom and team identification into the audience factors. Sports fandom and team identification have been recognized as

significant contributors to audience behaviour and engagement with mediated sports (Devlin & Billings, 2016; Gantz et al., 2006). Cooper and Tang (2013) state that fans are more knowledgeable than nonfans about sports and spend greater periods of time-consuming sports content on media platforms. Additionally, Cunningham and Eastin (2017) highlight a significant correlation between team identification and the use of second screening devices during sports games, indicating that individuals who strongly identify with a specific sports team are more likely to engage with supplementary media devices to enhance their viewing experience and interact with sports-related content in real-time.

Collectively, the inclusion of nationalism, sports fandom, and team identification as vital audience factors contributes to a more comprehensive understanding of the intricate dynamics that shape audience behaviour in the realm of sports media consumption. These elements illuminate the complex interplay between individual characteristics, media exposure, and sociocultural influences, emphasizing the multifaceted nature of audience engagement and the profound impact of nationalistic sentiments on viewers' preferences, motivations, and consumption patterns.

5.2.2 Media factors

In the previous, I highlighted Webster et al.'s (2014) thorough differentiation between audience factors and media factors, both at individual and structural levels. Building upon this foundation, this section endeavours to offer a holistic comprehension of media

factors by amalgamating personal and structural dimensions. Media factors, as delineated by their features, encompass elements within the media landscape that mould audience behaviour and consumption patterns. Introducing variables such as satisfaction, efficacy, attitudes towards media use, and viewing circumstances, I delve into the nuanced dynamics shaping audience behaviour within the realm of sports media consumption.

Within the field of sports, the influence of consumer satisfaction on behavioural intentions has been well-established in scholarly literature (Biscaia et al., 2012; Theodorakis et al., 2013). Phonthanukitithaworn and Sellitto (2017) emphasize the positive and pleasurable nature of using social media as a secondary screen during live sports telecasts. They contended that this immersive activity not only provides immediate gratification but also has the potential to shape future behavioural intentions, fostering continued usage of social media as a preferred communication mode for sport-related purposes. This underscored the significance of satisfaction derived from engaging with media platforms in cultivating enduring engagement and usage among sports enthusiasts.

Moreover, previous studies have highlighted the influential role of attitude and self-efficacy in shaping sports audiences' media consumption behaviours. For example, Wang (2013) conducts a thorough investigation into the motivations behind sports spectators' use of social media platforms, such as Facebook and Twitter, while attending

sporting events. The findings of this study reveal that attitudes, self-efficacy, descriptive norms, and the ego-defensive function emerged as strong predictors of this phenomenon. These insights shed light on the underlying motivational factors that drive individuals to engage with social media during live sports experiences, providing valuable contributions to the understanding of audience behaviour.

Additionally, Cunningham & Eastin (2017) delve into the intricate relationship between attitude, self-efficacy, and other relevant factors in the context of second screening use. Their research demonstrates that self-efficacy directly influences individuals' attitudes toward second screening devices, while the attitude toward these devices significantly affects positive engagement with them. These findings highlight the interplay between individuals' beliefs, perceived capabilities, and their overall attitude toward second screening technologies, ultimately shaping viewers' active involvement with supplementary media during sports consumption. In addition to personal factors, scholars have also explored the impact of media use routines and viewing contexts on audience behaviour (Tang & Cooper, 2013, 2018b). By integrating personal media factors and structural media factors, such as satisfaction, efficacy, attitudes towards media use, and viewing circumstances, my research seeks to provide a holistic understanding of the complex dynamics that shape audience behaviour in the realm of sports media consumption. I have summarized all the audience factors and medium factors mentioned above in the table below (refer to Table 6).

Table 6: Summary of Audience Factors and Media Factors

Audience Factor	Media Factor
Demographics	***Experience***
Gender	Satisfaction
Age	Attitude
Education level	
Household income	
Motivations	***Efficacy***
Entertainment	Device efficacy
Escape	
Group affiliation	
Self-esteem	
Aesthetic need	
Fandom	***Viewing contexts***
Winter sports fandom	At home by themselves
Identity	At home with others
Patriotism	At other people's homes
Team identification	At public place

Note. The factors in the table are summarized based on the literature mentioned above.

5.3 Research Design

5.3.1 Research questions

In this study, I employ a quantitative method, utilizing a survey to identify and analyse the factors influencing multi-screening and second-screening usage among Chinese audiences. Building upon the detailed examination of the complex interplay between audience factors and media factors, the study posits a series of research questions aimed

at further elucidating these dynamics:

RQ1: What devices and platforms do Chinese audiences use to watch Beijing 2022?

RQ2: What audience and media factors predict multi-screening for Beijing 2022?

RQ3: What audience and media factors predict second screening viewing for Beijing 2022?

5.3.2 Method: Survey

The primary aim of the first study is to explore and analyse the nuanced factors related to media and audience that influence the preferences of Chinese viewers concerning multi-screening and second screening viewing during the Beijing 2022. To achieve this, I employ a quantitative approach, specifically utilizing a comprehensive online survey. Creswell (2014) defines quantitative research as primarily addressing objective theories by assessing relationships between variables. Typically, data for this methodology is collected using structured tools such as surveys, questionnaires, and polls. Grounded in statistical analysis, this approach derives evidence-based conclusions and tests hypotheses, making it particularly apt for exploring relationships between variables. Compared to qualitative methods-characterized by purposeful sampling, open-ended data collection, and nuanced interpretation of results-quantitative methodology

emphasizes objective measurements derived from participants' survey responses (Creswell, 2014).

The survey employs Tencent Survey Services, a widely-used online survey platform developed by Tencent Limited, a prominent Chinese technology company. Prior to administering the main quantitative survey, a preliminary pilot study was conducted. This phase entailed interviewing five chosen participants to discuss the initial survey tools and contemplate potential variables. Feedback from the pilot stage was crucial both for the design of the survey tool and for refining the questions to better capture the desired insights.

Strict inclusion criteria were established to ensure the participation of eligible respondents, including meeting the minimum answering time requirement, being an active viewer of Beijing 2022, and attaining a minimum age of 18 years or older. The research questions were crafted to cover a wide array of dimensions, probing into the devices and broadcasting platforms respondents used to access live broadcasts of Beijing 2022. The survey also examined the social media platforms participants utilized to engage with content related to the Games. Furthermore, the study delved into the audience and media predictors, aiming to elucidate their potential impact on respondents' media consumption habits.

The average completion time for the web survey was recorded at 4 minutes and 40

seconds, ensuring that participants could conveniently provide their valuable insights without experiencing undue burden or fatigue. The initial pool of survey participants amounted to 449 individuals, but rigorous quality control procedures were enacted to maintain the integrity of the data. Invalid surveys, including those completed by participants under the age of 18, individuals who had not watched Beijing 2022, those who completed the survey in an unusually brief timeframe, those who provided highly similar responses, and respondents with overseas IP addresses, were excluded from the final analysis. Consequently, a total of 360 valid samples remained, constituting the robust foundation upon which subsequent analysis and interpretation were based.

Notably, in terms of demographic characteristics, 64.4% (n = 232) of the participants were female, while 35.6% (n = 128) were male (Table 7). Despite the common perception that sports programs predominantly attract male viewers, the Olympic Games, as a media event, transcend mere sports. Within the broader context of television viewing and media consumption, women have demonstrated a higher degree of engagement than men. According to a Nielsen survey (2023), women accounted for nearly 105 billion minutes of the top 25 most-streamed programs globally, compared to just over 67 billion minutes viewed by men. Specifically, in China, a study on 10 popular Chinese TV shows found that women comprised 80% of the audience (Elaine, 2020). Moreover, female audiences in Asia are displaying increasing enthusiasm for sports events. For instance, data from a Nielsen survey (2018) indicates that female viewership ratings surpassed those of males during the opening ceremony of the 2018

Asian Games, with percentages standing at 15.1% for women compared to 13% for men. Furthermore, in the academic realm, Li et al.'s (2023) study on the media consumption habits of Chinese audiences during the Tokyo 2020 Olympics observed a higher number of female respondents (245, 64%) compared to male respondents (138, 36%). Transitioning to age demographics, it is notable that a significant majority of the participants fell within the 18 to 30 age range, constituting an impressive 85.83% (n = 309) of the sample. This age group dominates the sample for several reasons. Firstly, the "Beijing 2022 Winter Olympics Mid-term User Behaviour Analysis" reveals that 65% of young users under 35 were interested in the Winter Olympics. Within the subgroup interested in learning about winter sports, this age bracket represented an even larger proportion of 71% (Yiguan Analysis, 2022). Additionally, a survey conducted by the State Sports General Administration and National Bureau of Statistics, titled "Involve Three Hundred Million People in Winter Sports," indicates that nearly 65% of participants in winter sports were between 18 and 40 years old (Xinhua News, 2022a). Regarding household income, 80.83% (n = 291) of the respondents reported earnings below 100,000 CNY, while the remaining 19.17% (n = 69) indicated an average annual income surpassing 100,000 CNY. In terms of educational attainment, a substantial 84.44% (n = 304) of the participants possessed a bachelor's degree or higher, indicating a well-educated and diverse sample.

Table 7: Descriptive Statistics

	n	%

Gender		
Male	128	35.6
Female	232	64.4
Age		
18-30	304	84.4
31-40	44	12.2
41-50	10	2.8
> 50	2	0.6
Education		
Under high school	28	7.8
High School	26	7.2
Colleague and University	279	77.5
Postgraduate	27	7.5
Annual income (Chinese yuan)		
< 50000 Renminbi	215	59.7
50001- 100000	76	21.1
100001-150000	38	10.6
150001- 200000	16	4.4
> 200001	15	4.2

Source: Descriptive data from my own survey.

5.3.3 Measure

In the survey, I integrated classic measures related to audience and media factors, drawing from established literature. Concurrently, I added new measures not previously included in these categories, grounded in the definitions of audience and media factors. It is crucial to note that all measures used in this study were chosen based on prior research, ensuring their relevance and validity for the variables examined. To minimize

potential biases, items within the survey were randomized within their respective categories, enhancing the accuracy and integrity of the data. Additionally, an exhaustive pre-test revealed no indications of question order effects, further strengthening the reliability and credibility of the survey instrument.

Multi-screening viewing. I adapted four items from Tang & Cooper (2017) to measure respondents' multi-screening viewing during Beijing 2022. Respondents were asked to report how often they engaged in each of the following media activities during Beijing 2022 on a 7-point scale, from 1 (never) to 7 (almost always), including: watching television and using a computer simultaneously for Beijing 2022 content; watching television and using a mobile device simultaneously for Beijing 2022 content; using a computer and a mobile device simultaneously for Beijing 2022 content; and watching television, using a computer, and using a mobile device simultaneously for Beijing 2022 content ($M = 4.61$, $SD = 0.89$, Cronbach's $\alpha = .852$).

Second screening viewing. Respondents were asked how often they engaged in the following social media activities simultaneously while watching Beijing 2022 on a 7-point scale, from 1 (never) to 7 (almost always), including reading/following/commenting on WeChat, Weibo, Douyin, Kuaishou, and other platforms ($M = 4.02$, $SD = 1.58$, Cronbach's $\alpha = .699$).

Demographics. Respondents provided demographic information, including age,

gender (0 = male, 1 = female), level of education, and household income.

Motivations. Respondents rated each of the 14 statements related to motivations for sports media consumption on a 7-point scale, from 1 (strongly disagree) to 7 (strongly agree). The statements were categorized into five aspects based on previous literature (Tang et al., 2022), including entertainment motivation (M = 4.88, SD = .94, Cronbach's α = .707), self-esteem motivation (M = 5.85, SD = .47, Cronbach's α = .798), escape motivation (M = 3.86, SD = .47, Cronbach's α = .923), group affiliation motivation (M = 4.47, SD = 2.82, Cronbach's α = .862), and aesthetic motivation (M = 5.32, SD = .69, Cronbach's α = .758).

Fandom. I used a five-item fan self-perception scale from Keaton et al. (2015) to measure fandom for winter sports (1 = not a winter sports fan at all, 7 = very much a winter sports fan; M = 4.17, SD = 2.68, Cronbach's α = .930).

Patriotism. I used the nationalism index (patriotism dimension) from Billings et al. (2013) to measure patriotism. Respondents indicated their agreement on a 7-point scale (1 = strongly disagree, 7 = strongly agree) with six statements such as " I'm proud to be from my country" (M = 6.51, SD = .59, Cronbach's α = .931).

Team identification. I used the sport spectator identification scale from Wann and Branscombe (1993) to measure team identification. Respondents indicated their

agreement on a 7-point scale (1 = strongly disagree, 7 = strongly agree) with seven statements such as "it is important to me that China wins" (M = 5.67, SD = .20, Cronbach's α = .858).

Satisfaction. I utilized six items from a study by Phonthanukitithaworn and Sellitto (2017) to measure respondents' satisfaction with multi-screening and second screening viewing. Respondents indicated their agreement on a 7-point scale (1 = strongly disagree, 7 = strongly agree; M = 5.41, SD = .71, Cronbach's α = .934).

Attitude. I adapted a 3-item, 7-point Likert-type scale from Lin et al. (2008) to assess respondents' attitudes toward multi-screening and second screening. Items such as "It was rewarding," "It was worthwhile," and "It was useful" were included (M = 5.37, SD = .47, Cronbach's α = .890).

Device-efficacy. I modified three items from Novak et al. (2000) to measure respondents' efficacy in using devices. Respondents indicated their agreement on a 7-point scale (1 = strongly disagree, 7 = strongly agree) with statements such as "I am extremely skilled at using…" (M = 5.35, SD = 1.59, Cronbach's α = .875).

Viewing Contexts. Respondents reported the frequency of watching Beijing 2022 under different contexts on a 7-point scale, from 1 (never) to 7 (almost always), including watching at home alone (M = 4.57, SD = 0.71), watching at home with others (M =

5.12, SD = 2.12), watching at other people's homes (M = 3.62, SD = 3.57), and watching in public places (M = 4.03, SD = 2.83).

I conduct ordinary least squares hierarchical regression analysis in SPSS 26. I analyse two criterion variables: multi-screening viewing and second screening viewing during the Beijing 2022, and two groups of predictor variables incrementally in the hierarchical regression model. The two groups of predictor variables were (a) audience factor variables: demographics, motivations, sports fan ship, patriotism, team identification, and (b) media factor variables: satisfaction, self-efficacy, attitude, viewing contexts.

5.4 Results

In terms of viewing the Beijing 2022, respondents reported spending an average of 2 hours and 23 minutes daily across various platforms (M = 143.12; SD = 28.39). Specifically, participants in my study spent an average of 56 minutes watching on television (M = 56.41; SD = 60.30), 51 minutes on mobile devices (M = 51.15; SD = 52.81), and 35 minutes on social media (M = 35.67; SD = 33.21). Among the audience, 46.94% (n=169) preferred television viewing. When asked about their preferred signal source for watching Beijing 2022 on television, 31.94% (n=115) chose cable TV signal, while 68.06% (n=245) preferred Internet signal (Figure 4). Additionally, 39.17% (n=141) of the audience predominantly watched Beijing 2022 on mobile phones, while 8.61% (n=31) preferred laptops, and 5.28% (n=19) favoured tablet computers (Figure

5). As for live streaming platforms, 85.00% (n=306) of the audience watched CCTV's platform (including television channel and CCTV's new media platform-CMGM), while 15.00% (n=54) opted for streaming media platforms like Migu and Kuaishou (Figure 6).

Regarding multi-screening usage, simultaneous use of TV and mobile devices (M=4.97, SD=1.62) emerged as the most common behaviour, followed by simultaneous use of computers and mobile devices (M=4.78, SD=1.65), simultaneous use of TV, computer, and mobile devices (M=4.40, SD=1.82), and simultaneous use of TV and computers (M=4.29, SD=1.77).

For second screening on social media, WeChat (M=5.03, SD=1.52) was the most frequently used platform during Beijing 2022, followed by Douyin (M=4.57, SD=1.73), Weibo (M=4.46, SD=1.91), Kuaishou (M=3.62, SD=2.02), Xiaohongshu (M=3.50, SD=1.86), and professional sports communities (M=2.92, SD=1.87) such as Hupu and Dongqiudi.

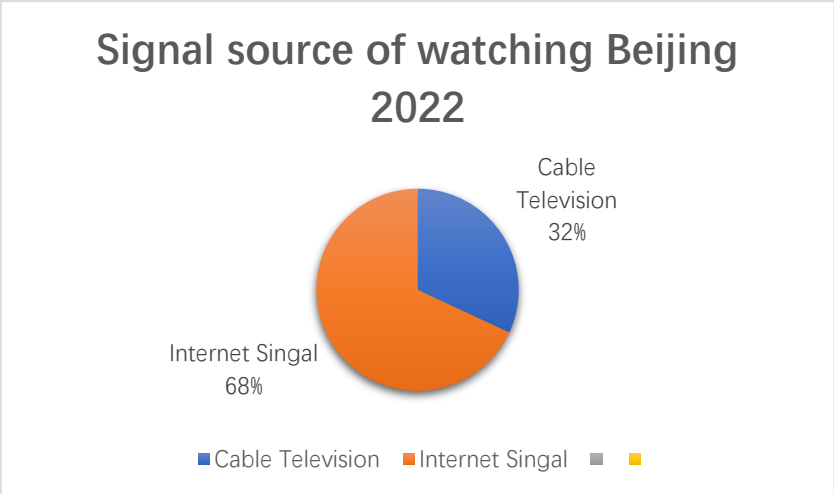


Figure 4: Signal Source of Watching Beijing 2022

Source: The data are from my own survey.

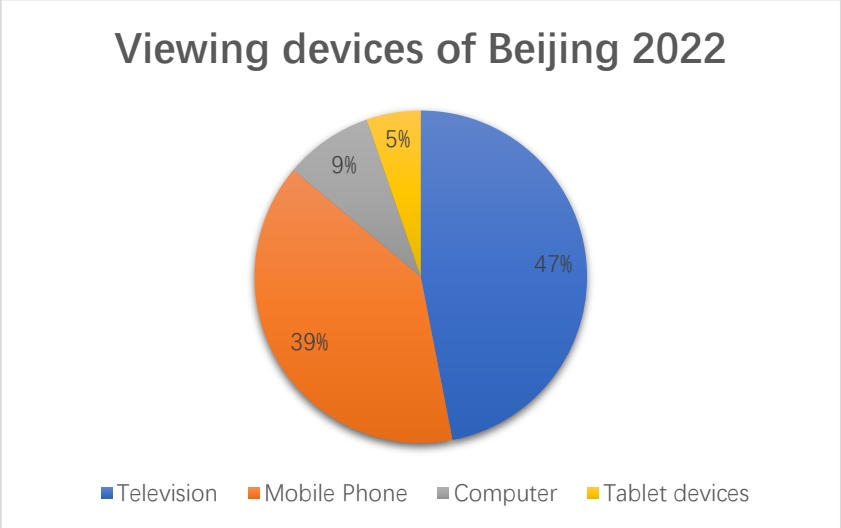


Figure 5:Viewing Devices of Beijing 2022

Source: The data are from my own survey.

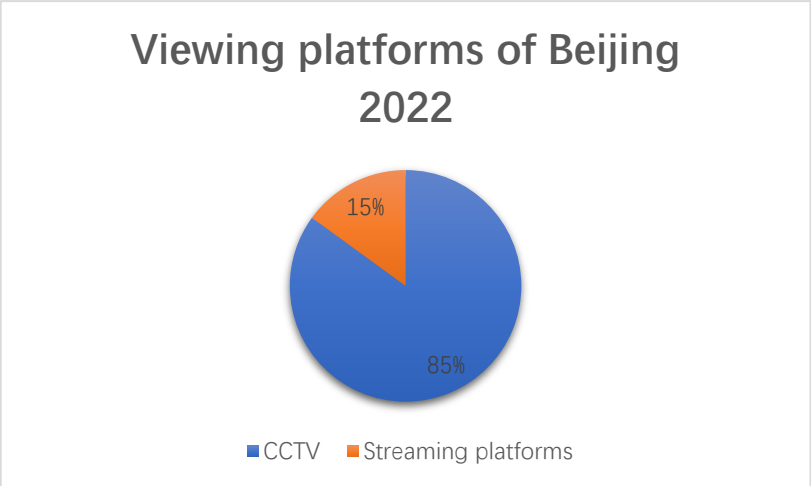


Figure 6: Viewing Platforms of Beijing 2022

Source: The data are from my own survey.

The correlations among all the key variables are presented in Table 8, where most of the independent variables show significant associations with the outcome variables at the zero-order level. Table 9 displays the hierarchical regression model predicting multi-screening viewing during Beijing 2022, with the results based on the final model (Model 7) in the hierarchical ordinary least squares regression analysis. Coefficients for the final model and R2 change for each step are reported.

Firstly, the variables related to audience factors are examined. Demographics, including gender, age, education level, and household income, were not significantly related to multi-screening viewing for Beijing 2022, explaining only 2.5% of the variance. Among motivation variables, entertainment motivation ($\beta = .148$, $p \leq .05$) was positively related to multi-screening viewing, while self-esteem motivation ($\beta = -.221$ $\leq .001$) showed a negative association. Escape motivation, group affiliation motivation,

and aesthetic need motivation were not significantly associated. Winter sports fandom was also not related to multi-screening viewing, explaining 5.7% of the variance. However, team identification ($\beta = .132$, $p \leq .05$) was positively related, while patriotism showed no association, explaining 3.0% of the variance.

Moving on to the media factor variables, satisfaction ($\beta = .197$, $p \leq .01$) was positively associated with multi-screening viewing, while attitude and device efficacy showed no significant associations. In terms of viewing contexts, watching Beijing 2022 at home alone ($\beta = .211$, $p \leq .001$) and with others ($\beta = .204$, $p \leq .001$) were positively associated with multi-screening viewing, explaining 6.0% of the variance.

Table 10 presents the hierarchical regression model predicting second screening viewing during Beijing 2022. The results of this study are based on the final model, Model 7, derived from hierarchical ordinary least squares regression analysis. Firstly, let's consider the audience factor variables. In terms of demographics, females were more likely than males to use second screening to watch Beijing 2022 content ($\beta = .104$, $p \leq .05$), while age, education level, and household income showed no significant relationship with second screening viewing. The demographics block accounted for 2.0% of the variance in second screening viewing. Motivations were not found to be significantly related to second screening viewing. However, winter sports fandom ($\beta = .176$, $p \leq .01$) exhibited a positive association, explaining 9.7% of the variance. Regarding identity, patriotism ($\beta = -.147$, $p \leq .01$) showed a negative relationship with

second screening viewing, while team identification did not show significant association. The identity block accounted for 1.73% of the variance.

Moving on to the media factor variables, satisfaction and attitude were not found to be associated with second screening viewing. The experience block explained 2.8% of the variance. However, device efficacy ($\beta = .104$, $p \leq .05$) exhibited a positive association, explaining 0.9% of the variance. Regarding viewing contexts, watching Beijing 2022 at other people's homes showed a positive relationship with second screening viewing, while watching at home alone, at home with others, and in public places were not associated with second screening viewing. The viewing contexts block explained 3.3% of the variance.

Table 8: Correlation Among Independent and Dependent Variables

Variables	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20
1																				
2	.442**																			
3	-.028	.000																		
4	.001	.014	-.083																	
5	-.012	.062	.092	-.207**																
6	.149**	.128*	-.260**	.317**	.057															
7	.385**	.273**	-.208**	.024	-.050	.176**														
8	.292**	.368**	-.068	.009	.006	.048	.570**													
9.	.339**	.352**	-.043	.050	.043	.098	.487**	.605**												
10	.190**	.146**	-.007	-.037	-.026	.025	.366**	.111*	.385**											
11	.318**	.243**	-.097	.001	-.018	.070	.493**	.293**	.423**	.605**										
12	.437**	.480**	-1.86**	.132*	-.008	.199**	.423**	.417**	.510**	.298**	.441**									
13	.110*	-.072	.152**	-.106*	-.022	-.061	.064	-.110*	.030	.460**	.212**	-.015								
14	.361**	.292**	.135*	-.058	.001	-.040	.262**	.266**	.415**	.514**	.419**	.432**	.451**							
15	.460**	.367**	-.031	.007	.032	.106*	.365**	.237**	.320**	.417**	.435**	.485**	.266**	.374**						
16	.258**	.256**	-.088	-.128*	.129*	.094	.245**	.153**	.209**	.306**	.177**	.287**	.283**	.310**	.362**					
17	.414**	.343**	-.043	.018	.066	.114*	.332**	.183**	.241**	.393**	.431**	.445**	.230**	.371**	.795**	.368**				
18	.324**	.259**	-.115*	-.026	-.065	.050	.254**	.271**	.077	.087	.201**	.342**	-.030	.201**	.177**	.178**	.186**			
19	.382**	.267**	-.012	.030	.066	.070	.301**	.203**	.488**	.329**	.267**	.349**	.129*	.340**	.357**	.271**	.323**	-.069		
20	.358**	.432**	-.131*	.050	.038	.121*	.315**	.388**	.475**	.162**	.247**	.512**	-.088	.276**	.300**	.145**	.207**	.204**	.462**	
21	.333**	.360**	-.065	.047	-.018	.178**	.361**	.393**	.488**	.226**	.348**	.400**	-.014	.271**	.290**	.176**	.178**-	.187**	.395**	.555**

Note. 1.multi-screening viewing, 2. Second screening viewing 3. gender, 4. age, 5. education level, 6. household income, 7. entertainment motivation, 8. escape motivation, 9. group affiliation motivation, 10. self-esteem motivation, 11. aesthetic motivation, 12. sports fan ship, 13. patriotism, 14. team identification, 15. satisfaction, 16. self-efficacy, 17. attitude, 18. watched Beijing 2022 at home by themselves, 19. watched Beijing 2022 at home with others, 20. watched Beijing 2022 at other people's homes, 21. watched Beijing 2022 at public place.

*$p \leq .05$. **$p \leq .01$. ***$p \leq .001$.

Table 9: Hierarchical Multiple Regression Predicting Multi-Screening Viewing

	Model 1		**Model 2**		**Model 3**		**Model 4**		**Model 5**		**Model 6**		**Model 7**	
Variable	beta	sig.	beta	sig.	beta	sig.	beta	sig.	beta	sig.	beta	sig.	beta	sig.
Block 1: Demographics														
Gender (0= male, 1= female)	.015	.790	.072	.153	.104	.036	.062	.215	.048	.314	.053	.271	.059	.203
Age	-.048	.397	-.044	.399	-.068	.179	-.052	.300	-.048	.318	-.041	.392	-.034	.466
Education level	-.033	.546	-.029	.567	-.031	.525	-.025	.602	-.041	.374	-.046	.318	-.040	.368
Household income	.170**	.004	.115*	.031	.089	.085	.097	.056	.087	.075	.084	.086	.083	.081
ΔR^2 (%)		***2.5***												
Block 2: Motivation														
Entertainment motivation			.229***	.001	.214***	.001	.227***	.000	.194**	.002	.189**	.002	.148*	.013
Escape motivation			.019	.778	-.022	.738	-.033	.621	-.036	.573	-.038	.554	-.050	.425
Group affiliation motivation			.165*	.014	.079	.233	.063	.334	.082	.198	.082	.200	.041	.544
Self-esteem motivation			-.067	.290	-.072	.239	-.174**	.010	-.212***	.001	-.219***	.001	-.221***	.001
Aesthetic need motivation			.170**	.009	.100	.119	.090	.155	.050	.421	.059	.340	.059	.329
ΔR^2 (%)				***18.1*****										
Block 3: Fandom														
Winter sports fandom					.303***	.000	.250***	.000	.140*	.025	.133	.034	.051	.415
ΔR^2 (%)						***5.7*****								
Block 4: Identity														
Patriotism							.057	.316	.008	.891	-.002	.976	.029	.593
Team identification							.194**	.003	.189**	.002	.186**	.003	.132*	.029
ΔR^2 (%)								***3.0*****						
Block 5: Experience														
Satisfaction									.230**	.003	.226**	.003	.197**	.008
Attitude									.078	.295	.069	.357	.062	.395
ΔR^2 (%)										***5.4*****				
Block 6: Efficacy														
Device efficacy											.051	.317	.013	.786
ΔR^2 (%)												***0.2***		
Block 7: Viewing contexts of Beijing 2022														
At home by themselves													.211***	.000
At home with others													.204***	.000
At other people's homes			.										.048	.413
At public place													.025	.645
ΔR^2 (%)														***6.0*****
Total R^2 (%)														***40.9*****

Note. *$p \leq .05$. **$p \leq .01$. ***$p \leq .001$.

Table 10: Hierarchical Multiple Regression Predicting Second Screening Viewing

	Model 1		**Model 2**		**Model 3**		**Model 4**		**Model 5**		**Model 6**		**Model 7**	
Variable	beta	sig.	beta	sig.	beta	sig.	beta	sig.	beta	sig.	beta	sig.	beta	sig.
Block 1: Demographics														
Gender (0= male, 1= female)	.030	.587	.058	.256	.099*	.042	.093	.061	.084	.086	.094	.054	.104*	.030
Age	-.017	.760	-.020	.705	-.051	.306	-.052	.299	-.050	.308	-.036	.466	-.027	.572
Education level	.048	.378	.040	.422	.038	.424	.037	.436	.023	.616	.012	.798	.014	.759
Household income	.138*	.018	.112**	.039	.078	.128	.084	.097	.077	.125	.070	.158	.057	.244
ΔR^2 (%)		***2***												
Block 2: Motivation														
Entertainment motivation			.007	.918	-.013	.842	.001	.987	-.024	.702	-.033	.598	-.043	.488
Escape motivation			.240***	.001	.186**	.005	.163*	.014	.161*	.013	.157*	.015	.124	.058
Group affiliation motivation			.152**	.024	.041	.526	.018	.778	.036	.581	.035	.590	-.001	.985
Self-esteem motivation			-.011	.870	-.017	.780	-.002	.976	-.030	.650	-.044	.506	-.035	.589
Aesthetic need motivation			.110	.095	.020	.756	.011	.865	-.021	.743	.001	.989	-.008	.899
ΔR^2 (%)				***16.5******										
Block 3: Fandom														
Winter sports fandom					.393***	.000	.347***	.000	.267***	.000	.252***	.000	.176**	.007
ΔR^2 (%)						***9.7******								
Block 4: Identity														
Patriotism							-.124*	.031	-.158**	.006	-.178**	.002	-.147**	.010
Team identification							.131*	.040	.125*	.048	.117	.063	.086	.169
ΔR^2 (%)								***1.3****						
Block 5: Experience														
Satisfaction									.134	.085	.127	.101	.083	.283
Attitude									.093	.221	.074	.332	.109	.148
ΔR^2 (%)										***2.8******				
Block 6: Efficacy														
Device efficacy											.111*	.033	.104*	.043
ΔR^2 (%)												***0.9****		
Block 7: Viewing contexts of Beijing 2022														
At home by themselves													.067	.183
At home with others													-.002	.978
At other people's homes			.										.171**	.005
At public place													.072	.213
ΔR^2 (%)														***3.3*****
Total R^2 (%)														***36.5******

Note. *$p \leq .05$. **$p \leq .01$. ***$p \leq .001$.

5.5 Discussion

The present study marks a significant advancement in research on audience media consumption during major sporting events, focusing specifically on Beijing 2022. Firstly, the study indicates that viewers spent the most time watching the Beijing 2022 on television, suggesting that television continues to be the primary medium for consumption. This finding aligns with the Beijing 2022 Marketing Report published by the IOC (2022b), which states that linear TV remains the most dominant platform for consumption, with 92% of viewers worldwide selecting linear TV as their preferred choice. It should be noted that while television remains the primary choice for most audiences, there has been a shift in the source of the signal. My research shows a significant increase in the number of viewers accessing Olympic content via network signals on television. This trend is supported by data from Zhiyan Consulting (2022), which indicates that from 2016 to 2020, the number of cable TV users in China has steadily declined, whereas digital TV users have increased. Further corroborating this shift, the National Radio and Television Administration of China reported a 1.45% decrease in cable TV users in 2022, totalling approximately 204 million users (National Radio and Television Administration, 2022). This phenomenon can be attributed to deeper, underlying social reasons. Due to increasing social pressures and the fast-paced lifestyle in China, residents are spending significantly less time watching television at home. Digital television, offering features such as playback and the flexibility to watch movies and TV shows at one's convenience, has become more popular among viewers compared to cable TV, which primarily offers live broadcasts.

Additionally, the proliferation of advanced mobile device technologies has further

facilitated viewers' utilization of mobile phones to watch sporting events. My study indicates that more and more viewers are using mobile devices to watch the Olympic Games. This result also echoes scholar's research on Chinese audience consumption behaviour during Tokyo 2020 (Li et al., 2023). Their research reveals that an increasing number of users are watching live broadcasts of the Tokyo 2022 and accessing information through digital media and sports apps. Specifically, streaming media platforms have played a pivotal role as the Rights-Holding Broadcasters, potentially amplifying the influence and reach of winter sports. Nonetheless, my study also reveals it is worth noting that CCTV remains the preferred platform for the majority of Chinese viewers when it comes to consuming sports content. This indicates that CCTV, being a national television station and the primary rights-holding broadcaster of the Olympic Games in China, continues to exert a significant influence on digital media. Migu and Kuaishou, emerging as new digital platforms for Olympic broadcasting, need to further increase their influence among viewers. In the next chapter, my interviewees will offer detailed explanations for their preference between CCTV and Migu as their viewing platforms. Subsequently, I will also explore more deeply the differences between these platforms, incorporating data from these interviews.

My survey also examines multi-screening viewing during the Beijing 2022, specifically the simultaneous use of more than one media device while watching live broadcasts. The data indicates that using both television and mobile devices concurrently is the most common practice. This finding diverges from Tang and Cooper's (2018a) study, which found that American viewers predominantly used a television and a computer simultaneously during the Rio 2016 Olympics. In contrast, my study shows that Chinese viewers prefer to use TV and mobile phones together when engaging with the

Beijing 2022. This difference highlights distinct media consumption patterns in different cultural contexts, underscoring the importance of context-specific research in media consumption during major sporting events.

In terms of second screening usage, specifically social media, WeChat was the most utilized platform by Chinese viewers during Beijing 2022, followed by Douyin and Weibo. The difference in usage between these platforms may be attributed to their distinct functionalities. WeChat, being China's most popular instant messaging tool, may have influenced the study participants to prefer chatting with friends or receiving information about the games from acquaintances while watching. Douyin, China's largest short video platform, did not obtain the broadcasting rights for the Beijing 2022. Nevertheless, it launched a special feature page titled "Ice and Snow 2022," covering key topics, popular events, and a variety of short video content related to the Olympics. Weibo, as China's largest microblogging platform, provides users with real-time updates about the games and a variety of publicly shared opinions. This aspect was also explained by the interviewees in my study, and I will provide more details in the next chapter. The usage frequency of these mobile applications during the Beijing 2022 mirrors the daily habits of social media users in China. Based on the findings of my research, the participants indeed represent a microcosm of Chinese internet users. According to the 2023 Digital Marketing Insights Report (Sina, 2023), the two most popular social media platforms among Chinese netizens are WeChat (81.6%) and Douyin (72.3%). The primary reasons for internet usage among Chinese users include connecting with friends and family, ranking first at 40.2%, followed by watching videos at 36.4%, and keeping up with news and current events at 35.9%.

Expanding beyond the previously mentioned audience preferences for devices and platforms, this study delves into a comprehensive examination of the audience and media factors affecting multi-screening and second-screen viewing behaviours during the Beijing 2022. The findings shed light on the intricate interplay among these factors that mould audience media consumption patterns during significant sporting events. Moving forward, I will begin by addressing RQ1, which explores the influence of audience and media factors on multi-screening viewing. Notably, one significant discovery among the various factors is the positive correlation between entertainment motivation and multi-screening viewing during the Beijing 2022. This finding echoes the research conducted by many previous scholars. For instance, Choi et al. (2009) found that entertainment is a key gratification motivating the use of other screened devices while watching television. This is in addition to other factors such as social interaction, information access, communication, passing time, and status/fashion. Similarly, Sundar and Limperos (2013) highlight that entertainment is a significant gratification sought on television and video platforms like YouTube and Netflix. They note that the absence of entertainment on one platform often prompts users to seek it elsewhere. Dias (2016) further points out that when users consume content on the first screen, they often regard browsing social networks and engaging on instant messaging platforms as forms of entertainment and ways to pass time, especially during “dead TV moments”.

This indicates that individuals actively seeking entertainment are more inclined to engage in multi-screening viewing. As audiences look for more engaging and interactive forms of entertainment, traditional single-screen viewing might not be sufficient. Multi-screening viewing offers the potential to fulfil entertainment needs in

a more immersive and interactive manner. By allowing viewers to engage with multiple screens simultaneously, it combines passive consumption, such as watching a TV show, with active participation, and engaging in online discussions related to the content being watched. In the context of sports viewing, for instance, a viewer might enhance their enjoyment of a game by watching it on one screen while engaging with fellow fans or seeking supplementary information on another screen. This approach enables viewers to access a variety of content simultaneously, including live action, background information, social interaction, and analysis, thereby enriching their overall viewing experience.

Research on the impact of multi-screening on self-esteem is relatively limited. In the broader context of media consumption, scholars argue that the use of social media can lead to excessive self-esteem. Widjajanta et al. (2018) suggest that social media usage can boost one's self-esteem. Burnasheva and Suh (2021) further highlight that the connection between self-image congruity and conspicuous online consumption is more pronounced among millennials with higher self-esteem. However, my research introduces a new perspective. The findings of my study reveal that there is a negative association between self-esteem motivation and multi-screening viewing, providing intriguing insights into how personal motivational factors can influence media consumption behaviours. Individuals with higher self-esteem motivation might prefer a more focused and less distracted viewing experience. They often find greater satisfaction in concentrating on a single task or activity, such as watching a specific program, without the distraction of multiple screens. Furthermore, those with higher self-esteem motivation may prioritize the quality of their media consumption over the quantity. This could involve engaging deeply with one program or activity rather than

dividing their attention across multiple screens, reflecting a more intentional and selective approach to media consumption. Moreover, high self-esteem motivation is also associated with a greater sense of self-sufficiency. Consequently, individuals with this trait might not feel the need to constantly seek new stimuli from multiple screens and may be more content with a singular source of entertainment or information. This could mean they are less inclined to engage with multiple screens simultaneously, a behaviour often driven by a desire to stay connected or up-to-date with multiple sources of information or social feedback.

In previous studies, scholars in sports communication have integrated team identification into their examination of sports fans' media consumption patterns (Cunningham & Eastin, 2017; Tang & Cooper, 2017). Building upon these literatures, my research provides further insights into this domain. Specifically, my study reveals that team identification plays a crucial role as a predictor of multi-screen viewing behaviour during the Beijing 2022. The positive correlation between team identification and multi-screening viewing suggests that individuals who feel a strong connection to a team or country are more likely to engage in multi-screening viewing. Multi-screening viewing allows fans to connect with other supporters, share opinions, and celebrate together, enhancing the communal experience of sports viewership. Fans strongly identified with a team may have a heightened desire to stay informed about every aspect of their team's performance, leading them to consume content across various platforms simultaneously. For a sports event like the Winter Olympics, which garners significant global attention, team identification can become a source of national pride. Engaging with multiple platforms allows fans to express this pride and connect with a broader community of supporters. The positive relationship between team identification and

multi-screening viewing during the Beijing 2022 highlights the deep emotional connections viewers have with teams and the influence of these connections on their media consumption behaviours. It underscores the importance of creating multi-dimensional viewing experiences that cater to the passionate and information-hungry sports audience.

Additionally, the positive relationship between satisfaction and multi-screening viewing suggests that viewers who find multi-screening viewing satisfactory are more likely to engage in it. My findings align with prior research conducted in this field. For instance, Thomas et al. (2021) highlights in their study on screen time among Australian middle school students that screen usage can offer a level of emotional gratification. Similarly, Lin et al. (2016) uncover that increased participation in social TV activities correlates with higher satisfaction and commitment to preferred programs. Drawing on both my investigation and existing literature, it becomes evident that multi-screen viewing fulfils diverse viewer requirements, including the pursuit of detailed information, interactive engagement, and social connections. Viewers who adapt well to the technological aspects of multi-screening viewing and find it user-friendly are likely to experience higher satisfaction and, consequently, more frequent engagement. High satisfaction in these areas encourages repeated engagement in multi-screening behaviours. In the context of sports watching, satisfied viewers might find that multi-screening viewing enriches their experience of the Olympics, providing a more comprehensive understanding and enjoyment of the event. During a high-profile event like the Winter Olympics, where emotions and engagement are heightened, the ability to simultaneously access diverse forms of content (e.g., different sports, athlete backgrounds, country-specific coverage) can significantly boost viewer satisfaction.

The viewing context is also important for viewers' multi-screen consumption (Tang & Cooper, 2017). My findings shed light on this aspect by revealing that both solitary viewing of the Beijing 2022 at home and watching it with others are strong predictors of multi-screening behaviours. When individuals opt to watch the Olympics alone, they often find themselves, as described by scholars, "together alone," existing within private digital spheres where their actions and interactions are detached from those nearby (McGill et al., 2015). In such sports watching cases, engaging with multiple screens becomes a means to enrich the viewing experience. This may entail toggling between different events, seeking detailed athlete or sports-related information, or concurrently viewing various types of content. Moreover, multi-screening enables solitary viewers to bridge the gap between physical isolation and virtual connectivity by engaging with others online. Through interactions on social media platforms or forums, a sense of community and shared experience is fostered, alleviating feelings of isolation and enhancing the overall viewing experience.

In a group setting, the use of additional screens can enhance the collective viewing experience. This might include checking real-time statistics or background information to enrich group discussions or verify facts. Additionally, even within a group, viewers may have personal interests or preferences. Multi-screening viewing facilitates the pursuit of these individual interests without disrupting the communal viewing experience. In essence, multi-screening viewing, whether in solitude or in a group, addresses a range of needs - from social interaction and information seeking to personalization and enhancement of the entertainment experience. Additional screens act as a complement to the main viewing experience, offering a more enriched and

personalized viewing environment.

My RQ2 is what audience and media factors predict second screening viewing among Chinese audiences? Contrary to multi-screening viewing trends, the predictors for second screening usage during Beijing 2022 reveal different factors. Gender emerged as a notable predictor in my research. Regarding the gender dynamics among sports fans, Gantz and Wenner (1995) posit that despite both men and women within a family being sports enthusiasts, the prevalence of male fans often results in a lack of shared televised sports viewing experiences in many households, even when husbands and wives watch the same TV sports program. Billings et al. (2020) further reveal that male NFL fans exhibited a greater inclination towards utilizing second-screen devices during the consumption of NFL media products, my findings diverge. In contrast, my research indicates that female viewers demonstrate a higher propensity for second-screen usage compared to their male counterparts. This suggests a nuanced relationship between gender and multi-screen consumption behaviours, warranting further exploration into the underlying factors driving these differences. This result suggests that women might utilize social media as a more accessible means to engage with sports events, potentially due to traditional sports broadcasting being perceived as more male-oriented. They might use second screen to acquire information beyond the live game, seeking details about the athletes, teams, or participating countries. This includes background stories and past performances, enriching their understanding of the event. Engaging with the Olympics on social media while watching the event is a form of multitasking. Women, according to this data, appear more inclined to this behaviour, using social media to access live updates, commentary, or discussions about the event. This trend aligns with the findings of Jeong and Fishbein (2007), which suggests that women are more likely

than men to engage in multitasking and use multiple media sources.

The relationship between winter sports fandom and second screening viewing can be significant, particularly during major events like the Olympics. This finding provides additional validation for previous research into the wide-ranging in-person and second-screen behaviours that occur while viewing live sports. For example, Lewis et al. (2021) contend that sports fandom correlates positively with game-related behaviours, such as second-screen viewing, while showing no significant association with unrelated behaviours. Fans of winter sports typically seek an immersive viewing experience, and second screening viewing offers additional layers of engagement beyond the primary broadcast. Fans may use a second screen to access real-time statistics and background information about athletes, enhancing their overall experience. During sports mega events like the Olympics, which feature multiple sports occurring simultaneously, dedicated fans, eager not to miss any action, might use a second screen to follow other events or receive updates concurrently with the main broadcast. They are also interested in accessing exclusive content such as behind-the-scenes stories, interviews, and match analyses. The second screen provides this comprehensive coverage, meeting the fans' desire for in-depth information. Moreover, winter sports enthusiasts often seek to share their experiences and opinions with others who have similar interests. The second screen, especially through social media platforms, offers a way for fans to connect, discuss events in real-time, and feel part of a broader community. Furthermore, platforms accessible via the second screen frequently provide direct channels for interacting with athletes and teams, such as through social media profiles or official apps. Fans might use these platforms to show support, follow their favourite athletes or teams' updates, and establish a closer connection with them.

Contrary to initial expectations, patriotism emerged as a surprising negative predictor of second screening use during Beijing 2022. This unforeseen finding challenges the conventional assumption that a strong sense of national pride and patriotism would inherently drive individuals to engage more actively with social media platforms while immersed in the Winter Olympics. However, it is important to note that the complexities surrounding this phenomenon necessitate further exploration and analysis. In the realm of sports audience media consumption, prior studies conducted in various countries have consistently reported China as having the highest patriotism score (Billings et al., 2013; Tang et al., 2022). This remarkable finding has been attributed to several factors, including China's ongoing process of reform and opening, as well as the deliberate efforts of Chinese media to enhance the sense of group belonging and foster a collective culture among its citizens, particularly during sports events. The strategic dissemination of propaganda and nationalistic narratives has been suggested as contributing to the amplification of fans' patriotic sentiments. However, the unexpected results observed in this study prompt a deeper exploration of the underlying factors at play. One potential explanation for the observed negative correlation between patriotism and second screening use during Beijing 2022 can be attributed to the strict implementation of the dynamic zero-COVID policy measures in China from 2020 to 2022. These stringent measures, designed to contain and prevent the spread of the COVID-19 virus, may have inadvertently affected the public's perception of the government's handling of the situation. The increased exposure to negative issues surrounding anti-infection measures on social media platforms could have eroded the credibility of the government in the eyes of the audience. Consequently, this diminished sense of trust and confidence may have contributed to a decreased inclination among viewers to engage in second

screening activities fuelled by patriotic sentiments.

The positive association between self-efficacy in device usage and second screening viewing during events like Beijing 2022 is multifaceted. My participants report that individuals with high self-efficacy in handling devices generally find themselves more comfortable and efficient in their use. My findings offer further support to Cunningham and Eastin's (2017) literature, which proposes that self-efficacy positively influences engagement in second-screen usage among sports viewers during programming. This proficiency encourages engagement in second screening viewing, as they can effortlessly navigate apps, websites, and social media platforms. Furthermore, those confident in their device-handling skills are likely to excel at multitasking. They can seamlessly switch between the primary broadcast and their second screen, accessing additional content, interacting socially, or receiving real-time updates. Moreover, those with greater self-efficacy are inclined to explore and experiment with new features or applications. This openness leads to the discovery of innovative ways to enhance their viewing experience, such as utilizing cutting-edge mobile applications for a richer engagement with the event.

In the realm of viewing context, Tang and Cooper (2018b) assert that the setting in which viewers engage with sports mega-events significantly influences their social media consumption. My research echoes this assertion, further demonstrating that watching the Beijing 2022 at others' homes correlates positively with second-screen viewing. This observation unveils a compelling facet of audience behaviour within the context of sports consumption. This result suggests that the context in which viewers consume media can significantly influence how they interact with it. In a communal

viewing environment, different individuals may have varied interests or preferences regarding the events or athletes. Second screening allow viewers to follow their specific interests without disrupting the main broadcast that the group is watching. For example, while the main screen shows a live skiing game, someone might use their mobile device to follow updates on figure skating. Additionally, the comfort and informality of being in someone else's home, such as a friend's, might encourage viewers to engage more freely with second screening. The ease of being among friends or family can lead to a more casual and interactive media consumption behaviour, where people feel at ease frequently checking their phones or tablets. Lastly, collective learning and information sharing are common in a group setting. There's often a shared desire to learn more about the event being watched. Second screening serve as a tool for quick information retrieval and sharing, enhancing the group's collective understanding and appreciation of the event.

5.6 Conclusion

In conclusion, this study provides an analysis of audience media consumption during the Beijing 2022 Winter Olympics, providing a new perspective on the influencing factors of viewer engagement with major sporting events. The research underscores the continued dominance of television as the primary medium for sports consumption, with a notable shift from traditional cable TV to digital TV. This transition reflects broader societal changes, especially in China, where increasing social pressures and a fast-paced lifestyle have led viewers to favour the convenience and flexibility of digital television.

The study also highlights the growing impact of mobile devices in sports viewership.

This trend is driven by advancements in mobile technology and the increasing role of streaming media platforms. Despite the emergence of new digital platforms like Migu and Kuaishou, traditional broadcasters, including CCTV, maintain a significant influence on the consumption of sports content in China. This situation indicates a complex interplay between new media platforms and traditional broadcasting, requiring a nuanced understanding of viewer preferences and behaviours.

Furthermore, the research also explores how audience factors and media factors affect multi-screening and second screening viewing patterns. The study finds that multi-screening viewing is positively associated with entertainment motivation, suggesting that viewers seeking more engaging and interactive forms of entertainment tend to use multiple screens. Conversely, there is a negative association between self-esteem motivation and multi-screening viewing, indicating that individuals with higher self-esteem motivation may prefer a more focused and less distracted viewing experience. Team identification has emerged as a significant predictor of multi-screening viewing behaviour. Viewers with a strong connection to a team or country are more likely to engage in multi-screening viewing, enhancing the communal experience of sports viewership and allowing fans to express their pride and connect with a broader community. The study also notes that satisfaction with multi-screening viewing encourages repeated engagement in such behaviours, particularly during high-profile events like the Winter Olympics. The ability to access diverse forms of content simultaneously can significantly enhance viewer satisfaction. Whether viewing alone or in a group, audiences are increasingly engaging with multiple screens to enhance their experience. For solitary viewers, multi-screening usage supplements the viewing experience by providing access to varied content and fostering online community

interaction, thereby reducing feelings of isolation. In group settings, additional screens serve to enrich the collective experience, allowing for real-time information access and catering to individual preferences without disrupting the shared experience. This trend underscores the evolving nature of audience engagement, where multi-screening viewing meets diverse needs from social interaction to personalized entertainment, thereby enhancing the overall viewing experience of major sporting events.

Additionally, the research reveals various factors influencing second screening usage among Chinese audiences. Gender is a significant predictor, with female viewers showing a higher tendency to use a second screen, possibly due to the perception of traditional sports broadcasting as more male-oriented. The relationship between winter sports fandom and second screening viewing is also significant, as fans seek an immersive viewing experience and in-depth information. Interestingly, patriotism was found to inversely relate to second screening viewing, suggesting that individuals with strong patriotic sentiments may prefer a more traditional, focused viewing experience. This finding highlights the diverse ways viewers interact with media, reflecting their personal and cultural preferences. Lastly, the positive association between self-efficacy in device usage and second screening viewing underscores the importance of comfort and proficiency with technology in engaging with second screening. The study also shows that watching the Beijing 2022 in communal settings like another person's home increases second screening viewing. This allows individuals to pursue personal interests and enhances group enjoyment through shared information, highlighting the importance of second screening in enriching the group viewing experience of major sporting events.

In summary, this study provides a comprehensive understanding of the factors influencing audience media consumption patterns during major sports events like the Beijing 2022. The findings offer valuable insights for broadcasters, content creators, and marketers, emphasizing the importance of catering to diverse viewer preferences and behaviours. As the media landscape continues to evolve, this research significantly contributes to our understanding of contemporary media consumption patterns and the need for adaptive and targeted strategies to enhance viewer engagement and satisfaction.

Chapter Six: The Usage Pattern of Chinese Viewers Multi-screening and Second Screening Viewing during Beijing 2022

6.1 Channel Complementarity Theory and Its Origins

The Channel Complementarity Theory (CCT), introduced by Dutta-Bergman in 2004, is a refined and emerging concept from several theories including the Niche Theory (Dimmich & Rothenbuhler, 1984), Selective Exposure Theory (Zillmann & Bryant, 1985), and the Uses and Gratifications Theory (Katz et al., 1973). CCT suggests that individuals actively choose media content that resonates with their habits, beliefs, and thought patterns. They leverage a range of media channels to satisfy specific needs, including traditional print and broadcast media as well as digital platforms such as the internet, mobile devices, and social networking tools. Unlike other theories that concentrate on the competitive nature of media channels, CCT highlights the complementary aspect of media usage. It proposes that the media landscape can accommodate various channels serving complementary roles, including newer channels operating in tandem with older ones, providing a diverse array of options. According to CCT, channel usage is an interactive and dynamic process where individuals deliberately use different channels to meet specific personal or utilitarian needs. This perspective acknowledges the unique strengths of different media channels in catering to various aspects of users' media consumption experiences and disputes the widespread belief that new communication technologies necessarily replace older media forms (Dutta-Bergman, 2004a).

Dutta's research on CCT emerged in the aftermath of September 11 attacks, commonly

referred to as 9/11 (Dutta-Bergman, 2004a). Within his study, Dutta examines the relationship between internet and telephone usage in interpersonal communication following the 9/11 incidents. Results suggest that individuals with an interpersonal orientation typically reached out to their support networks, which included family and friends. Notably, participants who communicated about the attacks via telephone also tended to engage through online platforms, thereby establishing a multifaceted network of connectivity across different media forms. This highlights the seamless integration of traditional media (like the telephone) with newer media (such as the internet) in the realm of supportive interpersonal communication. The principle of channel complementarity suggests that new media can coexist with traditional forms, each serving unique communicative functions. In this case, both the telephone and the internet addressed participants' needs for social support (Dutta-Bergman, 2004a). The research also delved into media complementarity in interpersonal communication, indicating a potential alignment with specific communication functions across media platforms. By advocating a function-centric approach, the study challenges the techno-deterministic view, which emphasizes the medium over the message. Instead, it posits that the function a medium fulfils impacts its usage, thus highlighting an area worthy of deeper exploration in mass communication. In essence, the study underscores the centrality of function in media selection. In a study conducted by Dutta-Bergman in 2004, the idea of media complementarity was investigated, highlighting a harmony between the use of online and traditional media within specific content areas (Dutta-Bergman, 2004b). The results support the media complementarity concept, indicating that users who access online news in a particular domain are also inclined to look for similar content in traditional media. For instance, an individual interested in politics may gather political information from both new and traditional media sources. This

trend is also observed in the realm of business and finance news, where a consumer who relies on traditional media for information may also utilize the internet for additional insights in the same field. It is noteworthy that Dutta-Bergman's research delves into the sphere of sports news in both digital and conventional media. The findings highlight how demographic factors play a pivotal role in determining the choice of platform for sports-related content. For instance, those who consume sports and entertainment news online tend to be younger compared to non-readers of these genres, and the readership of sports news is predominantly male. This significant gender-based trend in online sports news consumption mirrors patterns seen in traditional media, thus reinforcing the concept of media complementarity. The strong male interest in sports, reflected in their media viewership, suggests that underlying motivations steer media consumption choices. These findings not only reinforce the fundamental concept that online news readership varies across specific content areas but also illustrate that the demographic characteristics of users and nonusers diverge among different news content types (Dutta-Bergman, 2004b).

Scholars have also used CCT to study health information-seeking behaviour. Ruppel and Rains (2012) survey 3,392 participants through the 2007-2008 Health Information National Trends Survey. They find that participants preferred sources that offered high tailor ability and anonymity, with convenience sometimes being surpassed by other factors. Rains and Ruppel (2016) further identify four key factors affecting source selection: access to medical expertise, tailor ability, anonymity, and convenience. Their combined research confirms that health information seekers systematically select sources based on these factors.

Moreover, Lin and Dutta (2017) conduct a survey on health information-seeking behaviour among nearly 1,000 Internet users in India. They examine the use of 11 different channels. Their findings suggest that most channels were used in conjunction with the Internet, with the exception of newspapers and family. They also find that age influenced the use of these channels, with younger individuals utilizing more channels than their older counterparts. Expanding on this, Zhang, Qin and Li (2020) further categorize new media into search engines, social media, and mobile health apps. Their study show that people used information and entertainment media complementarily, regardless of their initial preferences. They also observed an overlap in the use of search engines, social media, and health apps for accessing health information.

Glynn and Huge (2014) expand the CCT beyond its initial scope, incorporating economic communication and shedding light on the interconnectedness between traditional and new media. Their work emphasizes the tendency of individuals to seek economic information from diverse sources rather than relying solely on one medium. Ruppel et al. (2018) integrate CCT with media multiplexity theory to investigate how college students utilize communication technology in maintaining long-distance friendships. Their findings reveal a complementary usage pattern of these technologies, influenced by the intimacy levels within the friendships. Moreover, in the realm of politics, Neyazi et al. (2019) apply CCT to analyse India's 2014 national election, noting the impact of exposure to traditional media on the engagement with social media platforms. These diverse applications underscore the adaptability and relevance of CCT across different communication fields, demonstrating its capacity to provide insights into the complexities of contemporary communication dynamics.

Examining the comprehensive research on the CCT, it becomes apparent that the theory acknowledges the transformative changes that are currently reshaping the media landscape. These profound transformations are primarily driven by the rapid technological advancements' characteristic of the digital age. This evolution has precipitated the emergence of an enriched, dynamic media environment, marked by the rapid proliferation of various streaming services, a multitude of social media platforms, and a vast array of digital media options. These contemporary innovations have effectively empowered users, granting them the ability to tailor and customize their media consumption habits to align seamlessly with their personal preferences and individual lifestyles.

When applied to the realm of sports communication, the CCT provides an insightful lens through which we can understand and appreciate the diverse ways in which sports enthusiasts interact with, and engage with, various media sources. As was posited by Dutta-Bergman in 2004, rather than relying solely on a single medium for sports-related content, sports enthusiasts often amalgamate sources such as newspapers, television broadcasts, and the internet to satisfy and address their diverse sports-related interests and needs.

While the CCT sheds ample light on the collaborative nature of different media channels, it also underscores the need for a deeper, more nuanced understanding of their intricate interplay, particularly during significant sports events. Delving into the interconnected dynamics of various media channels during such events can offer valuable insights. These insights can be particularly useful for media professionals and policymakers as they strive to enhance their engagement strategies and effectively

navigate the increasingly complex media landscape.

Having examined the proposal of CCT theory, it's crucial to acknowledge its roots in a synthesis of multiple classic social science theories, as emphasized by Dutta-Bergman (2004a, 2004b), the theory's proponent. He highlights that CCT draws from various foundational theoretical frameworks, among which Niche Theory, Uses and Gratifications Theory, and Selective Exposure Theory stand out prominently. Niche Theory investigates how different media can coexist by fulfilling specialized roles or catering to specific audiences. Meanwhile, Uses and Gratifications Theory explores the motivations behind consumers' choices of particular media to satisfy specific needs or desires. Additionally, Selective Exposure Theory suggests that individuals tend to prefer information that aligns with their existing beliefs or preferences. These theories collectively contribute to the overarching principles and insights provided by CCT. Therefore, it is imperative to conduct a comprehensive exploration of these foundational theories in the subsequent section.

6.1.1 Niche Theory

The CCT draws inspiration from several influential theories, among which Niche Theory holds a significant place. Niche Theory, deeply rooted in bioecological principles, employs spatial metaphors to elucidate key concepts such as niche dimension, niche breadth, and niche overlap (Dimmick, 1997). In this theoretical framework, the environment is conceptualized as a complex spatial landscape brimming with distinct resource dimensions capable of sustaining one or more populations. In this context, "populations" refer to organizations that share greater

internal similarities with each other than with different groups. The niche of a particular population or industry denotes its precise location within these environmental resource dimensions, showcasing its distinctive pattern of resource utilization, as detailed by Dimmick (1997). Niche Theory provides a valuable perspective within the CCT framework. This conceptualization enriches our comprehension of how different media channels serve specialized roles and cater to specific audiences, contributing to a more nuanced understanding of communication dynamics in contemporary contexts.

In the 1980s, the advent of new technologies facilitated the integration of Niche Theory into communication research. Niche Theory looks at how different mass media outlets compete for the same resource: their audience. Researchers like Dimmick and Rothenbuhler (1984) use the idea of competitive displacement to explain niche overlap. This happens when one medium takes resources from others, especially when those resources are shared consumers (Newell et al., 2008). At its heart, Niche Theory measures how much different media overlap and determines a medium's importance based on the opportunities it provides for audience gratification. The level of this niche overlap shows how much different media forms complement or compete with each other (Dimmick & Rothenbuhler, 1984; Dutta-Bergman, 2004b). If there's a lot of overlap, it could mean competition, as one medium can replace another. But if there's little overlap, it could mean complementarity, where different media can benefit each other.

The period spanning the 1990s to the early 2000s, characterized by significant shifts in media formats, saw an increased application of Niche Theory in analysing the diverse media landscape. Scholars suggest that a thorough understanding of niche theory

requires an examination of three primary attributes (Baek & Hwang, 2014; Li, 2017). First, “Niche breadth” refers to the range of media-related needs that a medium can fulfil. Second, “niche overlap” illustrates the perceived similarities among different types of social media, measured by the proximity of their gratification niches. Lastly, “competitive superiority” shows the extent to which a medium provides superior gratification compared to others (Hwang et al., 2022). Within the framework of the three dimensions outlined above, numerous studies during this era have thoroughly examined the impact of online media, amplified by the widespread adoption of the Internet, on traditional offline media, as well as the competitive dynamics and substitution patterns across various media formats, including newspapers, television, and instant messaging (Dimmick et al., 2004; Haniff, 2012; Ha & Fang, 2012; Ji & Lee, 2020).

In terms of audiovisual communication, Sarrina (2001) applies niche theory from organizational ecology to analyse competition between television news, electronic news, and newspapers in Taiwan. Using a telephone survey, this research meticulously gauges the gratification levels perceived by users of each medium. The results highlight an intense competition between newspapers and television news, with television news gaining supremacy. Expanding on this groundwork, Li (2017) further analyses the competition among three television platforms: Over-The-Top (OTT), IPTV (MOD), and digital cable. Intriguingly, OTT emerges as the fiercest competitor, whereas digital cable and MOD display similar competitive intensity. The sharpest rivalry is observed between MOD and digital cable, likely due to their perceived similarities. While OTT is broadly categorized as a generalist in the market, both MOD and digital cable are more niche-focused, being perceived as specialists. In tandem, Sahu et al. (2021) pursue

research comparing OTT platforms to Conventional TV, seeking to understand user preferences. They find that while Conventional TV generally holds a more substantial competitive advantage over OTT platforms, some exceptions exist. Specifically, Conventional TV dominates in terms of financial benefits and relaxation niches, whereas OTT platforms stand out for their convenience.

Regarding digital media consumption, Dimmick et al. (2004) investigate online news consumption compared to traditional media among 211 respondents. Their findings unequivocally indicate a competitive displacement effect of the Internet on traditional media for daily news consumption, with television and newspapers experiencing the most notable shifts. The study also highlights a significant degree of overlap between the niches of the Internet and traditional media in terms of gratification opportunities. Notably, the Internet emerges as the medium with the widest niche, fulfilling a more extensive array of user needs than any traditional platform. This displacement phenomenon is further substantiated by Ha and Fang (2012), who deduce that the Internet's influence on traditional media consumption becomes more pronounced after five years of use. Experienced Internet users perceive online platforms as superior, and as their Internet experience grows, the time spent on traditional media decreases, though at a decreasing rate. In a related vein, Haniff (2012) utilizes Niche Theory to analyse the rivalry between print and digital magazines. This study unveils a persistent preference for print, with only a slow shift towards digital alternatives, hinting at the print medium's eventual necessity to evolve or integrate with digital formats. Bolstering this research trajectory, Ji and Lee (2020) delve into the transformations in the global media industry instigated by the Internet, evaluating the influence of cultural determinants on the online-offline competitive landscape using niche theory. Their

findings emphasize the critical role of culture in shaping this competition.

For communication channels, Ramirez et al. (2008) embark on a comprehensive study to discern instant messaging's role in providing general gratifications. This research positions instant messaging as having a broad niche, only second to cell phones. Notably, substantial overlaps are detected between instant messaging and other communication tools like e-mails and cell phones, suggesting some degree of interchangeability. However, landline telephones show the least overlap with instant messaging. In terms of general gratifications, the hierarchy indicates cell phones at the pinnacle, followed by instant messaging, then e-mail, and lastly landline telephones.

In the realm of political communication, scholars undertake a comparative exploration between political news on Facebook and its traditional counterparts—television and newspapers (Schäfer et al., 2017). The study reveals that users typically do not primarily access Facebook for political information. When assessing niche breadth and overlap, Facebook displays a relatively narrow niche and has minimal intersections with traditional news sources. This underscores the notion that political news on Facebook tends to serve as a unique, supplementary source, augmenting traditional news platforms.

The application of Niche Theory to sports communication, while limited, has led to some insightful studies on media consumption patterns related to major sporting events. A notable study by Cunningham and Eastin (2017) harnesses this theoretical framework to delve into the dynamics of second screening usage. Their research spotlights the roles of engagement and self-efficacy, revealing both to exert direct influence on attitudes.

Additionally, the study underscores a marked positive impact on engagement stemming from team identification and self-efficacy.

Similarly, Kim et al. (2016) venture into an exploration set against the backdrop of the 2014 Sochi Winter Olympic Games. Their goal is to discern the competitive dynamics among television sets, personal computers, and mobile devices in catering to the global audience of this major sporting spectacle. Among their prominent observations, personal computers demonstrate significant overlap with mobile devices, especially in facilitating socialization and diversion gratifications. This suggests that personal computers are gradually overshadowing mobile devices in these specific areas. On the other hand, television sets emerge as having a dominant overlap with, and superiority over, personal computers when it comes to gratifications related to eustress, aesthetics, learning, and self-esteem.

6.1.2 Uses and Gratifications Theory

The Uses and Gratifications Theory focuses on understanding why individuals engage with and consume media. Developed in the early 1970s by Katz, Blumler and Gurevitch (1973), Uses and Gratifications Theory explores the motivations behind media usage and how individuals actively select and utilize media to fulfil their personal needs. The theory emerged in the early 1940s when cinema and radio were popular and fundamental elements of everyday life across the western world (Lowery & de Fleur, 1988). Since then, the Uses and Gratifications Theory has undergone continuous advancement and has been applied to a broader range of communication studies following the progression of the media industry and communication technology.

According to the Uses and Gratifications Theory, individuals actively seek out media content that fulfills their psychological and social needs, rather than being passive consumers of media messages (Ruggiero, 2000). This theory posits that people use media to satisfy specific desires, including the pursuit of information, entertainment, social interaction, personal identity, and escapism. A fundamental aspect of the Uses and Gratifications Theory is that media consumption is driven by diverse needs and motivations, which can differ based on demographics, social background, and personal preferences (Krcmar & Strizhakova, 2009). The theory posits that individuals choose media channels and content that align with their specific goals and desires (Matei, 2010). For example, someone seeking news and information may turn to traditional news outlets, while someone looking for entertainment might opt for television shows or online streaming platforms. Uses and Gratifications Theory also emphasizes the active role of individuals in the communication process (Ruggiero, 2000). It suggests that users are not passive recipients of media messages but rather active agents who have control over their media choices. Individuals actively select media channels and content that align with their needs, evaluate different options, and make choices accordingly.

Over the years, Uses and Gratifications Theory has evolved and been applied to various fields of communication research, including advertising, political communication, social media, and sports communication. Within the sphere of sports communication, Uses and Gratifications Theory plays a pivotal role in guiding numerous research endeavours. A case in point is the study by Spinda and Puckette (2018), which explores the underlying motivations propelling users to employ Snapchat for sports tracking. Their investigation reveals four core motives—ease and convenience, behind-the-scenes insights, vicarious experiences, and a unique perspective—spanning across 21

identified items.

In a cross-cultural exploration, Billings et al. (2019a) set out to contrast the motivations and gratifications of sports enthusiasts from the United States and China in their usage of distinct social media platforms. They focus specifically on Facebook and Twitter for the American demographic, and on WeChat and Weibo for the Chinese population. Their findings delineate a clear preference among Chinese users for WeChat in fostering camaraderie, entertainment, regular engagement, and relationship sustenance. In contrast, Weibo stands out in catalysing arousal. For American users, Facebook outperforms Twitter on every motivational metric. An overarching observation is the heightened gratifications reported by Chinese respondents in comparison to their American peers across all evaluated factors.

In another study, Billings et al. (2019b) survey 2,296 individuals across six countries to understand their uses and gratifications in consuming media content during the Pyeongchang 2018 Winter Olympic Games. The research discerns notable variations among nations, identifying 16 distinct uses and gratifications that differ significantly. Interestingly, while companionship and relationship building are pinpointed as inverse predictors of Olympic media consumption—both emphasizing the inclination for interaction—none of the direct predictors, namely entertainment, arousal, competition, and Schwabism, have any link to interpersonal objectives. These insights underscore the versatility of the Uses and Gratifications Theory in deciphering audience engagement patterns in sports communication. It becomes evident that various media platforms cater to distinct uses and gratifications. Furthermore, the study accentuates the significance of factoring in the socio-cultural backdrop when probing into media

consumption behaviours, reinforcing the intricate nexus between culture and user engagement.

6.1.3 Selective Exposure Theory

Originating in the 1940s, Selective Exposure Theory, anchored in the work of Lazarsfeld, Berelson and Gaudet (1968), posits that individuals tend to selectively consume information consistent with their pre-existing beliefs and attitudes. This theory gained momentum from observations made during the 1940 presidential campaign, wherein the aforementioned researchers noted a pronounced tendency among partisans to expose themselves to congruent messages, sidelining discordant ones. This propensity was later encapsulated and expanded upon by Festinger's (1957a) cognitive dissonance theory. Festinger theorizes that the motivation behind this selective exposure lies in individuals' drive to minimize cognitive dissonance—a psychological tension originating from harbouring conflicting beliefs or attitudes. While the theory underscores that cognitive dissonance doesn't invariably result in seeking consonant information, it highlights that in the face of overwhelming contrary evidence, individuals might re-evaluate their preconceptions. However, in scenarios characterized by moderate cognitive dissonance, the pursuit of information aligning with one's pre-existing beliefs is postulated to intensify. This phenomenon, integral to Selective Exposure Theory, has been academically delineated as either congeniality bias (Eagly & Chaiken, 1993, 1998, 2005) or confirmation bias (Jonas et al., 2001).

The majority of research on selective exposure is based on Festinger's theory (1957b), which initially defined it as the propensity to seek out information that confirms one's

pre-existing attitudes and to shun information that contradicts them. Nevertheless, the precise definition of selective exposure remains a subject of debate. Garrett and Stroud (2014) argue against this narrow definition, asserting that if selective exposure is strictly about seeking congruent information and avoiding all opposing viewpoints, it is unrealistic, as it is challenging to completely evade counter-attitudinal information. For instance, partisan media often present opposing viewpoints, sometimes to provide their audience with counter-arguments (Jamieson & Cappella, 2008). Moreover, individuals might pursue opposing views to mock them, debate them, or gain a better understanding of different perspectives. Research supports this view, indicating that while people generally prefer politically like-minded content, they do not entirely avoid information that challenges their beliefs (Garrett, 2009; Garrett et al., 2013). Stroud (2008) investigated data from the 2004 National Annenberg Election Survey and found an interesting trend: despite the tendency of partisans to select media that aligns with their political views, a substantial segment still consumes media that challenges their perspectives. Specifically, 26% of liberal Democrats and 43% of conservative Republicans engage with at least one political media source that contradicts their own beliefs.

Within communication studies, the notion of Selective Exposure Theory emerges as a prevalent rationale for the limited evidence supporting significant media impacts. This theory is also extensively utilized in the field of sports communication. For instance, Brown and De Matviuk (2010) delve into the impact of media exposure to sports celebrities on public health issues linked to those figures. They focus on the ripple effect caused by Maradona's drug-related health crisis in 2004. Analysing public engagement with Maradona, they discern that individuals with more parasocial interactions are not

only more aware of drug abuse issues but also show increased personal concern, are more inclined to abstain from drug use, and are more supportive of drug abuse prevention initiatives. However, those identifying closely with Maradona exhibit a dampened enthusiasm for drug use prevention.

Subsequently, Chan-Olmsted & Kwak (2020) turn their attention to the interplay between fantasy sports and sports media consumption, spanning both traditional and emerging media channels. Drawing data from a representative US adult panel, their findings suggest that indulgence in fantasy sports generally augments media consumption across platforms, with the notable exception of traditional outlets like television and newspapers. Their investigation further pinpoints that among social media platforms, Twitter, YouTube, and blogs/website usage around the sporting event correlate strongly with fantasy sports engagement. In contrast, Facebook shows no such association.

In a more recent study, Cummins and Hahn (2022) posit that the selective exposure framework offers invaluable insights into understanding the interplay of exemplification theory components, such as how viewers weigh exemplars against base-rate data. In their experimental setup, viewers' attention is captured while they watch sports highlights juxtaposed with athlete performance statistics. The study unveils that while exemplars generally seize more attention, a viewer's specific interest in the domain amplifies their attention to base-rate statistics, enhancing recall. Notably, the depth of a viewer's actual knowledge about the sport moderates this relationship.

6.2 Research Design

6.2.1 Research questions

As I mentioned earlier, television remains a dominant channel for Olympic Games communication. However, in recent years, the IOC has recognized the increasing importance of social media in Olympic communication. There's a noticeable shift towards leveraging social media channels to engage audiences, strengthen the Olympic brand, and adapt to the evolving consumption habits of modern viewers. To gain empirical insights into how Chinese audiences interacted with different media platforms during the Beijing 2022, I conducted a series of in-depth interviews with a diverse range of participants. Drawing from my understanding of Channel Complementarity Theory, I formulated the following research questions:

RQ4: Which devices and platforms do Chinese viewers utilize to watch Beijing 2022 content?

RQ5: How do these devices and platforms differentiate in the viewing experiences they provide?

RQ6: How might Chinese viewers engage with the Beijing 2022 content via social media as an auxiliary second screening?

6.2.2 Research method: semi-structure interview

In this chapter, I employ a qualitative research method, specific semi-structure interview, to explore the specific media consumption habits of Chinese audiences during Beijing 2022. According to Creswell (2014), qualitative research is characterized by its unique methodological approach to inquiry, aimed at understanding social or human challenges. Qualitative research delves into understanding individuals' interpretations of their experiences, their constructed realities, and the meanings they ascribe to those experiences (Merriam & Tisdell, 2009). This approach enables researchers to engage directly with participants, facilitating candid narratives and yielding a profound comprehension of the matter at hand (Creswell & Poth, 2016). Central to this method is the pursuit of insights regarding experience, meaning, and perspective, predominantly from the vantage point of the participants (Hammarberg et al., 2016). Wimmer and Dominick (2013) highlight the adaptability of qualitative methods, emphasizing their capacity to accommodate emergent areas of interest. Given these characteristics, this study embraced a qualitative research approach. This approach allowed for insights to be gleaned from individual experiences through nuanced linguistic exploration.

Specifically, in this chapter, I use semi-structured interviews to attain a comprehensive understanding of the media consumption experiences of Chinese viewers during Beijing 2022. These interviews, as emphasized by Potter and Hepburn (2005), facilitate participants in articulating their responses, highlighting both the context and significance of their behaviours and lived experiences. A notable feature of semi-structured interviews, as described by Bryman (2016, p. 468), is the predefined questions or topics, yet they afford participants ample freedom in their answers, prioritizing their perceptions while elucidating events and behaviours. These interviews

often extend longer than typical interviews and may require multiple sessions. Grounded in question uniformity to ensure comparability, the method aids in identifying recurring themes and variations in narratives. In contrast to strict adherence to pre-set questions, the interviewer introduces broader questions based on the interviewee's responses, seeking to understand how participants structure and express their insights (Appleton, 1995). This approach is pivotal for engaging respondents with unique perspectives, ensuring a wide range of perspectives on specific events or phenomena (Gubrium & Holstein, 2002; Seidman, 2006).

In order to ensure a diverse and representative sample, I employed a combination of snowball sampling and personal networks. This approach allowed for the inclusion of individuals from various backgrounds and perspectives, contributing to a more comprehensive analysis of multi-screening and second screening viewing during Beijing 2022. A total of 30 Chinese viewers were selected as interviewees. The sample consisted of 14 female and 16 male viewers, and covered a wide spectrum in terms of gender, backgrounds, geographical locations, age, and their level of enthusiasm for sports and the Olympic Games in particular (refer to Table 11). To meet the sampling criteria, participants need to watch live broadcasts of Beijing 2022 through one or more platforms and actively engage with the Games on social media. This ensured that the interviewees had direct exposure to the media content and had actively participated in the online discourse surrounding the Olympic Games. By integrating these diverse individuals, the study sought to provide a holistic view of media engagement during Beijing 2022, capturing a wide array of experiences and enriching the study’s findings.

I develop an interview guide to extract comprehensive insights from participants. This

guide was structured around three central topics, enabling participants to articulate their multi-screening and second screening viewing experiences during the Games. The initial topic probed the primary devices participants used to access Beijing 2022, which spanned a spectrum of technology, from televisions and computers to mobile phones and tablets. By understanding these device preferences, the study aspired to discern the multifaceted ways participants engaged with the Olympic content. The subsequent topic investigated participants' chosen broadcast platforms for Beijing 2022. This encompassed traditional broadcasters like CCTV and emerging streaming services such as Migu. By analysing these choices, the study aimed to illuminate evolving trends in media consumption and the vast array of options audiences leveraged to experience the Olympic Games. Lastly, the study explored participants' use of social media as a second screening, delving into their engagement activities tied to Beijing 2022. Participants expounded on their preferred social platforms and specific engagement activities, including sharing, commenting, and interacting with Olympic-centric content.

As the author of this study, I assumed full responsibility for both informing and protecting the participants in accordance with ethical guidelines. To ensure the ethical integrity of the study, the research proposal was subjected to a rigorous review process and obtained approval from the Ethics Committee of the Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona. Throughout the research, I strictly adhered to their stipulated ethical standards. To ensure participants' anonymity, responses gathered via the Tencent Survey platform were rendered anonymous, collecting only non-identifiable demographics such as age, gender, socioeconomic status, and educational background, excluding any personal identifiers like IP addresses. For the interviews, participants were presented with a detailed informed consent form at the onset, outlining provisions

about response confidentiality. All researchers were bound by the confidentiality clauses of this form, to which I remained diligently committed throughout the study. Ensuring participants' privacy was paramount; stringent measures were in place to safeguard their identities and maintain response confidentiality. Considering participants' widespread locations, interviews were conducted using WeChat calls, a prevalent communication tool in China. This approach prioritized accessibility and comfort, enabling participants to converse from their preferred locations. Conducted in Mandarin, their native language, the interviews ensured clarity and allowed genuine expression of their perspectives. Each session's duration varied between 30 minutes and an hour and a half, contingent on the depth of insights and narrative richness. For accuracy and nuanced comprehension, sessions were recorded and later translated into English by myself. To further uphold confidentiality, participants were ascribed pseudonyms, ensuring consistent anonymity throughout the research.

The process of data collection and analysis involved navigating through extensive data to discern how Chinese viewers engaged with various devices, broadcasting platforms, and social media during Beijing 2022. Maintaining data trustworthiness is pivotal in research. Scholars should be committed to ensuring that the outcomes genuinely encapsulate the viewpoints of participants (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). It is crucial for researchers to safeguard against the potential for data or its interpretation to be distorted or unduly shaped by them (Atherton & Elsmore, 2007). In this research, I employ thematic analysis, a method that seeks not just to quantify phrases or words, but to identify recurrent patterns or themes within datasets, thereby illuminating the studied phenomenon (Braun & Clarke, 2012). This technique facilitated the streamlining of extensive interview data by systematically coding it and pinpointing salient themes

(Braun & Clarke, 2012). Thematic analysis encompasses six distinct phases aimed at elucidating emergent themes within data, as outlined by Ryan and Bernard (2003). In this context, I reference El Said's (2017) articulation of these six stages of thematic analysis:

To begin with, acquainting oneself with the data entailed thorough examination through repeated readings to uncover underlying meanings and patterns, ensuring a deep understanding of the dataset. Multiple reviews of the transcripts aided in pinpointing recurring themes and patterns, such as convenience, enriched viewing experiences, and interactive elements. Next, the initial coding process involved assigning labels to pertinent words, phrases, sentences, or sections. Braun and Clarke (2012) suggest that data selected for coding may appear in multiple instances, be explicitly emphasized by interviewees, or be referenced in existing literature. Following this, the search for overarching themes involved amalgamating related codes into broader categories. It is important to note that a theme's significance is not solely determined by its frequency; although a theme may emerge frequently, its importance in understanding the data extends beyond mere occurrence. Subsequently, the review of themes included consolidating certain themes and dividing others into subthemes. This iterative process persisted until the researcher was content with the thematic representation. Defining and naming themes necessitated crafting names and descriptions that encapsulated the essence and importance of each theme, delving deeper than surface-level meanings. Finally, the report production stage integrated the identified themes to present a coherent narrative of the data. Quotes from interviews were incorporated to validate the relevance of the themes identified. The interpretation of results was informed by existing studies, related research concepts, and newly unearthed themes. This thorough

analytical process culminated in the development of a robust conceptual framework, providing valuable insights into media consumption during the eagerly awaited Beijing 2022.

Table 11: Anonymized Interviewee List

Interviewee	Gender	Age	Self-identified sports fan
Viewer 1	Male	25	Dedicated sports enthusiast
Viewer 2	Male	26	Dedicated sports enthusiast
Viewer 3	Female	24	Casual sports fan
Viewer 4	Male	25	Dedicated sports enthusiast
Viewer 5	Male	26	Dedicated sports enthusiast
Viewer 6	Male	24	Dedicated sports enthusiast
Viewer 7	Male	23	Dedicated sports enthusiast
Viewer 8	Male	35	Casual sports fan
Viewer 9	Female	21	Casual sports fan
Viewer 10	Male	48	Dedicated sports enthusiast
Viewer 11	Male	33	Dedicated sports enthusiast
Viewer 12	Male	29	Casual sports fan
Viewer 13	Female	25	Casual sports fan
Viewer 14	Male	50	Casual sports fan
Viewer 15	Male	22	Dedicated sports enthusiast
Viewer 16	Female	28	Dedicated sports enthusiast
Viewer 17	Male	28	Dedicated sports enthusiast
Viewer 18	Male	33	Dedicated sports enthusiast
Viewer 19	Female	34	Non-sports enthusiast
Viewer 20	Female	28	Casual sports fan
Viewer 21	Female	36	Dedicated sports enthusiast
Viewer 22	Female	32	Casual sports fan
Viewer 23	Female	46	Non-sports enthusiast
Viewer 24	Female	28	Non-sports enthusiast
Viewer 25	Female	42	Dedicated sports enthusiast
Viewer 26	Female	34	Non-sports enthusiast
Viewer 27	Female	34	Non-sports enthusiast
Viewer 28	Female	33	Non-sports enthusiast
Viewer 29	Male	62	Dedicated sports enthusiast
Viewer 30	Male	22	Casual sports fan

6.3 Findings

6.3.1 Television or mobile devices?

According to the Beijing 2022 Marketing Report (IOC, 2022b), a combined 64% of audiences engaged with the Beijing 2022 using both linear TV and digital platforms. In this context, linear TV remains the most dominant platform for consumption, accounting for 92%, with digital platforms making up 8% according to my survey. In contrast, 25% relied solely on linear TV, and a mere 11% utilized only digital devices. In my interviews, I initially inquired about their usage of devices and viewing platforms. Through their responses, I found that my interviewees are a microcosm of the global audience. Utilizing their insights, I have validated the viewership data outlined in the Beijing 2022 Marketing Report and conducted a comprehensive analysis from a micro-level standpoint. As I interviewees noted, their experience with both television and mobile devices for watching the Beijing 2022, expressing a preference for television viewing. As viewer 26 explained, regarding television:

> The superior size and high-definition resolution of televisions provide an enhanced viewing experience. The quality of the images in sporting events is very high, whether during the game, displaying the results of the competition, or in slow-motion playback. With TV, I can experience the excitement and intensity of the Olympic Games more vividly.

Most of my respondents pointed out that they engaged with Beijing 2022 through both television and mobile devices, indicating that their choice of device was contingent on

specific scenarios. Given the stringent restrictions imposed by the Chinese government to curtail public gatherings amidst the COVID-19 pandemic, home viewership was predominant during the Beijing 2022. During the first week of the event, the Chinese Spring Festival public holiday provided people with ample time at home. Contrary to the idea that television harms family communication (Alexander, 2001), my interviewees found watching the Beijing 2022 on television with family members to be relaxing and enjoyable. As viewer 11 stated:

> The whole family is usually very busy with work, making it difficult for us to find time to gather. During the Spring Festival, it is rare for the whole family to gather together. The Spring Festival marked the opening day of Beijing 2022. Watching the Beijing 2022 with family members evoked a sense of warmth.

Multiple interviewees expressed a similar opinion about the importance of a family viewing the event together in one room. Traditionally, during the Spring Festival, it is customary for Chinese individuals to visit their relatives. Viewer 25 confided that:

> Due to COVID-19, many public activities were reduced. Even when we visit relatives, the main activity is watching television. During the Spring Festival this year, besides the CCTV Spring Festival Gala, the Beijing 2022 was the most watched event.

Viewer 25 went on to explain the reasons for watching on a mobile device:

> If I were at home, I would watch the Beijing 2022 on TV with my family. When I’m on public transport or at the office, I always watch videos on my mobile phone, as it is more convenient.

In the interviews, younger viewers preferred to watch Beijing 2022 on mobile devices rather than on television. They pointed out the convenience of mobile devices, noting that they could access the event anytime, whether on the subway, bus or at work. While mobile devices might not provide the best viewing experience, their portability and flexibility are undeniable advantages. Engaging with content on mobile phones provides audience members with a degree of flexibility, allowing them to tune in or out of a match as they please. Furthermore, as Viewer 8 highlighted, the non-linear nature of smartphone applications allows audiences the option of playback, contrasting with the fixed schedules of traditional television broadcasts:

> Watching videos on a mobile phone is undoubtedly very convenient. You don't need to wait in front of the TV; you can start watching the game at any time. Of course, unlike linear broadcasting on TV, you can also watch playback at any time within the application. For example, I missed Gu Eileen's first round. On TV, I would have to wait for the playback once the game is over. But a mobile app would make it easier for me to respond to her initial message promptly.

Several younger interviewees emphasized the accompanying features associated with viewing content on mobile devices. Given the demands of their work lives and other external pressures, young individuals often find it challenging to dedicate uninterrupted time to sports viewing. Consequently, they frequently multitask while engaging with a game. As viewer 12 put it:

> For me, work pressure is still relatively high. Even for a game like the Winter Olympics, it's hard for me to concentrate on watching. Mobile

> devices provide me with a very convenient companion viewing environment, allowing me to do other things while watching.

In addition to offering a user-friendly viewing context, some respondents mentioned the enhanced content choices provided by mobile devices. Traditional linear television constrains viewer choice, compelling them to passively accept broadcaster-curated content. In contrast, mobile platforms offer audiences a wide range of auditory and broadcasting options. Viewer 4 pointed out that:

> Mobile platforms can display live images from multiple angles. Additionally, Migu provided multiple commentators for the same game during Beijing 2022. The audience could also choose to listen only to the live sound, which offered a more flexible viewing experience.

The "bullet screen" feature is a popular new way of interacting with online videos, which allows viewers' comments to appear over the videos in real-time. Most over-the-top media services have a bullet screen function to enhance the user experience of watching through interaction (Li et al., 2021). In the context of live-streamed sports, this feature enables viewers to post and observe concise, rapid-moving comments directly on the screen. As Viewer 30 mentioned:

> Bullet screen is a significant factor that frequently leads me to use mobile devices for watching sports games. You can post any opinion about the game on the screen at any time and read the sentiments of other viewers instantly.

The intuitive display and input capabilities of mobile devices facilitate easy user

participation in bullet screen interactions. With the touch screen interface, users can effortlessly tap on the screen to post their comments in real-time while watching sports games. Additionally, the convenience of mobile devices allows viewers to engage with bullet screen comments without interrupting their viewing experience. Whether they're cheering for their favourite team, sharing their thoughts on a play, or reacting to other viewers' comments, mobile users can seamlessly contribute to the dynamic conversation unfolding on the screen. This level of immediacy and accessibility greatly enhances the overall engagement and enjoyment of live-streamed sports events for audiences on mobile platforms.

Despite the convenience brought by the rapid development of mobile devices, the complex operations of mobile phones remain challenging for certain groups, particularly the elderly. Viewer 29 is a 60-year-old male. He complained that although smartphones offer convenience in daily life, using them can be challenging:

> For elderly individuals, a smartphone screen is too small and harsh on the eyes. Meanwhile, the digital platform interface may be a bit complicated, while you can start watching TV as soon as it is turned on.

During my interviews, a noteworthy observation emerged, wherein several respondents frequently engaged in the practice of linking a smaller screen with a larger one. Predominantly, this phenomenon manifested in two common scenarios: the first being the connection of their mobile phones to a television display through the utilization of an HDMI cable, and the second, the tethering of their mobile devices to a projection system. This approach serves to afford viewers the dual benefit of enjoying both the superior visual experience offered by large screens and the versatile content selection

capabilities inherent to mobile devices. As viewer 13 stated that:

> My current way of watching disrupts traditional television and mobile device consumption patterns. Contemporary mobile phones and tablets are equipped with screen mirroring capabilities, a feature I frequently use to connect with my television. Whether I am watching movies or sports, this approach consistently provides me with an immensely gratifying viewing experience. Thus, my engagement with traditional television has undergone a transformation, as I exclusively utilize the television hardware while the content, I access is no longer sourced from traditional television broadcasts.

6.3.2 Traditional television platform vs. streaming platforms

As previously I explained, CCTV has historically secured exclusive Olympic broadcasting rights in mainland China. The latest contract, signed in 2014 with the IOC, extends this exclusivity to the PyeongChang 2018, Tokyo 2020, Beijing 2022, and Paris 2024 Games, covering both mainland China and Macao. During the Beijing 2022, CCTV provided live broadcasts across multiple channels, including its Sports Channel (CCTV-5), the Sports Plus Channel (CCTV-5+), the Olympic Channel (CCTV-16), and its digital platform, CMGM. Furthermore, as mentioned earlier, CCTV started selling sub-broadcasting rights to streaming platforms such as Migu, Kuaishou, and Tencent in 2020 and 2021. In this context, the landscape of sports broadcasting in China has seen significant transformations in recent years.

In this section, I will examine the differences in Chinese audiences' preferences for

watching Beijing 2022 on CCTV versus streaming platforms. I classify CCTV broadcasts, including both cable and mobile application platform CMGM – as traditional platforms. This classification is because their production teams originate from CCTV, even though the broadcasting mediums differ. Conversely, platforms such as Migu, Kuaishou, and Tencent are classified as streaming platforms because they exclusively broadcast content through mobile applications. Notably, while all fall under the streaming platform umbrella, their broadcasting strategies during the Beijing 2022 varied. Migu predominantly focused on live game broadcasts, Kuaishou provided on-demand games and produced an extensive range of original content, whereas Tencent prioritized original programming and refrained from broadcasting games.

According to a marketing report by the IOC (2022b), Beijing 2022 reached an impressive audience of over 686 million in China through television alone. Additionally, CMG's multiple platforms recorded more than 62.8 billion views. Based on my interview findings, a significantly larger portion of viewers favoured CCTV broadcasts over streaming platforms. Many attributed this preference to entrenched viewing habits. When it comes to sports broadcasts, CCTV's Sports Channel remains the top choice for many people. Historically, the CCTV Sports Channel pioneered professional sports broadcasting in China. Initiated as a pilot in December 1994, the channel was officially launched on January 1, 1995. With nearly three decades of growth, CCTV's Sports Channel has cemented its position as the country's leading sports broadcast entity.

In the introduction to CCTV in Chapter 2, I highlighted that as the exclusive rights holder for Beijing 2022 in China, CCTV made significant investments in enhancing its live broadcast capabilities. By deploying the latest technologies, including ultra-high-

definition imaging and state-of-the-art broadcasting techniques, CCTV aims to deliver unparalleled viewing experiences, setting new standards for sports broadcasting quality. Furthermore, CCTV possesses unique advantages not found in some streaming platforms. For instance, CCTV's commentators are present at the event venue (Figure 7), Migu's commentators only can provide insights from a studio setting. This distinction in broadcast production environments significantly influences the viewer experience. Many interviewees highlighted that CCTV's sports broadcasts offer a more immersive experience, allowing viewers to intuitively grasp the ambiance of the game.



Figure 7: CCTV Commentators' Live Coverage of the Beijing 2022

Source: The picture comes from a screenshot of CCTV broadcasting.

In addressing the potential factors influencing platform selection, several interviewees highlighted the appeal of specific commentators as a pivotal consideration. Many believed that CCTV's commentators, perceived as representing an official stance, exuded authenticity and provided more credible insights. Viewer 25 described this as follows:

> I like CCTV's commentators very much. As a national-level media organization, commentators from CCTV hold a fairer and more just position, making them more authoritative. I watched some games on streaming platforms, but the commentary was informal, and they occasionally made jokes. I don't like this style.

Some viewers, meanwhile, had a different opinion. Viewers felt that CCTV commentators were too rigid and cautious, lacking a more engaging and individual style. These commentators often refrained from critiquing controversial referee decisions or significant errors made by athletes, presumably to avoid disputes. During Tokyo 2020 and Beijing 2022, CCTV did not invite professional athletes to serve as colour commentators in order to minimize the number of individuals entering their closed loop. Consequently, CCTV commentators need to juggle several sports during Beijing 2022, which reduces their specific knowledge to a certain extent.

Migu's commentators, meanwhile, only comment from their broadcast studio, which is on the outside of a closed loop. This setup allows them to invite a range of famous athletes and celebrities as guests. These guest commentators are then promoted as highlights, a broadcast strategy that differs significantly from that of CCTV. Several outstanding Chinese winter sports athletes have joined Migu Sports' broadcast team as commentators. These include Tong Jian, Li Jianrou, and Wang Meng. Among this team, the short-track speed skating Olympic champion Wang Meng is without a doubt the most impressive, contributing both insider knowledge and good humour. Indeed, her bold and engaging style has done much to bolster Migu's audience. Viewers 8 and 17 explained that Wang Meng's witty commentary captivated them:

> I saw Wang Meng's commentary on social media first. She combines professional expertise with a clever way with words, and I believe she has a fantastic personality. In contrast, the hosts on CCTV are rather lacking in character.
>
> When the short-track speed skating competition first started, I watched the broadcast on CCTV. After Wang Meng's commentary gained popularity, I began watching Migu. Wang Meng is highly professional in her commentary on the athletes, and her remarks are quite engaging. But for other games, I still watch CCTV more.

Wang Meng emerged as Migu's most prominent commentator during its coverage of Beijing 2022 (Figure 8). She began her commentary on the first short-track speed skating competition on February 5, 2022, and continued until its last day on February 16. Over those 12 days, she gained significant attention on social media. On Weibo, China's most popular social media platform, the name Wang Meng topped the hot search list eight times and appeared on the hot search list 50 times (Bandao Chenbao, 2022). The most popular hashtag, "Wang Meng's commentary," reached the top of the hot search list and remained on the list for over 2,100 minutes. Data showed that on February 5, the first day of competition at Beijing 2022, the number of daily active users on Migu Video was 9.4 million (Analyses Qianfan, 2022). On February 6, the day after Wang Meng's first appearance as a commentator, that number jumped to 11.06 million, an increase of 17.65%.



Figure 8: Interface of Wang Meng on Migu Sports

Source: The picture comes from a screenshot of Migu video.

In my interviews, when I inquired if respondents intended to continue viewing Migu' broadcast coverage, a significant portion indicated that they switched back to watching CCTV after Wang Meng's commentary concluded. Many users uninstalled the Migu app after Wang Meng finished commentator on Beijing 2022, citing the platform's commentators as lacking dynamism and failing to make a memorable impact. Compounding this dissatisfaction was Migu's advertising approach: viewers had to endure approximately 90 seconds of advertisements before each game, which many found excessive and off-putting.

This pattern of event-specific engagement seems particularly noteworthy. Although Migu did not release its download data following Beijing 2022, we can look at the data from after the Tokyo 2020. According to the report, Migu's daily download rate during

the Tokyo 2020 soared to 439,900, nearly a twentyfold increase. After Tokyo 2020's closing ceremony, the app's daily download rate returned to its usual level of 20,000 to 30,000. The number of active monthly users on Migu also dropped from 36 million during the Winter Olympics to 25 million after (Lu, 2022).

Aside from Migu, both Kuaishou and Tencent secured sub-licensed broadcast rights for Beijing 2022. However, their primary focus was on on-demand events and original programming. In June 2021, Kuaishou held a strategic cooperation conference in Beijing with CMG. Kuaishou secured the sublicensed broadcasting rights to the Tokyo 2020 and Beijing 2022 Olympics from CCTV, marking the platform as the inaugural short video and live-streaming service worldwide to be recognized as an official broadcaster of the Olympic Games in China. Su Hua, the CEO of Kuaishou, highlighted that the platform's global monthly active user base had surpassed 1 billion. Presently, there are around 50,000 creators of sports content and 150 million sports enthusiasts on the platform (China News Net, 2021).

During the Beijing 2022, Kuaishou invested significant manpower and resources in producing its winter sports programming (refer to Figure 9). Kuaishou produced several self-produced programs, such as the mini-documentary series "Twenty," the talk show "Winter Sports Heroes," and a reality show, which collectively garnered over 4.2 billion views. In addition, the campaign known as "The Nation Cheers for the Winter Olympics," which encourages users to post videos related to the event, garnered a total of 70.8 billion views (36 Ke, 2022). During my interviews, I specifically sought feedback on Kuaishou. However, it is noteworthy that only a few respondents mentioned the platform. Viewer 21 stated the following:

I noticed that Kuaishou also had the broadcasting rights for Beijing 2022, but its broadcasts were delayed. Moreover, I don't think the Winter Olympics content necessarily aligns with the user profile of Kuaishou. I'm not sure if it will pique the interest of Kuaishou's original users.

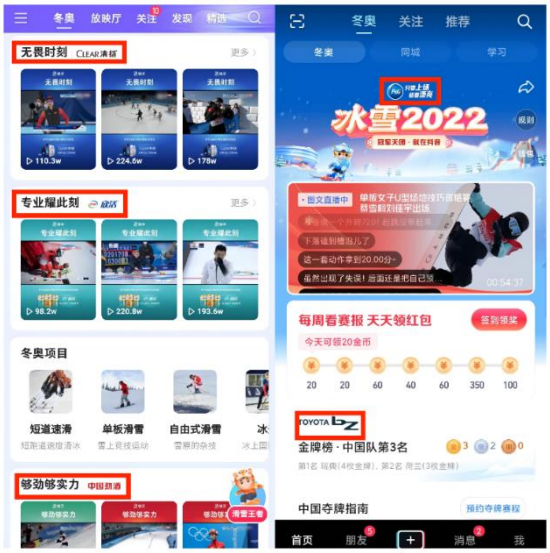


Figure 9: Kuaishou Beijing 2022 Live Broadcast Interface

Source: The picture comes from a screenshot of Kuaishou.

Interviewee 21 raised a salient point regarding the foundational focus of these platforms. When these platforms were established, sports were not considered a primary source of content, especially not for Kuaishou. Originally designed as a short video-sharing application, Kuaishou primarily catered to grassroots and rural demographics. Consequently, it features a significant volume of content tailored for or produced by these rural communities. As a result, urban interviewees were not accustomed to using Kuaishou and did not gravitate toward it to watch Beijing 2022. Conversely, rural respondents had limited familiarity with winter sports, which means that the Winter Olympics content on Kuaishou did not resonate significantly with either group.

It is pertinent to mention that prior to Beijing 2022, CCTV launched a new Olympic Channel. On October 25, 2021, CCTV's Olympic Channel (CCTV-16) was officially launched. CCTV-16, the channel, is the world's first professional sports channel to broadcast 24/7 in 4K ultra-high-definition and high-definition standards. Within the strategic partnership between CMG and the IOC, the CCTV Olympic Channel stands as the exclusive broadcasting platform across the Chinese mainland sanctioned by the IOC to employ the terms "Olympic" and the Olympic rings. Shen Haixiong, CMG's President, declared that the channel will encompass both the Olympic and Paralympic Games, aiming to advance the Olympic ethos within China, while also honouring the sportsmanship of Chinese athletes (CCTV, 2021a).

As a new channel dedicated to the Olympic Games, CCTV-16 has established a content system comprising mega sports events, high-quality programs, and social and cultural activities. Beijing 2022 was the first international sports mega-event since the inauguration of CCTV-16. During Beijing 2022, CCTV-16 broadcasted 24 hours a day, with approximately eight hours dedicated to its Winter Olympics program. Despite its exclusive focus on the Olympics, CCTV-16 was not the main broadcast channel during Beijing 2022; in fact, it served more as a supplement to CCTV-5. Some major events were broadcast on CCTV-5, while other competitions that took place at the same time were broadcast on CCTV-16.

During my interviews, I delved into participants' experiences with the Olympic Channel's CCTV. Viewer 21, a dedicated sports enthusiast, shared that during Beijing 2022,

> I frequently switched between CCTV-5, CCTV-5+, and CCTV-16. After the games concluded on CCTV-5, I seamlessly transitioned to CCTV-16 for continued coverage.

This suggests that CCTV-16 effectively alleviates the broadcasting load on CCTV-5, thereby expanding the range of games showcased on the CCTV platform. This not only enhances the viewing experience for sports enthusiasts but also demonstrates the strategic distribution of broadcasting resources across different channels within the CCTV. As a result, audiences have greater flexibility in selecting and following their preferred sports and events. However, it's worth noting that the CCTV-16 signal is not accessible in certain regions. As a new channel, CCTV-16 faces the challenge of increasing its visibility. Despite producing a variety of programs focused on winter sports and the Olympic Games, its viewership is modest. The channel's potential impact is limited by its current lack of exposure. Therefore, given that CCTV-5 still has a strong hold on its audience, its status as a sports broadcaster would not be shaken.

6.3.3 Social media viewed as a second screening

Social media has significantly transformed the landscape of sports engagement, offering a dynamic contrast to the traditional one-way broadcast model. Unlike television, which delivers information unidirectionally, social media fosters a two-way conversation, allowing fans to interact directly with teams and athletes, enhancing their sense of connection and involvement. The interactive nature of social media is becoming increasingly integral to modern sports culture, as fans frequently turn to online platforms to discuss sports-related topics and consume content.

Social media serves as a vital channel for fans to stay informed about their favourite sports, follow athletes, and engage with fellow enthusiasts. Organizations are capitalizing on this shift by developing innovative strategies to promote teams and stimulate sports conversations. They recognize that fans are drawn to authentic interactions with real people rather than impersonal brands. According to statistics from Greenfly (2022), a significant portion of younger viewers—58% aged 16 to 24 and 49% aged 25 to 34—engage with athletes on social media platforms, while 43% in each age bracket also follow sports leagues. Furthermore, the statistics indicate that the array of available platforms extends the reach of engagement, with 51% of fans accessing sports content on Facebook, 46% on YouTube, 31% on Instagram, and 25% on Twitter. The prevalence of sports-related discussions on these platforms ensures that sports topics are frequently trending, highlighting the significant influence of social media on how sports content is consumed and shared.

Although platforms like Twitter, Facebook, and Instagram offer a wealth of sports content and have become important platforms for Western audiences to access sports information, China's unique media system prohibits the use of these Western social media platforms. This has led to the development of a unique Chinese social media ecosystem. As mentioned in Chapter 2, Chinese social media platforms like Weibo, Kuaishou, and Douyin are becoming increasingly abundant in sports content, making them essential platforms for Chinese audiences to access sports information. These platforms cater to the local audience's preferences and regulatory environment, providing a vibrant space for sports fans in China to engage with and consume sports content tailored to their cultural context and interests. Following this, I will analyse how

my interviewees utilized social media as a second screen to enhance their experience of the Beijing 2022, reflecting on the integration of social media in sports consumption within the unique context of China's digital landscape.

6.3.3.1 WeChat as a social connection platform

Many respondents emphasized the significance of WeChat as a complementary platform during game viewings. Since Tencent Holdings Limited introduced it in 2011, WeChat has evolved into a dominant platform characterized by its highly integrated features (Chen et al., 2018). As a versatile application, WeChat combines functionalities such as messaging, video calling, mobile payment, and a variety of social networking services. WeChat, recognized as China's premier social media and instant messaging application, has become deeply ingrained in various aspects of Chinese daily life. Some academics argue that WeChat has transcended its role as merely a platform, evolving into a digital infrastructure (Plantin & de Seta, 2019). Indeed, a consensus among many respondents was the unparalleled convenience that WeChat offers as a communication tool in China. As viewer 26 stated:

> In our daily lives, WeChat is the communication application we use most frequently. During the pandemic, my friends and I were limited in our ability to watch games in public. However, we were able to exchange our views on certain games or athletes on WeChat.

Several interviewees expressed a preference for conversing with friends in WeChat groups rather than individual chats during sports viewings. Furthermore, WeChat's private nature resonates with users' perception that expressing emotions during games

is a personal matter, making it more suitable for WeChat than other open or anonymous platforms. As viewers 26 mentioned:

> Compared to public platforms like Weibo, I prefer interacting with friends on WeChat. Conversations on open platforms can quickly escalate into disagreements, whereas discussions on private platforms like WeChat tend to be more amicable and relaxed.

In my investigation of WeChat group content, Viewer 6 highlighted a distinct category. Not all members in these WeChat groups are acquainted. Some users join groups centred around shared interests through direct invitations from WeChat contacts, even if the group predominantly consists of strangers. As viewer 3 reported:

> I love a figure skater so much that my friend invited me to join a fan group. But I don't know everyone in the group. In the WeChat group, there are many experienced sports fans. Junior sports fans can learn from their more experienced counterparts in these groups, which enhances the overall game-watching experience.

Moments is a social networking feature on WeChat that primarily enables users to share pictures and text, offering them a platform to express their thoughts and emotions with their WeChat contacts. At the same time, it also has functions such likes and comments, similar to those on Facebook and Twitter. Unlike group chats that target specific friends, content posted on Moments is aimed at everyone in a user's contact list. My participants explained why they preferred to share their emotions through Moments rather than talking directly via WeChat's private messaging. Sharing Moments on WeChat engages all contacts, including those with whom one may rarely interact. It fosters indirect

communication, enabling users to exchange likes and comments without engaging in explicit conversations. Several interviewees perceived sharing on Moments as a balance between intimate WeChat group discussions and public posts on Weibo. Viewer 22 discussed how to deepen connections with friends who typically do not have many contacts through the interaction of a Moment,

> During Beijing 2022, I shared many of my thoughts and feelings on Moments. Many friends liked and commented on my posts. Some of them were friends I don't usually keep in touch with, but we always interact in Moment, and this indirectly deepened our relationship. Moments is a way of socializing among strangers and close friends.

In addition to "Moments", many interviewees frequently mentioned WeChat's digital red packet feature, which caught my interest. The red packet, also known as "lucky money," has deep roots in Chinese celebratory traditions. Yet, in recent years, this tradition has undergone a digital transformation, especially with Tencent leveraging the ubiquity of digital communication to introduce the WeChat Red Packet (Xu, 2021). Since 2015, this digital version has gained significant popularity throughout China. My interviewees also shared that they would send red packets within their WeChat groups to celebrate a Chinese victory or a correct game prediction. This feature allows users to customize both the number of recipients and the amount sent, which is typically symbolic. Thus, sending red packets is seen more as a gesture of celebration and camaraderie among friends rather than a form of gambling. This practice not only enhances the communal experience of watching sports but also deepens social bonds by integrating traditional customs with modern digital communication.

6.3.3.2 Weibo as public opinion platform

Several of my interviewees highlighted their habit of browsing Weibo during sports events, citing it as a pivotal source of information about Beijing 2022. Weibo, established in August 2009 by the prominent Chinese tech company Sina, derives its name from “Weixingboke”, the Chinese term for “microblog” (Li et al., 2019). As China’s preeminent microblogging platform, Weibo boasts 582 million monthly and 253 million daily active users (ThePaper.cn, 2022). Initially positioned as China’s answer to Twitter, Weibo has evolved, incorporating features reminiscent of Facebook and YouTube. Every user’s Weibo profile is public, allowing direct communication between mutual followers (Zhang & Pentina, 2012). Additionally, Weibo supports searching, exploring trending topics, and enriching messages beyond mere text; users can include images, videos, music, emojis, and polls without the need for external plugins. The multifaceted nature of Weibo makes it a vibrant social media platform, amplifying public interest topics such as Beijing 2022. According to Weibo’s statistics, during Beijing 2022, the platform witnessed 3,597 trending searches related to the Winter Olympics, generating a staggering 469 billion views (China Sports Press, 2022).

In my interviews, most respondents who used Weibo mentioned the immediate convenience of obtaining information about sports events. Over the past few years, Chinese media outlets have rapidly expanded their online presence on social media, making the distribution of news through social media a common practice (Guo & Zhang, 2020). Given Weibo’s speed and efficiency as a news source, it is increasingly becoming a focal point for news media organizations striving to attract readers with exclusive stories and faster news releases. Especially in sports competitions, where the results are what readers pay the most attention to, news organizations often edit content

during a game to publish as soon as the final whistle has blown. Moreover, several public entities, such as the IOC, Beijing Winter Olympics Organizing Committee, and the Chinese Olympic Committee, have a presence on Weibo. Additionally, a significant number of domestic and international athletes have created Weibo accounts. During Beijing 2022, many athletes shared insights into their pre-game preparations, personal reflections, and additional content, enabling a deeper interaction with their fan base through comments, likes, and reposts. Some interviewees admitted to frequently browsing an athlete's Weibo during matches, asserting that such engagement enables a more intimate connection with the sports personalities they admire. As viewers 15 and 19 put it:

> While watching the Beijing 2022, I frequently browsed Weibo. Weibo is a vast information platform. For example, the results of other games, or athletes' personal stories. There is some information there that I didn't catch when I was watching the live broadcast.

> To learn more about the personal side of athletes, I always check their Weibo accounts. For example, Gu Ailing's Weibo account is very interesting. Through her profile, I have come to know her better and like her more.

Apart from news spread, social media is the primary source of discussions around current affairs (Bergström & Jervelycke Belfrage, 2018; Shao & Wang, 2017). Netizens engage in online discussions to create a virtual public sphere where members of society deliberate on public affairs, influencing the practices and policies of democratic governance (Sun et al., 2017). In my interviews, some participants mentioned that they

could participate in discussions on specific topics by using hashtags. Additionally, hot topic areas or trending topics are marked with hashtags, which indicate what users are engaging with the most at any moment. As noted by viewer 28, the hot topics area provides users with a way to quickly scan the day's trending topics and directly access the most relevant content:

> During Beijing 2022, there was an overwhelming amount of information, and I frequently checked the trending tags on the hot search list. During the opening ceremony, various hot topics emerged, including the sequence of the program and the participation of athletes in carrying the torch. More details were provided under these topics to help me learn more about the stories behind them.

However, some interviewees also mentioned the irrational sentiments of public discussions on Weibo, highlighting how disagreements over sports-related matters can escalate into personal attacks and heated arguments. In the passionate realm of sports fandom, particularly on social media platforms like Weibo, individuals may express extreme views or engage in confrontational behaviour when their favourite athletes or teams are criticized or challenged. As viewer 3 explains here, some netizens attack others personally because of a difference of opinion:

> Controversial issues often arise in sports competitions, even within a national team. Some passionate fans prioritize their favourite athletes over the overall interests of the Chinese team.

6.3.3.3 Short video as a behind-the-scenes platform

The role of short video platforms in the communication of sports mega-events is becoming increasingly evident. TikTok, a social media platform originating from China, has witnessed a meteoric rise in global popularity in recent years. By 2021, TikTok.com surpassed Google.com as the most visited domain worldwide (Tomé & Cardita, 2021). Although Instagram stories were prevalent during Pyeongchang 2018, TikTok emerged as the primary platform from Tokyo 2020 onwards. The application solidified its reputation as the go-to source for behind-the-scenes Olympic content during Tokyo 2020. Leandro Larrosa, the IOC's Director of Digital Engagement and Marketing, stated, "TikTok is fundamentally driven by community content." This was evident during the Tokyo Olympic Games, where athletes actively captured, shared, and interacted with the Olympic community (Sankar, 2022). Prior to Beijing 2022, the prominent U.S. media conglomerate NBCUniversal collaborated with TikTok to showcase the upcoming Olympics through short videos. Throughout the games, NBCUniversal shared relevant content and exclusive previews on its numerous TikTok profiles. Notably, between February 4 and 12 (the competition time of Beijing 2022), the TikTok garnered 1.7 million downloads in the U.S., surpassing Instagram's 1.1 million and YouTube's 1 million, as reported by Sensor Tower (Hunter, 2022). The algorithm employed by TikTok not only presents users with content based on their previous interactions but also maintains this practice well beyond the conclusion of an event, fostering enduring loyalty to your sport or brand.

In contrast to traditional linear broadcasting, these short video platforms offer users the flexibility to view highlights and replays at their convenience. One of the biggest advantages of the short video platform is its fragmented dissemination. The audience does not need to watch a lengthy full game, but can get the highlights of the game

through short videos. A survey of TikTok users found that 46% rely on short video platforms for sports highlights (Liam, 2022). In my interview, Viewer 21 described his use of short video platforms to follow sports:

> Short video platforms allow me to watch videos in fragmentary time, which is ideal for viewing sports highlights. Most of the time, I search for the names of players and teams to watch highlights of their games.

While TikTok has achieved significant international success in the field of sports marketing, its Chinese version, Douyin, was outcompeted by Kuaishou for the Olympic broadcast rights. Interestingly, despite Kuaishou securing the rights for Beijing 2022, several interviewees indicated a preference for Douyin when seeking short video content. Douyin primarily caters to users from first and second-tier cities, emphasizing trendy and fashionable content. In contrast, as I mentioned previously, Kuaishou is more popular among residents of smaller towns and rural areas. It showcases authentic and relatable content, even if it occasionally includes lower-quality or satirical videos. Given that winter sports often appeal to higher-income consumers, such demographics align more closely with Douyin's user base.

One point that needs to be emphasized here is that even though the IOC has relaxed its stance on Olympic content sharing via social media, short video platforms must adhere to the copyright regulations associated with Olympic material, especially if they are non-rights-holding broadcasters. Therefore, Kuaishou, which has obtained the broadcasting rights, can broadcast live events of the Beijing 2022, while Douyin is unable to stream long-term live coverage of the Olympic games. Nevertheless, Douyin managed to present the content of Beijing 2022 in a unique manner. Specifically,

Douyin has become a prime platform for sports enthusiasts seeking exclusive glimpses into athlete training, sports history, fan responses and other behind-the-scenes moment, offering easily consumable and engaging content. During the Beijing 2022, fans flocked to these platforms to watch segments of events that were not available in live broadcasts. As reported by Viewer 11, short video platforms showcased a plethora of behind-the-scenes stories from the Olympic Games, providing audiences with a more comprehensive understanding of all aspects of the event:

> There is a lot of interesting content on short video platforms, and many athletes have their own accounts. They often post content outside of the game. For example, I saw some snippets of Wu Dajing's participation in the closing ceremony on his Douyin account. But what impressed me the most was that Gu Ailing started a live broadcast on Douyin. We could ask her questions on Douyin Live, which brought us closer.

6.4 Discussion and Conclusion

Drawing on the Channel Complementarity Theory, this study makes a significant contribution to enhancing our understanding of audience media consumption patterns during sports mega events in the digital age, with a specific focus on the Winter Olympic Games. Technological advancements have liberated us from the constraints of consuming sports content on a single device or platform. A variety of devices, broadcast platforms, and social media options are readily available and easily accessible, catering to the diverse media consumption needs of audiences. The findings of this study shed light on a crucial aspect: the integration of mobile devices and digital media platforms does not replace traditional modes of Olympics viewing, but rather complements them,

forming part of a broader array of options for experiencing the event. Next, I will discuss the audience's consumption of different media scenarios by combining the statistics from the IOC Beijing 2022 Market Report and my interview data.

Firstly, as elucidated in Section 6.3.1 of my study, the findings from my research align with the insights provided in the IOC Beijing 2022 Market Report (2022b), affirming television's status as the foremost medium for content consumption. Television continues to hold a prominent place in the media consumption habits of specific demographics. During my interviews, older audience segments emphasized their preference for watching television. This demographic may include individuals who favour the traditional viewing experience, have limited access to digital platforms, or feel less at ease with technology. Linear TV can also offer more curated and streamlined content, which some viewers might prefer over the vast options available online. This observation is supported by prior scholarly investigations, which have highlighted similar trends. For instance, Gantz and Lewis (2014) reveal the factors contributing to television's enduring appeal, including signal fidelity, screen size, the immersive experience it offers, and exclusive broadcasting rights for premier sports events. These factors solidify its position as the preferred platform for live sports enthusiasts. Furthermore, Tang and Cooper (2017) delve into the viewing habits of audiences during the 2016 Rio Olympics across various media platforms, confirming that television remained the primary channel for engaging with large-scale events. Expanding upon this discourse within the Chinese context, my research further substantiates that television not only retains its pivotal role in the sports broadcasting ecosystem but also highlights its unique influence and adaptability in China's rapidly evolving media landscape.

The IOC Beijing 2022 Market Report (2022b) revealed that over half of the participants engaged in simultaneous consumption of linear television and digital media during the Beijing 2022. Complementing this, a survey conducted by Nielsen (2022) found that there has been a 5% global increase in multi-screening viewing habits over the past year. The advent of OTT streaming services contributes to, rather than supplants, traditional broadcast media. This survey further pointed out that 47% of viewers were found to utilize streaming services alongside traditional television viewing. This indicates that streaming platforms have introduced new avenues for sports consumption without displacing the established ones. From my analysis, it is evident that a substantial portion of the audience for the Beijing 2022 chose to utilize a combination of traditional television broadcasts and digital platforms for their viewing experience. This dual engagement reflects a hybrid consumption model, where viewers take advantage of both platforms. Linear television provides a conventional, potentially communal viewing experience that is less dependent on internet connectivity, while digital platforms offer the convenience of on-demand content and accessibility across multiple devices. This convergence indicates a consumer preference for the communal aspect of live television events, coupled with the personalization and interactivity offered by digital media.

Through comprehensive interviews with participants, it was discovered that the majority of viewers navigated their Winter Olympics experience using multiple devices, fluidly choosing different devices depending on their immediate situation. Nevertheless, researchers highlight that the size of the screen might not be the sole crucial factor influencing the immersive nature of the viewing encounter (Lopez-Gonzalez et al.,

2019). A smaller display can deliver an equally immersive experience compared to a larger one, provided that the size-to-distance ratio is appropriately optimized. My interviewees mentioned that the viewing quality of TV is undoubtedly superior, and this is one of the key factors that contribute to their enjoyable viewing experience. This behaviour aligns with previous studies that have emphasized the significant influence of the viewing environment on media consumption patterns during sports events (Tang & Cooper, 2017; Tang et al., 2022). A common theme among the interviewees was the importance of communal viewing experiences, especially the significance of watching games on television at home with family members. This communal aspect underscores the enduring relevance of family viewing traditions, aligning with prior research that explores family rituals and the intergenerational transmission of media habits. Courtois and Nelissen (2018) reveal the significance of family cohesion through shared television viewing. They noted its role in establishing daily routines and fostering family harmony. These insights not only corroborate earlier findings on family dynamics and media consumption but also broaden the understanding of how such practices shape and are shaped by the sports viewing landscape. They emphasize the integral role of shared viewing experiences in enhancing the collective enjoyment and engagement with sporting events.

Compared to traditional television, my interviewees emphasized that mobile devices offer viewers enhanced immediacy and convenience. These observations resonate with the existing literature on mobile devices and smartphones. Ytreberg (2009) highlights how multi-platform formats can seamlessly synchronize various temporalities, bridging the gap between instantaneous transmission and the ongoing narrative of individuals' daily lives. Kaun (2015) explores how media technologies shape the temporal

organization of civic engagement, especially during protest movements. By analyzing two case studies—the unemployed workers' movements of the 1930s and the Occupy Wall Street movement of 2011/2012—the research delves into how these technologies have influenced and transformed the temporal structures within which these movements operate. Similarly, Dias (2016) and Coleman (2020) identify the gratification of "instantaneity" and "real-time" as salient characteristics associated with mobile and digital devices. Additionally, Ling (2004) emphasizes the captivating allure of mobile phones, describing them as "irresistible" and "addictive", thus further illustrating the multifaceted appeal of these devices. From my research perspective, I pay significant attention to the "situational" characteristics of mobile devices, as they serve as the primary reference point for users when selecting various media platforms. This approach highlights the interaction between user context and media preferences. Building on this perspective, my research integrates insights from previous studies to enhance our understanding of the impact of mobile devices, specifically their role in providing users with immediacy and convenience in contemporary media environments. This contributes to a nuanced exploration of the relationship between users, mobile technologies, and media consumption patterns.

This adaptive use of multiple screens creates a new ecosystem that caters to the diverse and evolving needs of the audience. By embracing multi-screening consumption, audiences have the flexibility to customize their viewing experiences based on specific contexts and personal preferences. This dynamic interplay between various devices and platforms reflects the audience's desire for convenience, mobility, and customization in their sports media consumption. Moreover, it highlights the pivotal role played by technology in reshaping the landscape of sports media consumption, enabling viewers

to engage with the Winter Olympics in ways that suit their individual lifestyles and preferences.

During my interviews, a clear pattern emerged indicating that younger viewers are increasingly moving away from traditional cable television setups in their homes, favouring digital devices for their sports consumption. This trend was corroborated by a Nielsen survey (2022), which revealed that nearly half (46%) of younger fans prefer watching sports on smartphones or tablets, with a notable 15% more inclined to seek out on-demand content. The shift towards digital platforms not only indicates a preference for multitasking and interactive engagement but also establishes new expectations for live broadcasts.

The reasons behind this shift are multifaceted. Firstly, the digital proficiency of younger generations makes smartphones and tablets their preferred devices for entertainment, due to their familiarity and comfort with these technologies. This inclination is further enhanced by their ability to multitask—demonstrated by their habit of playing games or participating in fantasy sports while watching a match. Digital platforms facilitate multitasking by seamlessly blending various forms of entertainment, making them especially appealing to younger viewers. Secondly, the demand for on-demand content aligns with viewers' desire for flexibility and control over their viewing schedules, contrasting with the fixed programming of traditional cable TV. Moreover, the interactive and immersive experiences offered by digital platforms cater to viewers' expectations for engagement beyond passive viewing. These platforms enhance the sports-watching experience with interactive features like live stats and social media integration. This transition away from conventional TV setups underscores a broader

cultural shift towards digital media consumption, driven by technological advancements and changing lifestyle preferences that prioritize convenience, personalization, and interactivity.

This changing preference among younger viewers is not an isolated phenomenon but is reflective of a broader trend that is reshaping the television industry. This shift can be partly attributed to the younger demographic's lifestyle, which often involves demanding work schedules and limited time at home. This makes them less inclined to commit to fixed-location entertainment sources like cable TV. The decline in cable TV's appeal is supported by official statistics released by the Chinese government. In 2022, the number of individuals subscribing to cable TV services in China was recorded at 204 million, a decrease of 1.45% from the previous year (National Radio and Television Administration, 2022). This decline is significant as it not only highlights the evolving consumer preferences but also underscores the impact of digital transformation on traditional media consumption patterns. The shift towards digital platforms suggests a transformative period in how media is consumed, with implications for content creators, distributors, and the broader media landscape as they adapt to these changing dynamics.

Additionally, according to the IOC Beijing 2022 Market Report (2022b), only 11% utilized digital devices exclusively. A smaller portion of the audience exclusively used digital devices to follow the Olympics. This could include streaming services, websites, mobile apps, and social media. This trend reflects the broader shift towards digital media consumption, particularly among younger demographics who prefer using smartphones, tablets, and computers for entertainment.

This study also explores the evolving landscape of Olympic broadcasting. Through interviews conducted as part of this research, it became evident that CCTV still commands the largest and most stable viewership numbers. Primarily, this is attributed to CCTV being the dominant audiovisual media oligopoly in China (Feng et al., 2009), as it holds the broadcasting rights for nearly all major international events. Particularly with the establishment of CMG, this trend has continued to expand. Secondly, CCTV has been portrayed as the "mouthpiece" of the Chinese Communist Party since its establishment. The recognition of CCTV commentators by the Chinese audience reflects their alignment with the ideology and mainstream values promoted by the CCP.

I also examine the audience's perceptions of the CCTV Olympic Channel. Previous studies on the Olympic Channel have mainly concentrated on its online platform. For example, Ramon (2018) explores the unique proposition presented by the Olympic Channel and argues that this platform has significantly transformed the intersection of sports and media, thereby enhancing user access to a broader range of Olympic-themed content. Additionally, Xu and Billings (2021) examine content production at the Olympic Channel from a gender perspective, shedding light on the degree to which employees at the IOC's official sports media platform prioritize gender equality in their journalistic practices. However, there is limited discussion regarding the regional versions of the Olympic Channel, which are developed through collaborations between the IOC and media giants worldwide. From my interviews, I believe that regional versions of the Olympic Channel provide a new platform for audiences in specific regions to access Olympic content during non-competition periods. However, the IOC and media organizations need to further deepen their collaboration to explore the possibility of providing more content support for regional versions of the Olympic

Channel. This will enhance the visibility of the Olympic channels in the covered regions.

Although television media still maintain dominance in Olympic viewing, the emergence of streaming media platforms has posed a challenge to traditional television broadcasting. These platforms have revolutionized the dissemination of the Olympic Movement, offered a wider reach, and catered to the viewing habits of the younger generation. Expanding Olympic broadcast rights from traditional television to streaming media platforms significantly broadens the Olympics' sphere of influence. This reaffirms Fernández-Peña's earlier prediction (2009), emphasizing the need to adapt traditional intellectual property rights regulations to modern digital environments. Such adaptation is imperative for the IOC to leverage the inherent features of the Internet effectively, thus harnessing the potential of new media to disseminate Olympic values among younger demographics.

It is worth noting that my interviewees mentioned that streaming platforms have the advantage of quickly leveraging the influence of celebrities as commentators to enhance exposure. This is consistent with previous studies demonstrating that commentators can influence viewers' choices. For example, Parker and Fink's (2008) study, confirming the effect of sport commentator framing on viewer attitudes. Keene and Cummins (2009) find that commentators' prior athletic experience influences viewers' perceptions of credibility. Commentators without experience were perceived as less credible, and their game coverage was rated as less exciting and enjoyable. My research further reveals that commentators not only influence viewers' viewing experience but also their choice of viewing platform. This phenomenon can be defined as the audience migrating to the viewing platform to follow the commentator.

However, streaming platforms struggle to maintain high levels of user engagement and retention once the sporting events conclude. This raises important considerations regarding the sustainability and "stickiness" of streaming media platforms in the long run. Furthermore, these platforms face the challenge of aligning their user positioning with the content for which they acquire broadcasting rights. For instance, in the case of Kuaishou, a platform initially targeting predominantly rural users from the countryside and the second- and third-tier cities (Lin & de Kloet, 2019). Kuaishou is characterized by its "tuwei" (土味) culture, representing a rustic and earthy flavour in contrast to the sophistication associated with middle-class urban youth. This label, often perceived as vulgar and inferior, has led to criticism of Kuaishou and its users as "vulgar", "low", and "absurd" (Liu, 2020). Consequently, Kuaishou lags behind Douyin (TikTok) in attracting urban youth (Zhou & Liu, 2022).

Winter sports are known for their relatively high costs, attracting mainly middle and high-income groups, which contradicts the main user base of Kuaishou. However, winter sports are renowned for their relatively high costs, primarily appealing to middle and high-income groups, which contrasts with the main user demographic of Kuaishou. Consequently, my interviewees seldom mentioned their use of Kuaishou. These findings highlight the complexities and nuances involved in the relationship between streaming media platforms and Olympic Games broadcasting. While these platforms offer new avenues for accessing sports content and exhibit potential for broader engagement, they must carefully navigate user preferences, retention challenges, and target audience alignment when procuring broadcasting rights for sports events.

My research findings indicate that social media is an essential tool for establishing two-way communication with viewers, engaging sports audiences deeply, and sharing sports-related information. Various social media platforms complement each other and leverage their unique strengths, enabling audiences to enhance their viewing experience to the fullest. This corresponds with previous studies indicating a significant increase in opportunities for audiences to interact with mega sporting events through digital and social media platforms (Lee Ludvigsen & Petersen-Wagner, 2022; Tang & Cooper, 2018b). Social media platforms, online forums, blogs, micro-blogs, file-sharing sites, and wikis offer diverse channels for fans to engage, with users utilizing these platforms for various purposes (Billings et al., 2017; Toffoletti et al., 2021). A variety of social media platforms are emphasizing the trend of second screen devices transitioning to become the primary screen for sports viewing (Lopez-Gonzalez et al., 2019).

Given that Western social media platforms like Facebook and Twitter are restricted in China, my interview participants highlighted WeChat, Weibo, and Douyin as their primary social media applications for regular viewing. These three platforms, each with distinct functions and focuses, collectively enhance the overall viewing experience of the audience. During the peak of the COVID-19 pandemic, instant messaging apps such as WeChat played a crucial role in connecting sports spectators. Whether interacting with close friends or distant acquaintances, users utilized WeChat's messaging features and Moment's function to transform virtual viewing into a form of social connection. My interviewees preferred using WeChat chats for discussing sports with friends. They cited the platform's privacy as conducive to more personal and emotional exchanges during games. In WeChat's private setting, discussions are perceived as more friendly and relaxed, making it a favoured choice for engaging in sports-related conversations.

This finding aligns with Gong's (2020a) observations regarding Chinese football fans. While many Chinese sports fans watch sports games' televised coverage primarily as an individual activity, their engagement in WeChat groups transforms this solitary experience into a communal, virtual co-viewing event. Due to the constraints of the COVID-19 pandemic, physical gatherings to watch the games became infeasible, positioning WeChat as their primary platform for sharing insights on the events. Connections on WeChat typically involve real-life friends, family, colleagues, or at the very least, familiar acquaintances, nurturing a sense of trust, comfort, and intimacy. Consequently, WeChat communication fundamentally operates within personal social circles, reflecting real-life relationships and offering a more nuanced and temperate arena for discourse (Gong, 2020a).

The WeChat Moments feature, as a more implicit way of communicating with friends without engaging in direct conversations, utilizes the Moments function as an intermediary and was frequently mentioned by my interviewees. They emphasised this approach allows users to share updates, thoughts, and experiences, indirectly engaging their network in a manner that fosters a sense of community and connection without the immediacy of one-on-one chats. This result is similar to Gong's (2020a) result, the content fans share on Moments is often characterized by impulsive emotional reactions to significant events during a sporting match, such as athletes' performances or views on contentious penalties. Such posts frequently elicit comments and likes from WeChat friends who resonate with the sentiment.

Moreover, public opinion-driven social media platforms such as Weibo have democratized access to the Olympic Games, enabling a broader population to stay

updated with game-related information and easily participate in public discussions. However, it is important to note that Weibo's platform often harbours irrational debates. Interviewees highlighted the presence of irrational behaviour in Weibo's public discussions on sports. Some fans resort to personal attacks over differing views and exhibit an excessive focus on individual athletes, disregarding the broader team interests. This echoes the big data research into Weibo discourse of Liu et al. (2019), which discovered that online public discussions are primarily emotional, particularly in response to scandals, tragedies, and sports events. While Weibo often regulates debates, particularly those involving Chinese institutional politics and sovereignty, not all discussions are subject to such restrictions. The government does allow discussions on non-political topics such as fashion, celebrities, and other matters of general interest (Jiang, 2010). Research indicates that the authorities recognize and allow open debates on significant issues, including environmental pollution, food safety, climate change, and sports, on Weibo (Gündoğan & Sonntag, 2018; Holdaway, 2013; Rauchfleisch & Schäfer, 2015).

Moreover, short video platforms have provided viewers with opportunities to explore stories behind the Olympic Games themselves. Researchers have noted an increasing trend of star athletes exposing themselves (Fernández-Peña, et al., 2022), offering behind-the-scenes insights. Through user-generated content shared by athletes and other stakeholders involved in the Winter Olympics, audiences have been exposed to multiple facets of the Games. The concise video format makes it an ideal choice for sports enthusiasts looking for readily consumable and enjoyable content that captures behind-the-scenes highlights, athlete festivities, sporting heritage, and fan responses.

It is noteworthy that for a long time, the IOC imposed strict restrictions on Olympic Games-related content on social media. However, in the lead-up to Tokyo 2020, these restrictions were relaxed, prompting athletes and associated individuals to share their Olympic experiences on social and digital platforms, thus preserving their memories (IOC, 2021a). This shift signals the IOC's acknowledgment of the increasing influence of short-form video platforms.

In summary, by utilizing the diverse features and functionalities of these social media platforms, audiences have been able to enhance their Olympic Games experience beyond passive viewing. The integration of social connections, public discussions, and access to additional content has enriched the overall engagement and immersion for viewers. These insights underscore the importance of understanding the unique roles and contributions of different social media platforms in improving the audience's overall experience and creating a more interactive and connected viewing environment during mega sporting events such as the Winter Olympics.

However, the findings also reveal some of the limitations of media consumption during sports mega events. Such factors include the sample size and its impact on the generalizability of the findings. To enhance the comprehensiveness of future research, it would be valuable to employ a combination of methods, including surveys and observations, to investigate spectators' cross-platform usage during sports mega events within the dynamic and intricate media landscape of today. Furthermore, it should be noted that the present study did not involve the participation of content producers from various platforms. Therefore, insights into their strategies for producing content for Beijing 2022 remain beyond the scope of this research. Future studies could explore the

perspectives of platform managers and editors, providing an inside view into their roles and examining the communication effects of such sporting events from their standpoint. By incorporating the insights of content producers, we can achieve a more comprehensive understanding of the interplay between media platforms, content creation, and audience engagement during sports mega events. To overcome these limitations and advance our understanding of media consumption during sports mega events, future research should adopt a multi-method approach. This approach should incorporate larger and more diverse samples and engage key stakeholders from media platforms. By utilizing a variety of research methods and considering multiple perspectives, we can gain deeper insights into the complexities and dynamics of audience engagement, platform strategies, and communication effects within the context of sporting events such as the Winter Olympics.

Chapter Seven: The Public Narrative of the Opening Ceremony of the Beijing 2022 Winter Olympic Games

7.1 The Context of Opening Ceremony of the Beijing 2022

In a nation such as China, where the government has historically exerted significant influence over sports, athletics serve as a tool for political messaging and building the national image. The Chinese population's keen interest in sports, particularly the Olympic Games, is primarily driven by aspirations for economic prosperity and national strength, as well as a desire to demonstrate China's parity with other countries, rather than a deep-rooted passion for the sporting events themselves (Xu, 2008, p. 68). The Olympic Games provide a distinctive platform that serves various functions, including fostering shared national experiences, showcasing the culture of the host nation, and playing a role in shaping or reinforcing national identities in accordance with cosmopolitan and universal principles (Biressi & Nunn, 2013; Gorokhov, 2015; Panagiotopoulou, 2012; Vincent et al., 2018). The opening and closing ceremonies of the Olympic Games hold immense significance as the foremost global mega-event. For each Olympic edition, the host country intricately designs an elaborate opening ceremony. This ceremony is not merely a display of grandeur; it is a strategic opportunity to project political imagery and showcase the host nation's prowess on the world stage (Arning, 2013). It also epitomizes the foundational Olympic values of unity, diversity, and friendship, capturing the Games' true spirit and ethos. It is imperative to recognize that the opening ceremony of the Olympic Games extends beyond local festivities, emerging as global media phenomena. Occurring intermittently, they stand apart from standard media events, with intricate planning well ahead of their live

international broadcasts (Cui, 2013). Their importance stems from their unmatched capability to command global attention, establishing them as unparalleled conduits for cultural representation and exchange.

In recent times, there has been a noticeable surge in scholarly investigations delving into the Olympic ceremony across diverse academic fields. These encompass the ceremony's role as a significant arena for examining international relations and cultural variety (Miquel de Moragas Spà et al., 1996), as well as its relevance to public relations and diplomacy (Baker, 2015; Billings et al., 2011), and the management of national image (Bryant, 2015; Li, 2014; Thomas & Antony, 2015; Wang et al., 2024). Among these studies, many continue to highlight its significance as a platform for the host nation to shape national identities and narratives of nationhood (Lee & Yoon, 2017; Lemus-Delgado, 2023; Li, 2014; Thoms & Antony, 2015; Vincent et al., 2018). More than a ceremonial display, the opening ceremony offers the host nation a unique platform to showcase its cultural richness, traditions, and accomplishments to an international audience, fostering national pride and global admiration. The ceremony facilitates the creation and communication of narratives targeting both domestic and global audiences, elucidating the essence of national identity and the host country's global standing. Consequently, these ceremonies become defining moments, intertwining community values, national pride, identity, and collective beliefs (Lee, 2021; Lemus-Delgado, 2016; Lee & Yoon, 2017). For example, the 2000 Sydney Games offered a chronological narrative of Australian history, considering its intricate historical background (Arning, 2013). In contrast, the 2012 British Games depicted a nuanced and empathetic portrayal of the nation's identity, tackling topics such as industrialization and commemorating the principles upheld by the National Health

Service (Thomas & Antony, 2015). The opening ceremony of the Beijing 2022 was structured around four key themes: the global perception of China, the perspective of the Chinese people, the aesthetic aspects of Chinese culture, and the modernized image of China. This presentation highlighted how a nation without a history of winter sports leveraged the grand event to exhibit its national identity and advance the winter sports sector (Wang et al., 2024). However, limited attention has been paid to the host country's public response to the opening ceremony, especially concerning the evaluation of the underlying national narrative. Yet, the interactions between official and popular responses can influence the reconstruction of Olympic-mobilized nationalism hinges (Yu, 2010). Consequently, comprehending the public's perception of the national narrative conveyed through the opening ceremony is crucial. Such understanding facilitates a more comprehensive comparison of the disparities between official and public perceptions of hosting sports mega-events.

Beijing 2022 marks China's third occasion hosting the IOC's Games, following the Beijing 2008 Olympics and the Nanjing 2014 Youth Olympics. Directed by acclaimed filmmaker Zhang Yimou, known for his works such as "Raise the Red Lantern," "Hero," and "The House of Flying Daggers." The opening ceremony took place on February 4, 2022, at Beijing's renowned National Stadium, commonly referred to as the Bird's Nest. Zhang, who previously directed the opening and closing ceremonies of the 2008 Beijing Olympics, thus became the first person to oversee such events for two Olympics.

Zhang's direction of the opening ceremony for the Beijing 2008 Olympic Games earned acclaim for its grand scale, featuring 15,000 performers and a comprehensive portrayal of Chinese history packed into the four-hour spectacle (Lau, 2022). The ceremony

showcased vibrant displays of colour, precise coordination, and stunning pyrotechnics, symbolizing China's emergence onto the global stage. Notable elements included performers creating art on LED scrolls, paying homage to China's space program, and 2,008 drummers playing bronze "Fou" drums in unison (Holland, 2022).

While the Beijing 2008 opening ceremony left a lasting impression, discussions have arisen within the Chinese public regarding the necessity of continuing to host such mega-sporting events, particularly in light of China's growing international stature and the government's emphasis on "cultural confidence." Furthermore, amid political boycotts of Beijing 2022 by Western countries, there is heightened curiosity about the style and portrayal of China's image in this evolving era.

Reflecting on his return to direct the Beijing 2022 opening ceremony, Zhang acknowledged the high standard set by the Beijing 2008 production, including the pressure it imposed on future directors, himself included, as he took on the responsibility almost 14 years later. At the Beijing 2022 opening ceremony, Zhang departed from grand narratives and large-scale performances, opting instead for a nuanced blend of Chinese cultural heritage, artistic finesse, and technological innovation. Symbolic of this fusion, cutting-edge technology, including precision-engineered LED screens and immersive projections, transformed the stadium into a realm where reality intertwined with fantasy.

The ceremony's significance extended beyond its visual and technical triumphs. It echoed China's steadfast commitment to sustainability and environmental stewardship. Amidst global environmental concerns, it highlighted China's proactive green

initiatives. The integration of eco-centric elements, such as the utilization of recycled materials and the deployment of energy-saving technologies, reinforces China's commitment to sustainability in harmony with the Olympic ethos. Furthermore, the opening ceremony of Beijing 2022 did not feature performances by famous singers or actors. Instead, all the performances were carried out by ordinary people. This highlights the production team's emphasis on the significant role that ordinary individuals play in China's societal development. The opening ceremony of the Beijing 2022 was more than just an entertainment spectacle. It epitomized a fusion of Chinese cultural celebration and showcased the new image of China.

In the following section, I will first review nationalism and neoliberalism in the Chinese context, and then analyse the discussion among Chinese television viewers on Weibo, China's largest public opinion platform, and Hupu, a Chinese professional sports fans' online community, regarding the opening ceremony of Beijing 2022. In this research, I intend to examine how Chinese audiences perceive the Beijing 2022 opening ceremony and delve deeper into the overall public opinion on Beijing 2022.

7.2 Nationalism and Neoliberalism at Sporting Mega Events

7.2.1 Nationalism

Sport and nationalism stand as two powerful forces in contemporary society, frequently intersecting in ways that evoke strong emotions and sentiments. Sports serve not merely as games but as platforms for the articulation of national identity and pride, with nationalistic fervour often reaching its zenith during sporting events. As articulated by Barnier (2001), "Sport often provides a uniquely effective medium for inculcating national feelings; it offers a form of symbolic action that represents the nation itself."

Nationalism, a concept with relatively recent historical roots, is defined diversely within academic contexts. The term's pervasiveness in contemporary society, interweaving with social, political, and economic facets of human existence, necessitates a precise understanding. Brubaker (2020) posits nationalism as an outcome of modern society's political, social, economic, and cultural evolutions. In "Nations and Nationalism", Gellner (2008) posits nationalism as a political principle advocating the congruence of political and national units. Gellner emphasizes the emotive power of this principle, where violations provoke anger, and its fulfilment brings satisfaction. Likewise, Fukuyama (2018) perceives nationalism as the doctrine that political boundaries should mirror cultural communities, predominantly defined by language. Moreover, Smith (1999) describes nationalism as an ideological movement striving for the autonomy, unity, and identity for a population perceived as a genuine or potential nation. Johnston (2016) treats nationalism as a relational construct. In the broader discourse, interpretations of nationalism diverge into two primary perspectives: modernist and primordialism (Smith, 1999). Modernists perceive nationalism, and its associated politics, as outcomes of socio-economic evolutions that began in the late eighteenth century. Primordialism, however, believes that this view is reductive. It suggests that elements of national identity, rooted in shared cultural traditions, values, and historical narratives, existed before modern societal shifts.

Nationalism is characterized by a profound emotional and normative dedication to existing political, economic, and social frameworks. In its most extreme manifestations, it can involve unwavering backing of the nation-state while denigrating external groups. Acting as a collective lens, nationalism shapes interpretations of diverse occurrences in

areas such as leisure, global reputation, and a wide range of socio-economic and military advancements (Howard & Privedera, 2006). Present-day nationalism is grounded in sentimental ties to a nation, constructed on historical roots, nurturing a shared identity and feeling of inclusion (Calhoun, 2006; Hearn, 2007; Jinxia, 2005). This identity evolves through ideological viewpoints and social movements, often fostering a dichotomous "us versus them" mentality in contrast to the identities of other nations. (Billig, 1995; Cohen & Wills, 1985; Day & Thompson, 2004). Furthermore, situated within governmental and ideological frameworks, nationalism drives the formation of social identities and fosters political loyalty (Castiglione, 2009). Fundamentally, nationalism functions as a crucial instrument in the process of nation-building, reinforcing political and economic cohesion, shaping perspectives, and guiding nationalistic beliefs, behaviours, and narratives (Bloom, 1990).

Chinese nationalism has been influenced by a multifaceted array of factors, encompassing pre-1840 historical and cultural identifications, experiences of semi-colonial subjugation during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, and the strategic elevation of the CPC as a political entity post-Cold War era (Guo, 2004; Zhao, 2004). The evolution of contemporary Chinese nationalism can be traced back to the aftermath of the Anglo-Chinese Opium War in the 1840s (Zhao, 2004). After that, China's adoption of Western modernity, technology, and economic principles has been intertwined with its internalization of semi-colonial recollections and Orientalist perspectives (Qi et al., 2022; Vukovich, 2012). After the CPC took power, the Chinese government has actively promoted nationalism to bolster the CPC's governance legitimacy and differentiate China's national identity from the Western paradigm that emerged post-Cold War (Guo, 2004).

Sporting mega-events and nationalism are closely intertwined, with sports acting as platforms that both influence and magnify nationalism, both politically and athletically. Despite the considerable expenses involved in hosting such events, they have the potential to generate "soft power" and cultivate strong national pride, enriched by a deeper understanding of the host nation's culture. The act of hosting these events not only showcases sporting excellence but also signifies a nation's progressive aspirations and its alignment with contemporary values. These events, which draw teams from around the world, serve as pivotal moments where national reputations are either celebrated or scrutinized, bolstering domestic support for national teams and showcasing their capabilities on the global stage. Achieving recognition in the realm of sports offers tangible advantages for nations striving to establish themselves in the modern world. A recent study by Malanski and Fernández-Peña (2023) analyse the representation and symbolism surrounding the 2014 FIFA World Cup held in Brazil. By examining the event's slogan, mascot, posters, and ceremonies in detail, the authors argued that there was a prevalent portrayal of a "Mulatto Brazil." Rooted in nationalist notions of ethnicity, this representation offers a valuable perspective on how global events can be strategically framed to advance national narratives and interests. In China, scholars have widely contended that China's participation in international sporting events has facilitated its deep integration into the global framework and fostered nationalism within its populace through a combination of top-down and bottom-up communication strategies (Guo & Xu, 2023; Ma, 2018; Qing & Yang, 2023; Schrag, 2009; Zhao, 2008b).

The Olympics are a significant example of the connection between sports and

nationalism. The 2008 Beijing Olympics, a crucial event for China, has sparked considerable academic interest in its association with nationalistic fervour. Askew (2009) argues that sports have consistently been used to shape narratives of national identity in China. Specifically, the Beijing 2008 Olympics provided China with a unique platform to showcase its renewed confidence, athletic prowess, and national pride. This opportunity not only heightened nationalistic feelings but also emphasized the importance of athletic achievements in the Party-State's narrative. Expanding on this, Lee and Yoon (2017) conduct a comparative analysis of the opening ceremonies of the Beijing 2008 and London 2012 Olympics. Their research highlights that Beijing 2008 opening ceremony strongly reflected modern, Sinocentric nationalism, portraying a story of advancement that celebrated a unified Chinese identity, aligning seamlessly with the state's approved narrative. In addition to these insights, the relationship between media and nationalism during significant events has attracted scholarly attention. Gao (2010), for example, examines the coverage of the Beijing 2008 Olympics by The New York Times and the South China Morning Post. His study revealed a clear contrast: the former took an anti-China position, while the latter leaned towards a pro-China stance, demonstrating the intertwined nature of politics, nationalism, and the dynamics of Olympic reporting. Similarly, Han (2011) employs a critical discourse analysis to explore the portrayal of the Beijing Olympics global torch relay in Chinese newspapers, suggesting that such coverage reinforced a singular concept of national identity. Moving into the digital realm, Ma (2018) delves into digital media to evaluate how official platforms and popular online outlets depicted the Paris leg of the Beijing 2008 torch relay. Ma's examination raised concerns about the growing online nationalist sentiments and their potential to challenge the state's dominant narrative.

Although it is evident that China enhances nationalism by hosting international sports events. On the other hand, following the hosting of several sports mega-events like the Beijing 2008, the Guangzhou 2010 Asian Games, and the Nanjing 2014 Youth Olympic Games, and in the context of neoliberalism's rise in China, some of the Chinese population argues that the country no longer needs such events to affirm its global status. Many perceive these events as financially draining and demanding for the citizens. They argue that China should adopt Western approaches, prioritizing public consultation before committing to hosting these significant events, instead of exclusively adhering to official mandates and intentions.

7.2.2 Neoliberalism

Neoliberalism, which emerged prominently in the late 20th century, particularly during the 1970s and 1980s, represents a significant departure in economic and political ideology. Drawing inspiration from the works of Adam Smith and classical economists, neoliberalism advocates for unrestricted trade and minimal government interference in economic affairs (Cerny, 2008; Dean, 2014). Initially conceived as a form of capitalist governance, neoliberalism is deeply rooted in classical liberal principles and calls for the privatization of industries, the shift of social governance from the state to the market, and the advancement of free-market capitalism. It also endorses deregulation and a decrease in government expenditure on social welfare programs, asserting that economic progress is best fostered through entrepreneurial liberty within a competitive market environment (Davies, 2014; Olssen & Peters, 2005; Shamir, 2010). This ideology asserts that market mechanisms offer the most effective means of resource allocation and economic management. However, its contemporary manifestation

evolved in response to the shortcomings of classical liberalism during the Great Depression of the 1930s and gained clearer definition following the Second World War (Davies, 2014). The Chicago School of Economics played a pivotal role in shaping and critiquing this economic doctrine, characterizing it as “economic imperialism” (Davies, 2014; Nik-Khah & van Horn, 2012). Furthermore, Foucault’s concepts of biopolitics and governmentality significantly influenced neoliberalism by broadening its focus from economic to political domains (Hamann, 2009).

Neoliberalism’s impact on global policies and governance has been profound, yet it remains a contentious subject. Proponents claim that neoliberal policies have fostered significant economic growth, increased efficiency, and expanded consumer choice worldwide (Carroll & Jarvis, 2015; Cerny, 2008; Kotz & McDonough, 2010). In contrast, critics argue that globalization leads to increased inequality, reduced labour rights, environmental degradation, and social unrest due to the diminished role of governments in the economy and social welfare (Hill & Kumar, 2012; Navarro, 2007). Neoliberalism, as a reprogrammed economic-political initiative of liberalism, has profoundly influenced global economic policies by advocating for free markets and limited government intervention.

Neoliberalism, while primarily an economic and political philosophy, also profoundly influences everyday culture (Beer, 2015; Lawn & Prentice, 2015; Peng, 2021). The cultural dimension of neoliberalism, which emphasizes individual autonomy, personal responsibility, and self-management, posits that individuals are primarily responsible for their own well-being and success. This perspective extends its influence into various aspects of daily life (Dean, 2008; Heron, 2008; Foster, 2016). This perspective is

reflected in the way people are encouraged to view themselves as "entrepreneurs of the self," constantly striving for self-improvement, personal achievement, and economic self-sufficiency (Barszczewski, 2021; Pimlott-Wilson, 2017). In this context, success and failure are often seen as the result of personal effort and choices, rather than being shaped by broader social or economic factors.

In the realm of consumer culture, the emphasis on individualism in neoliberalism is evident in the way products and services are marketed (Datta & Chakraborty, 2018). There is a strong focus on personal choice, customization, and the notion that purchasing decisions reflect and shape one's identity. This consumerist aspect reinforces the notion that individuals can and should express themselves and improve their lives through consumption (Dean, 2008; Kennedy, 2020). In summary, the promotion of individualism in everyday culture by neoliberalism is apparent in various aspects of life, including consumer behaviour, work practices, education, and personal identity. While it empowers personal freedom and choice, it also raises critical questions about social cohesion, equity, and the role of community and government in supporting individuals.

7.2.3 Neoliberalism and China

Neoliberalism's relationship with China presents a complex and unique case study, as China's economic and political landscape has undergone significant transformations since the late 20th century (Weber, 2018; Zhao, 2008b). While China remains a socialist country under the leadership of the Communist Party, its economic reforms and policies since the late 1970s have incorporated elements that are often associated with

neoliberalism (Chu & So, 2010; Horesh & Lim, 2017).

Initiated by Deng Xiaoping in 1978, Chinese opening-up and reform marked a significant shift from Maoist centralized economic planning. Key aspects included the de-collectivization of agriculture, transitioning from collective farming to the household responsibility system, and allowing farmers to retain surplus produce beyond state quotas (Weber, 2018). Another major reform was the opening-up to foreign investment, establishing special economic zones with fewer restrictions for foreign enterprises (Levien, 2013). Additionally, there was a push towards privatizing state-owned enterprises and promoting private entrepreneurship, while the state-maintained control over crucial sectors. These reforms also led to substantial urbanization and labour mobility, with many people migrating from rural areas to cities in search of better opportunities.

These policies catalysed remarkable economic growth and significantly reduced poverty. However, they also brought challenges such as income inequality, environmental degradation, and labour rights issues. At present, there is an ongoing debate about the extent to which China practices neoliberalism. Although China's reforms, particularly in marketization, draw from Western neoliberal experiences. Scholars argued that China's market-oriented reforms do not equate to neoliberalism, as the authoritarian government maintains tight societal control (Sigley, 2006; Wu, 2010). This perspective highlights that while China has adopted market-oriented strategies, these operate within a unique framework of state oversight, differentiating it from the neoliberal models seen in Western economies.

The cultural impact of neoliberalism in Chinese society presents a complex interplay between adopting market-oriented principles and retaining traditional and state-influenced values, leading to significant shifts in areas like consumer culture, individualism, and cultural globalization (Rofel, 2007; Wallis & Shen, 2018). A key example of this influence is the rise of consumer culture following economic liberalization, marked by increased materialism and consumerism, which contrasts with the collectivist and ascetic values of the Maoist era (Zhao, 2008b). This trend, exemplified by the growing middle class's preference for luxury goods and Western brands, symbolizes not only an economic transformation but also a cultural shift toward global capitalist integration (Goodman, 2008).

Simultaneously, there has been a noticeable shift towards individualism in post-reform China, especially among younger generations (Yang, 2018). This trend represents a shift away from traditional collectivism and familial obligations, with a growing focus on personal aspirations, self-expression, and career success (Weber, 2002; Lin & Zhao, 2020). It should be noted that this form of individualism coexists with a strong sense of national identity and communal responsibilities. It illustrates the state's role in balancing economic transformation with social harmony, creating a unique blend of cultural norms that intertwine individualistic tendencies with traditional Chinese values (Faure & Fang, 2008).

The cultural ramifications of neoliberalism in China have created a unique scenario where market-oriented economic reforms have resulted in significant cultural transformations. These changes include the emergence of a consumer culture, a shift towards individualism, and a nuanced engagement with global cultural trends,

particularly in media, entertainment, and lifestyle. For example, Peng (2021) utilizes a critical discourse analysis approach to examine the utilization of a neoliberal feminist discourse by Mimeng in her WeChat account posts. An important aspect of Mimeng's discourse highlighted in the study is her endeavour to establish a feminized representation of an ideal male. This rhetorical tactic exposes a commercialized objectification of men aimed at appealing to female followers, within the context of the growing consumer influence of Chinese women. Concurrently, the state has made concerted efforts to promote national culture and values, acting as a counterbalance to Western influences. This strategy reflects the state's role in directing the cultural impact of neoliberal policies to align with China's national interests and identity.

7.2.4 Neoliberalism and Sports

The scholarly discourse on the correlation between neoliberalism and sports has garnered substantial attention. Scholars have scrutinized this association through diverse theoretical lenses, revealing a nuanced interplay encompassing economic, political, and cultural dimensions. Their analyses underscore the influence of neoliberal principles on the worldwide structuring, financial support, and societal engagement with sports (Andrews & Silk, 2018; Coakley, 2011; Darnell & Millington, 2015; Eick, 2010; Hall, 2006;).

From a neoliberal perspective, sports mega-events like the Olympics and FIFA World Cup are not merely athletic competitions but also significant economic and political endeavours (Darnell & Millington, 2015; Graeff-Bastos, 2019). They are often utilized for urban development, global prestige, and economic gain. The neoliberal approach

prioritizes market-driven strategies, private investment, and public-private partnerships in organizing these events. This often leads to large-scale infrastructural projects, which, while aimed at modernization and global visibility, can also raise issues of public expenditure, displacement, and environmental impact (Hayes & Karamichas, 2012; Gruneau & Horne, 2015; Lee et al., 2022). Furthermore, the bidding process for hosting sports mega-events is a manifestation of neoliberal globalization. Cities and nations compete in a global marketplace, adhering to the demands of international bodies such as the IOC and FIFA. This competition reflects a broader neoliberal agenda of economic liberalization and global market integration (Darnell & Millington, 2015; MacAloon, 2017; Vanwynsberghe et al., 2013).

Moreover, sports fans are increasingly seen as consumers under neoliberalism, which has led to the commodification of fandom. This is evident in targeted marketing strategies, merchandising of sports paraphernalia, and the structuring of media rights and broadcasting deals, which transform the fan experience into a more transactional and less accessible one for those who cannot afford it (Dart, 2014; Dubal, 2010; Eick, 2010). Furthermore, the neoliberal emphasis on global markets has facilitated the formation of global fan communities. Advances in media and technology enable fans worldwide to engage with sports mega-events, transcending geographical boundaries and reshaping fan identity and community in a globalized context (Chen, 2022). Furthermore, fans have organized protests against issues such as rising ticket prices, team relocations, and the erosion of traditional club values, highlighting a critical perspective on neoliberalism and the need to balance commercial interests with community and cultural values in sports (Brown, 2007; Ogbonna & Harris, 2014; Williams, 2007).

The topic of Chinese sports within the framework of neoliberalism has attracted considerable scholarly interest. For example, Pu et al. (2019) examine the interplay between local and global dynamics of celebrity politics by analysing the case of former Chinese professional tennis player Li Na. They propose that Li Na's defiance represents the underlying values associated with neoliberalism in China, reflecting significant societal changes characterized by an embrace of the global economy and a redefinition of national identity. Furthermore, Gong (2020b) investigates the cross-cultural appeal of European football in China, centring on the active interpretation of this globalized cultural phenomenon by Chinese enthusiasts. Gong illustrates that these interpretations, which depict European football clubs as emblems of "collective collaboration" and "elegant football," provide insightful analyses of discourses surrounding "competitive individualism" and "pragmatic commercialism"—fundamental elements of the burgeoning neoliberal ideology in China. Moreover, Lin and Zhao (2020) shift the discussion to Chinese eSports players, investigating the factors contributing to their evolution into self-motivated individuals within the context of neoliberal Chinese society. They argue that eSports transcends mere entertainment, viewing it as a transformative phenomenon reflective of broader societal changes. Furthermore, Chen (2022) utilizes the concept of the "neoliberal condition" to analyse how structural influences shape the development of distant fan identities in China. Chen posits that these distant fans not only react to but also perpetuate and reinforce structural influences, thereby playing a role in the ongoing global and local advancement of neo-liberalization. The academic exploration of neoliberalism's impact on sports mega-events and fans reveals a complex phenomenon involving the commodification and globalization of sports, the transformation of fan experiences, and the socio-political implications of

hosting large-scale sports events. This analysis contributes to a broader understanding of how neoliberal ideologies influence the economic, cultural, and social dimensions of sporting experiences.

In this chapter, a qualitative textual analysis centres on the primary second-screen medium—social media. Building on these studies, my dissertation seeks to investigate Chinese nationalism and neoliberalism by analysing online user posts and comments related to the opening ceremony of Beijing 2022.

7.3 Research Design

7.3.1 Research questions

Given these aims, the following research question has been formulated to guide this investigation:

RQ7: How does the interdiscursivity of nationalism and neoliberalism manifest in the discourse on Weibo and Hupu regarding the Beijing 2022 opening ceremony?

RQ8: What are the differences and similarities in the portrayal of nationalism and neoliberalism in the online discussions about the Beijing 2002 opening ceremony on Weibo and Hupu?

7.3.2 Research method

In this section, I conduct empirical research using two Chinese online platforms, Weibo and Hupu, as the data repositories to explore the intersection of nationalism and neoliberalism in the context of the Beijing 2022 opening ceremony in China. As I introduced previously, Weibo, commonly known as the "Chinese Twitter," is a widely used microblogging platform in China. It was launched in 2009 by Sina Corporation. Users can create, share, and explore content like Twitter. This platform allows posting short messages, images, and videos, as well as following other users' feeds (Li et al., 2019). Its microblogging feature, characterized by a character limit, encourages rapid sharing of news, opinions, and personal updates. As a social networking site, Weibo fosters community and interaction through features that allow users to follow, comment, and share content. Notably, it plays a significant role in the rapid dissemination of news and information in China, often serving as a primary source for breaking news (Yang et al., 2023).

Founded in 2004, Hupu, also known as Hupu Sports, has risen to prominence as a key online sports community and news platform in China. It has established itself as a vital hub for sports enthusiasts, offering a comprehensive range of content, including the latest sports news, live scores, and in-depth analysis. Hupu is particularly celebrated for its extensive coverage of various sports, such as basketball, soccer, and tennis, attracting a wide and diverse audience. Hupu currently boasts around 55 million active users, who collectively create 700,000 posts each day (Zhou et al., 2020). The platform's interactive fan forums and social networking features foster a strong sense of community and enhance user interaction, making it a popular space for discussing

games, teams, and players. With its strong mobile presence, Hupu ensures convenient access for users on the move, further solidifying its influence on sports culture in China. This influence is evident in its significant impact on sports-related discussions and opinions nationwide, making Hupu a central gathering place for sports fans and a key influencer in how sports are followed and discussed in the country (Peng et al., 2022). On Hupu, users refer to each other as “Jrs,” originally an abbreviation for “Jian ren,” meaning “cheap person,” indicating self-deprecation and self-mockery. Later, it gradually evolved to mean “family” (“Jia Ren,” “families”). It has become a defining feature of Hupu users' identity, embodying the warm significance that Hupu is a family.

Academic research on Hupu mainly focuses on race and gender issues. For instance, Peng et al. (2022) investigate racism among Hupu members, particularly in response to the Black Lives Matter movement, and discover that negative attitudes are often rooted in traditional Chinese racist ideologies. Peng and Sun (2022) employ a dialectical-relational approach to examine anti-transgender sentiments in terms of gender dynamics. They find that these sentiments are rooted in essentialist gender ideologies and align with China’s nationalist discourse opposing Western principles. Furthermore, Peng et al. (2024) analyse discussions among male Hupu users regarding two female athletes at the Tokyo 2020 Olympics, emphasizing the persistent gender inequality and the reinforcement of masculine dominance within China's sports fandom.

7.3.2.1 Data collection

This study employs a digital method for data collection. Rogers (2015) defines digital methods as techniques for exploring societal and cultural shifts through web-based digital objects, such as URLs, tags, likes, and hashtags. According to Rogers (2024),

digital methods are based on three core principles. The first principle involves using digital techniques specifically designed for studying culture and society. These techniques are aimed at capturing and analysing "born digital data" such as tags, likes, hyperlinks, and timestamps (Vicari & Kirby, 2023). In this research, data from Weibo and Hupu were collected using targeted keywords, tags, and response volume analysis, aligning with Rogers's principles of native digital technology. Secondly, digital methods require the integration of "online devices" into the research framework (Rogers, 2009), such as social networks, search engines, and online encyclopaedias. Given that digital methods are "rooted in online devices" (Rogers, 2009, 2024), understanding how these devices influence data is crucial. This study considered the distinct technological and socio-political environments of Weibo and Hupu. Weibo serves as a major platform for public discourse in China, while Hupu caters specifically to professional sports fans, offering a specialized perspective. Acknowledging these differences is vital in the design of digital research methods. Finally, digital methods involve synthesizing various digital elements to illuminate broader social and cultural trends (Rogers, 2009; Zeng, 2018). This study aims to explore the perspectives of the Chinese public and sports fans on the Olympics, national power, and international affairs, with a focus on underlying social and cultural factors. This is achieved by analysing discussions about the Beijing 2022 Opening Ceremony on Weibo and Hupu, set against the backdrop of China hosting the Olympic Games for the second time.

In collecting Weibo data, I use a web scraping tool called Gooseeker to gather user posts on Weibo. GooSeeker is a type of web crawler software designed to extract text data from various web pages (Io et al., 2019). Specifically, it can crawl posts from platforms like Weibo, targeting content based on specified search words and periods (Zhao & Luo,

2020). For data gathering, I used a web crawler software, GooSeeker, to collect the data. These tools are designed to automate the collection of large volumes of data from the internet, which can be used for various purposes such as market research, sentiment analysis, and web indexing. The efficiency of such software lies in its ability to process and organize data much faster than manual methods.

I used specific keywords to select the desired content. Terms such as “Beijing 2022 opening ceremony” and “Opening ceremony of the Winter Olympic Games” were used in this step. Additionally, I also employed the hashtag #Beijing2022 Opening Ceremony# to collect the data. This data mining approach enabled the collection of 3635 posts. Along with these posts, relevant metadata, including likes, hashtags, and captions, were extracted to enable a comprehensive analysis of the content. My data collection period was from February 4th to February 5th, 2022. The Beijing 2022 opening ceremony took place at 8 p.m. on February 4, 2022. Right-holding broadcasters, such as CCTV and Migu Video, provided live coverage of the event and rebroadcasted it multiple times on February 5th. The focus of my research is on the concept of “multi-screening,” which emphasizes the simultaneous viewing of events, guiding my selection of this specific timeframe. This approach was crucial in ensuring the accuracy of the data collected for my study. To better ensure that the data from Weibo accurately represents the general public’s viewpoints, I conducted a detailed review of the source Weibo accounts. This process included removing accounts associated with media outlets, corporations, government agencies, and other organizations. Accounts belonging to professional sports journalists and commentators were also excluded from the dataset.

My data collection on Hupu similarly focused on users' contributions regarding the Beijing 2022 opening ceremony. Hupu functions as an online community platform where users initiate interactions by sharing a title, an opinion, or a piece of news. I classify this initial contribution as the "story." It is important to note that a characteristic of online communities is the continuous commenting and engagement by users on a single story, which I refer to as "posts." In accordance with this, I selected stories and posts created on February 4th and 5th for analysis. This approach acknowledges the dynamic nature of online interactions, where ongoing dialogue can provide deeper insights into user behaviour and community engagement. I used Hupu's search engine to find stories containing keywords such as "Beijing 2022 opening ceremony," "opening ceremony of Winter Olympic Games," "opening ceremony," and "Zhang Yimou". This search focused on posts about the Beijing 2022 opening ceremony between February 4th and 5th. In this step, I collected 16 stories. I then retrieved all postings from these stories, resulting in a total of 3491 posts being collected. The details of the data source are summarized in Table 12.

Table 12: Sampled News Stories

Number	Headline	Date	Views	Posts
Hupu2022a	"[Winter Olympics Update] Zhang Yimou: Chinese culture was integrated into every minute of the Beijing Winter Olympics opening ceremony" "[冬奥资讯]张艺谋：中国文化融入了北京冬奥会开幕式的每一分钟"	2022-02-04 05:01:45	347771	85
Hupu2022b	"[Winter Olympics Update] The national flag rises majestically! The 2022 Beijing Winter Olympics officially commence" "[冬奥资讯]国旗冉冉升起！2022 北京冬奥会正式开始"	2022-02-04 13:16:04	101771	57
Hupu2022c	"[Winter Olympics Update] Beijing Winter Olympics Opening Ceremony: Decoding the Parade of Nations" "[冬奥资讯]北京冬奥会开幕式：运动员入场仪式解密"	2022-02-04 13:36:06	294755	55

Hupu2022d	“[Winter Olympics Update] The Parade of Nations of the Beijing Winter Olympics opening ceremony has begun, with the Greek delegation entering first” “[冬奥资讯]北京冬奥会开幕式入场仪式开始，希腊代表团第一个入场”	2022-02-04 13:39:02	767225	215
Hupu2022e	“[Winter Olympics Update] Zhang Yimou: It took two years to come up with the idea of the countdown to the twenty-four solar terms” “[冬奥资讯]张艺谋：二十四节气倒计时想了两年才想到”	2022-02-04 13:55:39	799189	281
Hupu2022f	“[Winter Olympics Update] Beijing Winter Olympics Opening Ceremony: Entrance of the South Korean Delegation” “[冬奥资讯]北京冬奥会开幕式：韩国代表团入场”	2022-02-04 14:15:00	169235	126
Hupu2022g	“[JRs Evaluation] With the flawless conclusion of the opening ceremony, how would you rate the excitement level of this event?” “[JRs 评选]开幕式完美结束，你给本次开幕式的精彩程度打几分？”	2022-02-04 14:41:30	296576	709
Hupu2022h	“[Winter Olympics Update] IOC President Bach extends New Year's greetings in Chinese during the Beijing Winter Olympics opening ceremony.” “[冬奥资讯]国际奥委会主席巴赫在北京冬奥会开幕式上用中文拜年”	2022-02-04 14:48:45	239178	59
Hupu2022i	“[Winter Olympics Update] Check out the full playlist here! Beijing Winter Olympics Athletes' Entrance Ceremony Tracks” “[冬奥资讯]完整歌单看这里！北京冬奥会运动员入场式曲目”	2022-02-04 14:58:45	253862	78
Hupu2022j	“[Winter Olympics Update] Su Bingtian participates in the torch relay for the Beijing Winter Olympics opening ceremony.” “[冬奥资讯]苏炳添参与北京冬奥会开幕式火炬传递”	2022-02-04 15:19:29	239814	179
Hupu2022k	“[Winter Olympics Update] The quantity of fireworks displayed during the opening ceremony is one-tenth of that of the 2008 Olympic Games.” “[冬奥资讯]简约！开幕式焰火燃放量为 08 年奥运会的十分之一”	2022-02-04 15:58:06	486712	177
Hupu2022l	“Let's refrain from criticizing the Winter Olympics' torch relay any further. Take a look at this article, and you will understand that it is a trend.” “大家不要再吐槽冬奥会的圣火了，看看这篇文章吧，就会明白这是一种趋势”	2022-02-04 16:28:13	351202	314
Hupu2022m	“[Winter Olympics Update] Lovely! Gu Ai Ling shares photos, checking in at the Winter Olympics opening ceremony.” “[冬奥资讯]可爱！谷爱凌晒照打卡冬奥开幕式”	2022-02-04 16:53:19	673424	526

Hupu2022n	“[Voice of Japanese JR] Beijing's opening ceremony receives overwhelming praise, Samoa's flag bearer captures attention, Tokyo's opening ceremony features personified kelp?” “【日本 JRs 之声】北京开幕式压倒性好评，萨摩亚旗手瞩目，东京开幕式是海带成精？”	2022-02-05 11:49:06	628409	288
Hupu2022o	“[Winter Olympics Update] Yi Jianlian's Weibo post: "We can always trust our country's opening ceremony! Astonishing the world.” “[冬奥资讯]易建联更博：永远可以相信我们国家开幕式！惊艳全世界”	2022-02-05 03:28:46	394946	154
Hupu2022p	“[Voice of Winter Olympics JRS] The grand opening of the Beijing Winter Olympics, how do foreign netizens perceive it?” “【冬奥 JRS 之声】 北京冬奥会盛大开幕，国外网友都怎么看？”	2022-02-05 10:44:29	698706	188
Total	N/A	N/A	6742775	3491

Source: Hupu2022a is from https://bbs.hupu.com/48880784-2.html. Hupu2022b is from https://bbs.hupu.com/48891420.html. Hupu2022c is from https://bbs.hupu.com/48891695.html. Hupu2022d is from https://bbs.hupu.com/48891511-4.html. Hupu2022e is from https://bbs.hupu.com/48892137.html. Hupu2022f is from https://bbs.hupu.com/48892447-4.html. Hupu2022g is from https://bbs.hupu.com/48893226.html. Hupu2022h is from https://bbs.hupu.com/48893371.html. Hupu2022i is from https://bbs.hupu.com/48893750.html. Hupu2022j is from https://bbs.hupu.com/48894913.html. Hupu2022k is from https://bbs.hupu.com/48897225.html. Hupu2022l is from https://bbs.hupu.com/48899008.html. Hupu2022m is from https://bbs.hupu.com/48900667.html. Hupu2022n is from https://bbs.hupu.com/48954626.html. Hupu2022o is from https://bbs.hupu.com/48936081.html. Hupu2022p is from https://bbs.hupu.com/48951583.html. (These data are up to date as of February 2024.)

7.3.2.2 Data analysis

This study utilizes qualitative textual analysis, which has been proven effective in numerous previous studies investigating public and professional sports fan narratives of Olympic opening ceremonies (Lemus-Delgado, 2021; Vincent et al., 2018). Textual analysis allows researchers to delve into messages across diverse mediums, interpreting texts as intricate discursive strategies deeply rooted in specific cultural contexts (Barthes, 1972). Such data for analysis can be extracted from documents, films, newspapers, paintings, and web pages, among others (Smith, 2017). These data sources serve as the “texts” under scrutiny, enabling researchers to interpret the inherent

meanings, values, and conveyed messages. Significantly, textual analysis extends beyond the manifest content, probing deeper into the latent ideological and cultural premises within the text. It is noted that while three predominant textual analysis methods exist — quantitative, qualitative, and computer-assisted — this research exclusively harnesses the qualitative approach.

Qualitative textual analysis is grounded in various theoretical traditions encapsulated within an interpretive paradigm. Techniques rooted in the interconnectedness of concepts have proven effective for examining individual cognition (Carley, 1994). Within communication scholarship, the theoretical foundations for textual analysis require a continuous engagement with the selected text. This involves employing frameworks such as symbolic interactionism, phenomenology, critical theory, and ethnography, alongside semiotic, narrative, genre, and rhetorical approaches to qualitative analysis. This analytical lens often culminates in a judiciously curated presentation of the scrutinized text, bolstering the core thesis (Fürsich, 2009). As McKee (2003) posits, qualitative textual analysis aims to comprehend how individuals, within specific contexts, perceive and interpret their environment.

This approach has consistently been effective in analysing media narratives and sports mega-events. For example, Vincent et al. (2018) employ textual analysis to investigate narratives in British newspapers during the London 2012 Olympic Games, aiming to understand how the British media cultivated specific “narratives of the nation.” Similarly, Lemus-Delgado (2021) uses critical discourse analysis to highlight national identity narratives in the 29th Summer Universiade’s opening ceremony in Taipei. Diverging from these studies, my research focuses on the narratives expressed by the

Chinese public regarding the Beijing 2022 opening ceremony, with particular emphasis on discussions on Weibo and Hupu.

St. Pierre and Jackson (2014, p. 715) stress the significance of using theory to guide coding practices, defining what constitutes data and its significance. Following data collection, I conduct textual analysis on the compiled Weibo and Hupu posts using inductive, open, and axial coding methods, rooted in neo-liberalism theory and nationalism theory. Open coding, based on Frosh and Emerson's (2005) framework, is initially employed to identify recurring themes, prevalent stories, and underlying inconsistencies. This coding approach emerges organically during the analysis process rather than being predetermined. Drawing from the methodologies of Creswell and Miller (2000), and Moghaddam (2006), the primary coding phase utilizes a constant comparative method to identify emerging themes. Axial coding, as suggested by Lindlof and Taylor (2017), is then used to combine and streamline overlapping themes, establishing connections among the themes identified in the dataset. Smith (2017) highlights the importance of considering the social context that readers bring to qualitative textual analysis. This analytical method not only explores the textual content but also addresses how texts influence individuals, groups, and communities in society. Consequently, this examination goes beyond neo-liberalism and national identity theories, situating the text within the broader societal context of China and exploring its cultural nuances. This approach sheds light on the intricate public narratives surrounding the Beijing 2022 opening ceremony.

Upon analysing the data, it became evident that discussions among the Chinese public and sports enthusiasts regarding the Beijing 2022 opening ceremony predominantly

focused on different aspects of the event. Specifically, attention was drawn towards the various segments of the ceremony, with a notable emphasis on the artistic performances reflecting the cultural characteristics of the host country, as well as the Parade of Nations, which showcased the distinctive features of each participating delegation. Next, my investigation will primarily delve into the ways in which Chinese netizens highlight nationalism and neoliberalism within the discourse surrounding cultural performances and the Parade of Nations.

7.4 Findings

7.4.1 Artistic Performance: The Presentation of Nationalism

As mentioned before, the Beijing 2022 opening ceremony was expertly directed by renowned filmmaker Zhang Yimou, marking his second involvement in an Olympic Games opening ceremony after Beijing 2008. This accomplishment makes Zhang the only director to have led the ceremonies for both the Summer and Winter Olympics. In 2008, his work set a high standard with its grand scale, featuring 15,000 participants and an extensive depiction of Chinese history over four hours. Reflecting on his role in Beijing 2022, Zhang noted the significant transformations within China and his personal growth. He stated, “For the Winter Olympics’ opening and closing ceremonies, we can take a more streamlined approach to unite the world together” (Xu, 2022). Highlighting a change in the style of the ceremony from Beijing 2008 to Beijing 2022, he mentioned, “We have significantly reduced the number of performers and utilized technology to create a sense of fullness on the stage without overcrowding. By smartly employing technology and creative ideas, we strive to create an atmosphere that is rich,

ethereal, and romantic" (Xu, 2022).

The decision to simplify the Olympics is not solely a consequence of the IOC's efforts to minimize bid expenses and prioritize sustainable development, but also signifies a notable change in the Chinese populace's perspective on hosting large-scale international sports competitions. In recent years, as China has continued to host major sporting events, dissenting opinions have surfaced. Critics have contended that such extravagant events represent a misuse of national resources, proposing that China no longer needs to assert its national identity through this means. In the last decade, substantial transformations have transpired both domestically in China and on the global platform. China's self-perception and its global role have experienced significant evolution. Concurrently, the IOC has redirected its attention towards cost reduction in bidding processes and the advancement of sustainable development (Yan et al., 2022). The Covid-19 pandemic has also presented notable logistical hurdles for the organization of international events. In response, Beijing 2022 has embraced a strategy of "simple, safe, and splendid." Notably, the opening ceremony departed from the intricate narratives of previous ceremonies, opting for a more concise presentation and eschewing the involvement of professional singers, dancers, or actors.

Confidence in Chinese culture. In regards to the art performance of the opening ceremony, it was structured into 15 distinct sections, with highlights such as the athletes' parade and the iconic lighting of the Olympic flame. It began with the "Countdown performance: Rites of Spring," which started with a 24-second countdown to represent both the 24th Winter Olympics and the 24 solar terms of the Chinese calendar. Notably, the opening of the Beijing 2022 coincided with "Beginning of Spring (立春)", the first

of these solar terms. After the countdown, dancers elegantly manipulated tall, glowing green stalks to depict the life cycle of a dandelion. This sequence reached its climax as the stalks transformed into white seeds that rose into the air, against a backdrop of fireworks that spelled out "立春" (Beginning of Spring), heralding the start of spring. This symbolic representation was positively received by a significant number of Chinese viewers, as indicated by feedback from viewers on the Weibo:

> W1115: Upon witnessing the opening ceremony of the Beijing 2022, I was reminded of the 24 solar terms. The ceremony was characterized by its simplicity, environmental consciousness, innovation, depth, and romantic undertones.

On Hupu, the sports enthusiasts also praised the ingenuity of the 24 Solar Terms performance. One user commented,

> Hupu2022e-14: It's the 24th Winter Olympics, and the opening day falls on February 4th, which also coincides with one of the 24 Solar Terms. This is a romance that is uniquely Chinese.

As shown in the example, users on Weibo and sports fans on Hupu alike have praised Zhang Yimou's representation of the 24 Solar Terms, especially the Start of Spring. This is because the Start of Spring holds special significance in traditional Chinese culture. As the first of the 24 Solar Terms, it symbolizes the arrival of spring, marking the beginning of a season characterized by gentle breezes and warm sunshine, where all things begin to grow. In nature, the Start of Spring is most notably marked by the revival signs in all living things. Such praise reflects the confidence of Chinese audiences in their traditional culture. Additionally, in Hupu2022e-14's posting, a sports

fan on Hupu specifically highlighted the numerical coincidence in Zhang Yimou's design, pointing out that the 24th Winter Olympics opened on February 4th, which also happens to be the first of China's 24 Solar Terms. This pursuit of numerical harmony is interpreted by audiences as a uniquely Chinese form of romanticism.

During the opening ceremony, the Snowflake Performance stood out for its seamless blend of youth and technology. Zhang Yimou emphasized the youth's role in the Olympic movement, noting that 95% of the 3,000 participants in the Beijing 2022' opening ceremony were teenagers, reflecting the Olympic educational ideals (Guang Ming Daily, 2022). In this segment, numerous children moved gracefully across the central stage, singing the theme song, "Snowflake." Beneath them, an expansive LED floor utilized motion capture technology to produce shimmering patterns of snowflakes and stars. With jubilant expressions, the children carried dove lamps and lanterns, creating a trail of luminous snowflakes in their wake. As the melodic performance approached its conclusion, the children formed a heart shape around a colossal snowflake. The recurring snowflake motif throughout the ceremony epitomized unity and prosperity. This segment garnered significant appreciation from viewers, with one Weibo user noting,

> W692: The snowflake design was particularly striking. As thousands of "snowflakes" gathered at the centre of the Bird's Nest, each represented a unique delegation. Their convergence into a single snowflake, adorned with an olive branch emblem, gracefully embodied the "Snowflake" motif added to the Olympic Declaration, symbolizing strengthened unity. #BeijingWinterOlympicsOpeningCeremony

As above Weibo user noted that, during the 138th Session of the IOC in Tokyo, Japan on July 20, 2021, the Olympic motto was officially updated to include the word “Together.” The new motto is now “Faster, Higher, Stronger, Together.” This addition aligns with the theme of unity seen in the slogan of the Beijing 2022, “Together for a Shared Future.” The opening ceremony of the Beijing 2022 also reflected this theme, and feedback from Weibo users indicated a strong appreciation for the Olympic spirit within the Chinese community.

In addition to the scheduled events, the lighting of the Olympic flame stood out as a pivotal moment during the opening ceremony. The final leg of the torch relay was undertaken by two Generation Z athletes: skier Dinigeer Yilamujiang and Nordic combined skier Zhao Jiawen. Together, they positioned the torch, carrying the Olympic flame, at the center of a large "snowflake" adorned with the names of the 91 participating nations. Marking a first in Olympic history, the torch itself became the primary flame in the cauldron, characterized as a "micro flame" (微火, Wéi huǒ).This method of lighting the torch also sparked controversy among the audience. Two sports fans commented on Hupu,

> Hupu2022l-134: The creativity of the “micro flame” is impressive. I feel that simply placing it above is not ideal.

> Hupu2022l-161: The torch symbolizes peace, understanding, and tolerance, akin to a delicate flame. It requires the world to protect it together. In this environment where prioritizing the propagation of hatred is prevalent, its significance is profound.

Another user on the Hupu' also raised concerns about the choice of the last torchbearer, highlighting,

> Hupu2022j -161: Did you know that Wang Meng is the most decorated Olympian in China's Winter Olympic history? Considering that Beijing 2022 is a major sports event, Wang Meng should not have been merely an external choice as a torchbearer. Furthermore, in the internal sequence of the torch relay, if Wang Meng was not going to be the final bearer, she should have at least been positioned between Yang Yang and Zhou Yang.

In the above discussions, Hupu users employed rhetorical questions to discuss the selection of the torchbearer for Beijing 2022. One sports fan on Hupu highlighted various prominent Chinese winter sports athletes, advocating that the honour of the final leg should go to an athlete with distinguished achievements in the Winter Olympics. Wang Meng was specifically recognized for her leadership in Chinese short-track speed skating and for being the Chinese athlete with the highest number of Winter Olympic medals. This scepticism is understandable, as there is a prevalent belief among the Chinese populace in the value of "heroes who have achieved success and fame." This sentiment is especially pronounced during major sporting events, which are seen as opportunities to display national pride, thereby heightening the expectation for heroic figures to emerge.

Conversely, certain Hupu users expressed their approval of the torchbearer arrangement

and highlighted the underlying significance associated with it,

> Hupu2022l -132: The Olympic spirit embodies inclusivity, engaging not only renowned athletes but also the general public. The participation of young individuals, especially from ethnic minorities, resonates with the idea of China as a united family. Such an approach reflects the Olympic values of diversity and unity.

In a preceding section, it was noted that certain Western nations opted for a diplomatic boycott of the Beijing 2022, citing concerns over human rights violations in China's Xinjiang region as the primary rationale. Additionally, a user on the Hupu platform highlighted this aspect,

> Hupu2022j-214: The arrangement of the torchbearers was a response to the Xinjiang issue. By having both an Uyghur athlete from Xinjiang and a Han Chinese athlete jointly light the main torch during a global broadcasting, certain rumours were effectively dispelled, showcasing the director's intentional design.

As shown in the above extract, some Hupu users have expressed support for the selection of young torchbearers. One post, referred to as Hupu2022l-132, emphasized the importance of youth participation in the Olympic movement. This aligns with the IOC's recent initiatives to increase young people's interest in the Olympics, showcasing a deep understanding of the Olympic ethos among Hupu users. Another post, Hupu2022j-214, explored the socio-political implications of having both Uyghur and Han athletes lighting the torch together, suggesting a deeper message. The Beijing 2022 Olympics are intended as a platform for China to present itself to the international

community and address various criticisms. Chinese authorities view the event as an opportunity to address concerns about Xinjiang and to portray an image of ethnic harmony.

Not only did the torchbearers capture the audience's attention, but the main torch of Beijing 2022 also garnered interest (Figure 10). The design of the smaller torch, featuring a smaller flame, symbolizes environmental sustainability, in line with the event's aim to achieve "carbon neutrality." One Weibo user stated that,

> W700: In the Beijing 2022 Opening Ceremony, while some comments opined that the flame lighting lacked grandiosity, I found it quite fitting. The environmentally conscious approach to the ignition ceremony, combined with the compact yet thoughtfully designed torch platform, embodied deep significance.

Similarly, Hupu users shared their insights from a more professional perspective. For instance, one user elaborated on the design, considering the unique characteristics of the Winter Olympics,

> Hupu2022n-191: The Summer Olympics naturally embrace a theme of warmth, making a large main torch flame appropriate. For the Winter Olympics, which celebrate ice and snow, the small main torch flame set amidst ice crystals truly captures the essence of the event. Looking back, this detail is sure to be regarded as a classic among classics.

Another user reminisced about the remarkable torch lighting ceremonies from previous Olympic Games, expressing their admiration for the grandeur and symbolism inherent

in these historic events,

> Hupu2022n-163: Starting with Sydney (2000 Olympic Games), the lighting ceremony was stunning; Athens (2004 Olympic Games) perfectly captured the essence of ancient Greece; Turin (2006 Winter Olympic Games) showcased the artistic standards of Italians with the memorable human puzzle; Doha (2006 Asian Games) also performed well, featuring the impactful shot of Arabian knights charging up the hill. The most astonishing Beijing 2008 Olympics opening ceremony in human history was followed by the Paralympics! …… This time, China has once again amazed the world this year.

As indicated in the above posts, viewers on both Weibo and Hupu have shown their approval of this design. The text from these three posts illustrates that Weibo users reflect the general public's viewpoint, often interpreting the Beijing 2022 opening ceremony's arrangement and design through their personal impressions. Conversely, professional sports enthusiasts on Hupu bring a wealth of sports knowledge, shaped by their long-term engagement with sports events. They analyse the organization and design of Beijing 2022 from a professional standpoint, drawing comparisons to previous significant sports events based on their specialized understanding.



Figure 10: Main torch of Beijing 2022
Source: The figure is from broadcasting of CCTV.

***Memories of the Beijing 2008 Olympic Games*.** Following Beijing's successful bid to host the 2022 Winter Olympics, the Chinese government often references the notion of a "Dual Olympic City." This concept aims to underscore the lasting influence of the Beijing 2008 Olympics on the Olympic movement in China. The Beijing 2022 is perceived as a seamless extension and a beneficiary of the legacy established by the Beijing 2008 Olympics. Conversations regarding the opening ceremony of the Beijing 2022 on social media platforms such as Weibo and Hupu frequently draw comparisons to the grandeur of the Beijing 2008 Olympics opening ceremony.

The Beijing 2008 Olympics marked a significant turning point in China's historical trajectory (Zhong et al., 2022). This milestone coincided with China's rapid economic advancement in the early 21st century. The period spanning from the successful bid for the Olympic Games in 2001 to the hosting of the event in 2008 witnessed a notable ascent in China's global GDP ranking from sixth to third place (Black & Peacock, 2011).

With its accelerated growth, China sought to exhibit its multifaceted capabilities to the international community, leveraging the Olympics as an ideal platform for this purpose.

Next, I will first review the context of Beijing 2008 opening ceremony. The Beijing 2008 opening ceremony, held on August 8, gracefully highlighted China's rich cultural heritage. Directed by renowned filmmaker Zhang Yimou, the ceremony showcased a vision of a "New Age of China," connecting its historical legacy with contemporary vitality and ambitions as a global leader (Barmé, 2009). It skilfully blended elements of history and modernity, tradition and innovation, portraying a China that remains deeply connected to a civilization that spans over 5,000 years. The event captivated a remarkable domestic audience of over 800 million—62% of China's population—and attracted more than 4.2 billion viewers worldwide, setting a record as the most-watched Olympic opening ceremony in history (Zhong et al., 2022).

Users on Weibo have drawn parallels between Beijing 2008 and Beijing 2022, highlighting the intertwining narratives and emphasizing the evolution and continuity between these two momentous events,

> W5: During the 2008 Olympic Games opening ceremony, I was a high school sophomore in my hometown of Shandong. The sight of the footprints advancing toward the Bird's Nest on television filled me with awe. At that time, I had never been to Beijing, and my aspirations were just beginning to form. Fourteen years later, my dreams had solidified; I had become a journalist, capturing and chronicling the times. Unexpectedly, I found myself at the Winter Olympics, prepared to witness another historic ceremony firsthand.

> W6: In 2008, during the opening ceremony of the Beijing Olympic Games, I was in my final year of high school. The live broadcast is still vivid in my memory: the fireworks forming footprints along the central axis, the rhythmic countdown with the Fou drums, and the unforgettable moment of Li Ning lighting the torch while suspended in the air above the Bird's Nest. Now, as the opening ceremony of the 2022 Beijing Winter Olympics approaches, I find myself just 2.6 km away from the Bird's Nest, watching from my home. I look forward to seeing how China will showcase its splendour and strength to the world tonight.

In the two mentioned Weibo posts, users link the two Olympic Games with their personal life changes. They start by reminiscing about their circumstances in 2008 and extend the reflection to their current situations in 2022, marvelling at the significant personal changes since 2008. These reflections underscore the profound impact that the Olympic Games can have on individuals.

On Hupu, sports enthusiasts also emphasized the contrast between the difference styled opening ceremonies of Beijing 2008 and Beijing 2022. In previous discussions, I mentioned that the opening ceremony of Beijing 2022 abandoned the grand narrative style in favour of highlighting technology and modernity. This approach has also received audience approval. Hupu users noted that,

> Hupu2022k-47: In 2008, it was the first time we welcomed guests with such grandeur, showcasing all our assets and historical culture, in the hope that

they would respect us. Fourteen years have passed. Firstly, it is not necessary to go to such lengths for the second time. Secondly, we are more confident and have a greater sense of depth. We are who we are, and we don't need their approval.

Hupu2022k-16: I perceive that in 2008, China aimed to exhibit its comprehensive capabilities to the world; thus, everything was showcased. Presently, China seeks to underscore its responsibilities as a major nation and highlight emerging trends in development. It's about embracing a mindset to pursue distinctive endeavours. Let us excel in our own right, regardless of Western nations' evaluations.

Hupu2022k-51: (Beijing 2022 Opening Ceremony) showcases cultural confidence, and the majestic atmosphere has been well-received. What is left is to make changes and set intentions. As for whether it is good or not, people have different opinions. However, I advocate for low-carbon practices and environmental protection. We need to make changes. The Olympic Committee should also align with my vision and acknowledge that we represent the future. Zhang Yimou’s confidence is truly unique.

Hupu users specifically highlighted the differences in production style between the opening ceremonies of Beijing 2008 and Beijing 2022. A notable point of emphasis was the display of confidence in China, aligning with the narrative strategy of the Chinese government. Chinese President Xi Jinping has articulated the concept of the “Four Confidences,” which encompasses confidence in the path, theory, system, and culture

of socialism with Chinese characteristics. This concept is presented in official Chinese discourse as a response to the long-standing promotion of Western values as “universal values” by countries like the United States, signifying a departure from Western value systems (Ren, 2020).

Users on Weibo and Hupu have expressed their admiration not only through text but also through internet memes (Figure 11). One such meme features a photoshopped image of Wu Jing, a renowned Chinese actor, in his role as a physical education teacher from the movie “Hello Teacher!” Wu Jing is considered one of China’s most masculine actors, known for his roles in the “Wolf Warrior” series, which are celebrated for their heroic and patriotic themes. In the meme, Wu Jing is depicted wearing a shirt that originally had Chinese characters for “China”. Netizens have creatively added more text next to “China”, with phrases like ‘For torchbearers, look no further than the Chinese men’ and “The best opening ceremonies are China’s”. This image, showcasing Wu Jing’s strong persona, humorously conveys admiration for China’s prowess in hosting grand events and has been widely circulated on both Weibo and Hupu.



Figure 11: Meme of Wu Jing

Source: The figure is from Weibo and Hupu posting.

Comparison with the opening ceremony of the Tokyo 2020. During the Beijing 2022 opening ceremony, comparisons were frequently made not only with the Beijing 2008 but also with the Tokyo 2020 Olympic Games. Consequently, the opening ceremonies for the Tokyo and Beijing Olympics occurred just seven months apart. Moreover, given the close geographical proximity and the intricate geopolitical and historical relations between China and Japan, the Tokyo 2020 opening ceremony attracted significant interest from Chinese viewers.

The perception of the Tokyo Olympics' opening ceremony among Chinese audiences was significantly influenced by cultural differences and historical prejudices towards Japan. Contrary to previous Olympic opening ceremonies that showcased national celebrities and lavish theatricality, the Tokyo 2020 opening ceremony opted for a minimalist approach, notably featuring the Butoh dance. This avant-garde dance style,

known for its slow, deliberate movements and expressive contortions, conveys a range of emotions from distress to elation. Additionally, one of the cultural activities at Tokyo 2020, “Wassai,” contributed to the ceremony’s reflective atmosphere. However, this was criticized for lacking the typical vibrancy associated with sports.

Anti-Japanese sentiment has been a persistent element within Chinese society, often manifesting in derogatory terms for Japanese people. Phrases such as “little Japan” and “Japanese devils” highlight this negative perception (Ching, 2012; Gries, 2005). This derogatory language is not only reflected in Chinese movies and TV dramas but also often appears in the spoken language of Chinese people. During the Beijing 2022 opening ceremony, these sentiments were particularly evident on Chinese online platforms such as Weibo and Hupu, leading to critical remarks about the Tokyo 2020 opening ceremony. Here are two examples on Weibo:

> W1814: #Beijing Winter Olympics Opening Ceremony# #Beijing Winter Olympics# The opening ceremony of the Beijing Winter Olympics highlights the contrast between the Tokyo Olympics and the Beijing Winter Olympics. Despite both being opening ceremonies, one is regarded as the pinnacle of the human world, while the other is seen as the pinnacle of the underworld.
>
> W3635: #BeijingWinterOlympicsOpening Ceremony# Just pull and step on it~
> The Right Scroll: Watching the Tokyo Olympics from the underworld in a hot summer.

The Left Scroll: Watching the the Beijing Olympics from beautiful world in a cold winter.

The Top Scroll: Love my China [Love you].

In the W1814, the term “underworld (阴间)” stands out in the sentence, reflecting the strong emotional response of Weibo users to the Tokyo 2020 opening ceremony. In traditional Chinese culture, the “underworld (阴间)” is considered the realm inhabited by demons, similar to the eighteen levels of hell in Buddhism and the underworld ruled by Hades in Greek mythology. Weibo users used the term “underworld (阴间)” to depict the oppressive and gloomy atmosphere of the Tokyo 2020 opening ceremony, contrasting it with the “beauty of the human world” celebrated at the Beijing 2022 opening ceremony. In addition, the posting of W3656 employs a clever antithetical structure reminiscent of traditional Chinese couplets, which are known for their balanced content and rhyming syllables. This sentence demonstrates the user’s use of a similar structure to emphasize the distinct characteristics of Tokyo 2020 and Beijing 2022. Ending with the “winter” and “summer,” this rhyming scheme lends a pleasing rhythm to the couplet, making it more coherent and elegant.

Compared with ordinary viewers on Weibo who only blindly slandered the Tokyo 2020 opening ceremony, sports fans on Hupu provided more professional background information about the Tokyo 2020 opening ceremony. One user on Hupu first affirmed the Tokyo 2020 eight minutes in Rio 2016,

Hupu2022n-42: The Japan eight minutes (in Rio 2016) were great. In comparison, it is like having a pre-dinner dessert made by a Michelin-

> starred chef, but then being served a basin of excrement for the main course.

Another user on Hupu added that,

> Hupu2022n-157: The Tokyo Olympics opening ceremony underwent significant changes, involving three different plans, three directors, and two teams. The supervisor for the “Tokyo 8-minute” segment was reportedly dismissed due to the influence of capital from Dentsu. The overall budget for the ceremony exceeded 15 billion, but the exact amount spent on corruption and political donations remains unclear. Each plan incurred costs, and each one was scrapped and restarted. By the time the final director took over, being left with 1 billion was considered fortunate. In summary, the Tokyo Olympics opening ceremony can be described in three words: a complete mess.

In contrast to the widespread criticism of the Tokyo 2020 opening ceremony, the two Hupu posts above offer additional context, starting with praise for the “Tokyo 8 Minutes”. During the closing ceremony of the Rio 2016 Olympics, “Tokyo 8 Minutes” captivated the world by featuring cartoon characters such as Super Mario and Doraemon. Yasushi Sasaki, the director of “Tokyo 8 Minutes,” was initially considered the ideal choice to direct the opening ceremony of the Tokyo Olympics. However, due to his public remarks that were discriminatory towards women, he was forced to resign, and the directorship was passed on to Kentaro Kobayashi. On the eve of the opening ceremony, Kentaro Kobayashi was suddenly dismissed by the Olympic Committee, adding more uncertainty to the already unpredictable opening ceremony of the Tokyo

Olympics.

7.4.2 Parade of Nations: The Two Sides of Nationalism and Neoliberalism

The Olympic Movement serves as a powerful catalyst for fostering communication among diverse cultures and promoting global unity, with sports playing a pivotal role in enhancing international understanding and peace, exemplified by the Olympic Games. The opening ceremony of the Olympics stands as a significant platform for conveying messages of peace and unity through the participation of nations worldwide. A central aspect of the opening ceremony is the Parade of Nations, which showcases the unique identities of participating countries. At the Beijing 2022 opening ceremony, athletes and officials from each nation marched proudly within the Beijing National Stadium, led by flag bearers representing their countries. These flag bearers were either appointed by their National Olympic Committees or chosen by the athlete delegations themselves. On platforms like Weibo and Hupu, users and sports enthusiasts have displayed considerable interest in the Parade of Nations, engaging in discussions from various perspectives.

Firstly, the uniforms of the delegations at the Beijing 2022 opening ceremony captured significant attention from television audiences worldwide. Each nation carefully crafted its presentation, often showcased by the attire of their flag bearers. The choice of clothing was particularly symbolic, serving as a direct reflection of a country's identity. During the Parade of Nations, the majority of countries selected outfits that either echoed the colours of their national flags or showcased traditional designs. The winter conditions added a practical dimension to these choices, with warmer down jackets taking precedence over the lighter attire seen at the Summer Olympics. As the cold set

in, the athletes' attire blended traditional aesthetics with contemporary fashion sensibilities and practicality, transforming the parade into a true fashion spectacle. Competing not just for sporting achievements but also for an unofficial "best-dressed" accolade, the athletes' innovative and fashionable outfits became a highlight at the Bird's Nest Stadium. Notably, a significant number of Chinese netizens deemed this showcase of down jackets as one of the most memorable aspects of the ceremony, particularly among the public on Weibo. They commented that,

> W1387: The opening ceremony of the Winter Olympics (x)
> The World Down Apparel Expo (✓)
> Now the pressure is on Yiwu[2]. The opening ceremony of the Beijing 2022 is like the Down Jackets Expo.

In an intriguing commentary on the Beijing 2022 opening ceremony in W1387, netizens have playfully critiqued the event not as a traditional Olympic opening but rather as a showcase for down jackets. They humorously used a "wrong" sign to indicate that the ceremony was not perceived as an Olympic event and a "correct" sign to suggest it resembled a down jacket expo. The conversation also mentioned Yiwu, a city in China known for its extensive production of small commodities and various counterfeit branded goods. The joke was about whether Yiwu would quickly start producing replicas of the stylish down jackets that gained popularity during the opening ceremony.

> W584: #BeijingWinterOlympicsOpening Ceremony# The down jacket brand worn by the Olympic delegations of various countries in the

[2] Yiwu, a county-level city under the jurisdiction of Jinhua in central Zhejiang Province, is renowned for hosting the Yiwu International Trade City. This marketplace is recognized as the largest wholesale center for small commodities and clothes in the world, attracting buyers and traders globally.

Winter Olympics. Which country do you like? China: Anta? Russia: Zasport? Canada: Lululemon? South Korea: The North Face? The United States: Ralph Lauren? Uzbekistan: Zibroo? Sweden: Uniqlo? The United Kingdom: Ben Sherman?

W2954: During the opening ceremony, I was captivated by every down jacket from start to finish, even though they were beyond my budget. What stood out to me the most was the UK delegation, reminiscent of students from Hogwarts School of Witchcraft and Wizardry, while Switzerland's attire brought to mind winter candied haws. The Chinese red colour was exceptionally striking and admirable.

W2210: #Beijing2022 Winter Olympics Opening Ceremony# #Canada Team Uniform# The Canadian team uniforms are so good-looking. However, that's assuming the Chinese team hasn't come out yet.

W114: #Beijing Winter Olympics Opening Ceremony# Currently, the Canadian team uniforms are leading in the global down jacket exhibition and sales competition.

In the above-mentioned Weibo posts, users specifically highlighted the delegations they thought were best dressed at the Beijing 2022 opening ceremony. The British, Swiss, and Canadian teams particularly caught the audience's attention. In their descriptions, Weibo users likened the British team's uniforms to the Hogwarts School of Witchcraft and Wizardry uniforms from the "Harry Potter" series. With the influence of

neoliberalism, Western culture, such as the “Harry Potter” series by J.K. Rowling, has become immensely popular in China. The Canadian team’s uniforms, in particular, were praised for their visual appeal (Figure 12). Despite the backdrop of diplomatic strains, including Canada’s initial stance on boycotting the Beijing 2022 and the notable extradition dispute involving Meng Wanzhou, these factors seemed to have little impact on the perception of Chinese spectators during the opening ceremony. Prior to this, Canada Goose down jackets had already garnered significant consumer interest in the Chinese market. Following the conclusion of the Beijing 2022 opening ceremony, Lululemon once again captured the attention of Chinese consumers, especially on Xiaohongshu (Little Red Book), a Chinese fashion and lifestyle sharing platform, and Taobao, China’s largest e-commerce platform, it has become a hot search.



Figure 12:The Canadian delegation at the Beijing 2022 Olympic Games
Source: The figure is from broadcasting of CCTV.

In addition to the team uniforms, flag bearers also attracted significant attention from Chinese viewers. Among them, Nathan Crumpton represented American Samoa (Figure 13), receiving notable attention on Weibo. Competing in the skeleton event, Nathan

Ikon Crumpton finished 19th in the final heat of the Beijing 2022. Residing primarily in the United States, Crumpton had previously competed for the U.S. team but parted ways due to a disagreement over selection. Opting instead to represent American Samoa, he drew upon his Polynesian heritage and has proudly done so for the past four years. Crumpton also participated in the 100m race for American Samoa at the delayed Tokyo 2020 Olympics, recording a time of 11.27 seconds, the second-fastest time ever achieved by an American Samoan in the history of the Summer Games. Additionally, he had the honour of serving as the flag bearer for American Samoa during the closing ceremony of Tokyo 2020. As the sole athlete for American Samoa at Beijing 2022, Crumpton wore a lavalava, a traditional Polynesian skirt, and went shirtless. Despite the cold, this choice showcased his athletic physique and cultural heritage, garnering positive feedback from Chinese netizens on Weibo.

> W2009: #Beijing Winter Olympic Games Opening Ceremony# Wow, whose country's flag bearer is this? You don't have to treat us as your own. It's so cold, put on your clothes.

> W2094: #BeijingWinterOlympicsOpening Ceremony# Is this big brother from American Samoa wearing it? It looked so cold, and someone wearing fewer clothes than Bach showed up.



Figure 13: Nathan Ikon Crumpton representing American Samoa delegation at the Beijing 2022

Source: The figure is from broadcasting of CCTV.

We can observe that users on Weibo are viewing Nathan Ikon Crumpton with curiosity, which aligns with the perspective of the general public or non-sports fans. The Parade of Nations provides countries, especially smaller ones, with the opportunity to showcase themselves on a globally watched stage, increasing their visibility and attracting worldwide attention. On the contrary, Nathan Crumpton did not generate significant discussion among sports enthusiasts on Hupu. Their attention was more focused on the delegations from Chinese Taipei and Hong Kong, China. Prior to the Beijing 2022 opening, Huang Yu-ting, an athlete from Chinese Taipei, faced cyberbullying from Taiwan for wearing the Chinese team's uniform during a training session. At one point, the Chinese Taipei delegation considered not participating in the opening ceremony, which caused dissatisfaction among Chinese sports fans. One Hupu user commented that,

> Hupu2022d-184: Initially, the delegation from Taiwan (officially recognized as Chinese Taipei) showed reluctance to join the opening

> ceremony; however, the IOC required their participation. The team's overall demeanour gave the impression of participating under compulsion. I believe that attendance should not be compulsory in case of dissatisfaction. Nonetheless, if attending, a minimum level of cordiality or at least courteous gestures during the opening ceremony, an event that essentially introduces the participants, would be appropriate. By comparison, the enthusiastic flag-waving by the Hong Kong team was distinctly lively.

From the perspective of user portraits, most Hupu users are male. With sports and politics being of prime interest to them. Issues concerning Hong Kong and Taiwan not only rank among the most attention-grabbing in China's domestic affairs but also significantly fuel Chinese nationalism and national identity. From the post above, the Hupu user initially addresses the attempt by the Chinese Taipei delegation to miss the opening ceremony and the IOC's stance on the matter, then expresses their personal view.

Curiosity and embrace of skiing. In the discourse pertaining to the Beijing 2022 opening ceremony, individuals on Weibo and Hupu exhibited a shared interest in the sports-related components of the event, albeit with differing emphases. Weibo users demonstrated a particular curiosity towards comprehending the winter sports elements and cultural presentations showcased during the ceremony, while Hupu participants directed their attention towards the details concerning the professional athletes involved in the opening ceremony.

Beijing 2022 marked China's first time hosting a mega winter sports event, significantly boosting the promotion of winter sports among the Chinese public. Traditionally, ice sports such as short-track speed skating and figure skating have been more familiar and popular in China compared to snow sports. Snow sports such as alpine skiing and cross-country skiing, despite being popular in Europe, have not gained the same level of interest or familiarity among the Chinese audience.

Beijing 2022 featured a record 109 events in 15 disciplines across seven sports, with snow sports comprising 10 of these disciplines. Alpine skiing was a highlight, offering 11 gold medals. Deeply rooted in European tradition, alpine skiing often serves as an introduction to snow sports and is essential for countries striving to excel in the Winter Olympics. At the Beijing 2022 opening ceremony, alpine skiing received notable attention. Among the 148 athlete flag-bearers, 57 are alpine skiers. This group, consisting of 82 men and 66 women, meant that alpine skiers made up 39% of all athlete flag bearers, highlighting the alpine skiing's prominence in the Winter Olympics. This was a point of discussion among viewers. Viewers commented on Weibo,

> W304: #BeijingWinterOlympicsOpening Ceremony# Alpine skiing is too "Nei Juan" (highly competitive). Numerous countries participate in this event, despite some not having mountains, others lacking snow, and still others having neither mountains nor snow.

> W106: #BeijingWinterOlympicsOpening Ceremony# Alpine skiing is like the three unlimited positions in the (Chinese) civil service

examination. It seems like almost every country where an athlete participates in this.

Both examples use popular Chinese slang to convey the high participation and intense competition in alpine skiing. In W304, neijuan (内卷) is a Chinese term that describes internal exhaustion and growth stagnation resulting from intense competition (nei stands for “inner” and Juan for “circle”). Often, "neijuan" denotes the cutthroat rivalry prevalent within China's educational framework and job sectors (Meng-ying, 2021). Here, “neijuan” is used to describe the large number of athletes participating in alpine skiing. Among the delegations that chose alpine skiers as their flag bearers were not only traditional skiing powerhouses like Norway and France but also tropical nations such as India, Malaysia, and Madagascar. Despite the lack of natural skiing landscapes and infrastructure in these countries, the selection of alpine skiers underscores the significant role of the sport in the Winter Olympics.

In W106, users employed the term “three no-limits,” used to describe alpine skiing, which refers to a characteristic of certain positions in the Chinese civil service exams. Specifically, it means that: First, no specific major is required - applicants do not need to have a particular academic background. Second, no specific educational level is required. There is no strict requirement for a particular type of educational qualification. Third, there are no household registration restrictions: candidates from any province can apply for these positions. This approach aims to attract a broader range of applicants, accommodating candidates from various backgrounds and levels of expertise. In this context, “three no-limits” is used to illustrate how alpine skiing attracts athletes from a diverse range of countries.

Compared to Weibo users who focus on basic knowledge of winter sports, Hupu sports enthusiasts are more interested in discussions about individual athletes. For instance, when Chinese freestyle skier Gu Ailing posted photos on social media from the Beijing 2022 opening ceremony, Hupu fans engaged in discussions about her status as a naturalized athlete and her potential accomplishments.

> Hupu2022m-43: The hype is overwhelming, with ubiquitous advertising and no clear answer to the nationality question. Many JRs are already feeling annoyed, and without a championship, there will surely be a lot of scepticism.

> Hupu2022m-34: This girl is mentally strong. A Douyin blogger analysed that she might only be highly competitive for one gold medal and hoped people would lower their expectations. She replied, “Do you have so little faith in me?” Lively and raised abroad, she is into extreme sports, including one that no other domestic athlete competes in. If she’s not mentally tough, who is?

Some fans believe her decision to compete for China is motivated by economic interests, while others contend that anyone who wins honours for the Chinese team should be respected. Behind this lies a strong clash between nationalism and neoliberalism among fans, particularly regarding the issue of naturalized athletes.

7.5 Discussion and Conclusion

The opening ceremony of the Olympics is undoubtedly a momentous and globally anticipated event that captivates the attention of millions of viewers across the world. Beijing, being the first city to host both the Summer and Winter Olympics, holds a special place in Olympics history. Between the inaugural hosting of the Summer Olympics in 2008 and the Game' return to China in 2022, a significant Olympic legacy was not only established, but this period also witnessed profound shifts in the attitudes of the Chinese populace toward hosting major international sports events, their perceptions of national pride, and a range of international and domestic issues. In this section, I conduct a qualitative textual analysis to explore the intricate relationship between nationalism and neo-liberalism as evident in online discussions concerning the Beijing 2022 opening ceremony. I specifically focus on the Chinese public opinion platform Weibo and the professional sports community Hupu. My findings show that the discourse on Weibo and Hupu vividly reflected the complex interplay between nationalism and neoliberalism, with the Beijing 2022 serving as a focal point for expressions of national pride intertwined with neoliberal critiques. This explanation sheds light on how these discussions both reflect divergent viewpoints among the general audience and sports enthusiasts within the context of the global Olympic spectacle. This analysis highlights the pivotal role of digital platforms in fostering dynamic public discourse, revealing a diverse array of viewpoints that extend from profound national pride to multifaceted social-cultural considerations linked to grand events.

I would like to start by discussing the nationalism evident in the Beijing 2022 opening ceremony. The Olympics have always been a significant platform for countries to

showcase their national pride, and China, in particular, views Olympic success as a reflection of its strength. China's history in the Olympics dates to 1932 when its only athlete, sprinter Liu Changchun, did not advance to the finals. In recent decades, China has emerged as a competitive force in the Olympics, culminating in topping the gold medal table at the Beijing 2008 Games. Despite its success in the Summer Olympics, China has faced challenges in the Winter Olympics, a domain traditionally dominated by countries in the global North. As China continues to grow economically, the Winter Olympics serve as an opportunity for the country to showcase a new image to the Western world and challenge Western superiority.

In recent years, the increasing divide between China and the United States, coupled with Western sanctions against China, has fuelled a surge in nationalist sentiment within the country. The Beijing 2022, in particular, have acted as a significant catalyst, amplifying nationalist sentiments and bringing them more into the public eye. This phenomenon aligns with the argument of "Olympic-mobilized nationalism," as proposed by Yu (2010), which highlights how major sporting events like the Olympics can fuel nationalism.

Discussions on platforms like Weibo and Hupu about the Beijing 2022 opening ceremony have revealed a strong sense of nationalism. Firstly, both the Chinese public and sports enthusiasts express strong confidence and pride in Chinese culture and the country's recent developments. This sentiment is deeply rooted in China's rich history, its remarkable economic growth, and its increasing global influence. Despite not opting for a massive spectacle, Director Zhang Yimou's approach in the Beijing 2022 opening ceremony involved a profound exploration of Chinese culture. From the clever

incorporation of the number “24” to the profound symbolism of “立春 (Lìchūn, the beginning of spring),” it all reflects the profound essence of Chinese culture, resonating with centuries-old traditions and contemporary aspirations alike. Furthermore, the application of advanced technology in sound, light, and electronics showcases China’s rapid development in emerging industries, underscoring its commitment to innovation and progress. This amalgamation of tradition and modernity not only celebrates China’s cultural heritage but also highlights its forward-looking approach to embracing the future. The Chinese public and sports enthusiasts deeply admire this blend of ancient and modern presentation, recognizing it as a testament to China's resilience, creativity, and dynamism on the global stage.

Secondly, nationalism is also reflected in relation to the nostalgia for the grandeur of Beijing 2008. This longing for the past not only celebrates China’s cultural, infrastructural, and organizational achievements showcased during the Beijing 2008 Games but also cements a deep-rooted national identity and connection to China's rich history and culture. The Beijing 2008 Olympics, transcending mere sports, symbolized China’s resurgence on the global stage, leaving an indelible mark on the Chinese populace, and reinforcing a collective national pride. This sentiment is vividly expressed through social media, where sharing memories and highlighting the cultural significance of the Beijing 2008 ceremonies serve as a platform for patriotic expression and a reaffirmation of national unity. The comparison between the grandiose 2008 and the minimalist 2022 ceremonies underscores the enduring appeal and unmatched stature of China’s Olympic spectacles in the eyes of Chinese nationalists. It showcases the power of mega sporting events in shaping national narratives and fostering a unified identity.

The critical appraisal by the Chinese audience of the Tokyo Olympics' opening ceremony, marked by disparaging terms such as "underworld," "black," "repression," and "devil," underscores the deep-seated nationalism and historical grievances rooted in the complex Sino-Japanese relationship. The unprecedented postponement of the Tokyo Olympics due to the COVID-19 pandemic has set the event just seven months before the Beijing 2022. The close proximity of Japan to China, coupled with long-standing anti-Japanese sentiments rooted in historical conflicts such as Japan's brutal invasion of China during World War II, greatly influenced the Chinese perception and discussions about the Tokyo Olympics. These critical views and negative remarks underscore the significance of international sports events, especially those between China and Japan, as more than just competitions. They are reflections of deep-rooted historical and nationalistic influences that shape current attitudes and interactions. According to Schneider (BBC, 2021), for Chinese nationalists, the competitions between China and Japan represent not only athletic endeavours but also symbolize longstanding historical and political discord.

Additionally, nationalist sentiments are also reflected through the proliferation of memes featuring Wu Jing, a prominent Chinese actor known for his roles in patriotic films. These memes, often widely shared across social media platforms, serve as a contemporary form of nationalism, blending pop culture with national pride. Similarly, the commentary surrounding the Chinese Taipei delegation at international sporting events highlights the nuanced politics of identity and sovereignty. This discussion often reflects how sports serve as a platform for broader geopolitical tensions. Together, these examples illustrate how sports, far from being just games, are intertwined with national

identity, political sentiments, and historical contexts, showcasing the intricate ways in which nationalism can permeate and influence the sporting world.

Next, I will discuss neoliberalism from the viewers' perspective. In my previous discussion, I noted that Chinese netizens' praise for the minimalist style of the Beijing 2022 opening ceremony, despite its nationalist undertones, could also indicate the increasing influence of neoliberalism in China. A deeper analysis suggests that the increasing acceptance of a ceremonial style is characterized by its emphasis on technology and modernity, rather than grandiose Chinese narratives. The opening ceremony's performances, predominantly carried out by ordinary individuals rather than celebrities, serve as a testament to the neoliberal valorisation of individual worth. They showcase a shift towards recognizing and celebrating personal contributions and stories. Furthermore, a growing public sentiment suggests that China no longer needs to use large-scale sporting events to demonstrate national strength or rely on a state-driven system to cultivate elite athletes for national prestige. Instead, there should be a greater emphasis on the impact of sports on the general populace, encouraging widespread participation and benefiting from athletic activities. All these aspects reflect neoliberalism, which focuses on individual initiative and responsibility.

This shift is not an uncommon occurrence in the wider context of sports and gaming culture in China. Another example, as introduced in the previous, is Lin and Zhao (2020) who situated the evolution of Chinese esports within the neoliberal framework of Chinese society. Their work emphasizes the transformation of Chinese esports players from being perceived as troubled youths and troublemakers to becoming proactive, self-motivated individuals. The changing attitudes of the Chinese public towards

competitive sports and esports mirror the progression of neoliberalism in China.

Moreover, a notable example includes the attention given to various clothing brands during the Parade of Nations. Since the implementation of economic reforms and opening-up policies in the 1980s, a consumerist culture has flourished in China, with Western brands enjoying considerable popularity among Chinese consumers. In recent years, with the rise of nationalism, there has been a trend towards “supporting domestic products and boycotting Western brands.” For instance, Nike, along with H&M and other Western apparel brands, faced calls for a boycott in China before Beijing 2022 due to their opposition to the alleged use of forced labour in producing cotton in Xinjiang. In addition, the Meng Wanzhou extradition case occurred before the Beijing 2022. This case stemmed from the United States' request for Canada to extradite Meng Wanzhou, a senior executive of the Chinese corporation Huawei, to face charges in the U.S. Meng’s arrest in Canada in 2018, on allegations of violating U.S. sanctions on Iran, sparked a protracted legal battle that concluded with her return to China in 2021, following a settlement with the U.S. authorities. The incident, fraught with complexities, intensified diplomatic strains among China, Canada, and the U.S. Chinese official media portrayed the resolution of the Meng Wanzhou case as a testament to the persistent endeavours of the Chinese government and a significant triumph over Western oppression, framing it as a victory for the Chinese populace.

Contrary to expectations and despite diplomatic boycotts by several Western countries against Beijing 2022, the opening ceremony of the Beijing 2022 conveyed a message of hospitality towards the Western delegation, with politics and conflict taking a backseat. The parade of nations during the opening ceremony was a perfect example of

this, as the Chinese audience warmly welcomed the foreign delegations through various means. During the Parade of Nations, the clothing worn by the delegations became a focal point, with the down jackets of the national delegations receiving particular attention. Chinese netizens made numerous positive comments about the attire of foreign delegations, using commendatory words such as “good-looking” and “exquisite.”

Especially, there was no boycott stance towards the Canadian delegation; instead, their choice of Lululemon apparel was met with widespread acclaim. This unexpected enthusiasm for the Canadian team’s attire transformed the situation into a significant promotional opportunity for the Lululemon brand. In this scenario, the admiration of Western brands by Chinese consumers underscores a significant integration of international products into their daily lives. This evolving consumer behaviour in China, which is increasingly focused on personal fulfilment, aligns with the trend identified by Kniazeva (2010) of seeking individual gratification. Such observations collectively underscore the complex and nuanced progression of consumer tastes within the Chinese market, reflecting a broader shift towards more self-satisfying consumption patterns.

Moreover, the flag bearer of American Samoa, Nathan Ikon Crumpton, became a celebrity on Chinese social media due to his shirtless appearance, a unique and surprising element in the Parade of Nations. All these elements collectively highlight the power of the Olympic Games to break down barriers and unite people across the world, transcending political differences and conflicts. It reinforces the idea that sports can bring people together, create a sense of community, and promote peace and harmony in society. This development also highlights a nuanced public response that

diverges from anticipated diplomatic tensions, illustrating the complex dynamics between national narrative and personal will. In this regard, Chinese individuals demonstrate a clear ability to discern between collective intentions and personal benefits, with the latter often taking precedence.

Furthermore, digital and social media platforms play a crucial role in fostering public engagement by providing online spaces where both the general public and sports enthusiasts can converge. These platforms, such as Weibo, serve as crucial channels for disseminating information, fostering community connections, and promoting collective action. Hupu, specialized sports forums, enable fans to connect with like-minded individuals, thereby nurturing a sense of community and belonging. As the concept of "networked publics" elucidated by boyd (2010), underscores the emergence of novel social spaces through digital platforms. These spaces are crucial in bringing together individuals who are spread out, thus fostering a sense of community and enabling coordinated actions and shared expressions on public issues. This reimagining of social spaces aligns with Habermas's (2020) notion of the public sphere, traditionally envisioned as a realm of rational discourse among citizens. In the digital era, social media platforms have reconfigured this concept, offering alternative arenas for public debate and discourse, thereby challenging conventional paradigms of public engagement and participation. We can see those platforms like Weibo and Hupu offered a myriad of perspectives, ranging from fervent nationalistic expressions to nuanced critiques of neoliberal influences on cultural and societal norms during the Beijing 2022 opening ceremony. This digital discourse is characterized by its dynamic and interactive nature, where users are not mere spectators but active participants in shaping the narrative. This is especially evident during mega events such as the Olympic Games.

However, due to differences in platform characteristics and affordances. There are obvious differences between Weibo and Hupu in their discussion of the Beijing 2022 opening ceremony. Weibo as a microblogging platform that offers a broad spectrum of topics ranging from daily life and entertainment to politics and public affairs. Its wide reach and hashtag system make it an influential space for public discussions, where trending topics can quickly gain national attention. Weibo's vibrant platform, embracing a wide spectrum of participants from celebrities to everyday citizens, played a key role in broadening the public discourse around the Beijing 2022. The opening ceremony, beyond showcasing the host nation's cultural essence, emerged as a vital conduit for imparting the Olympic values and introducing the Chinese populace to the realm of winter sports. Particularly, the Parade of Nations, with its spotlight on athletes from various skiing disciplines, captivated the audience's imagination and sparked interest in winter sports.

Discussion on Weibo, often fuelled by personal reflections and reactions to the ceremony's highlights such as the striking down jackets worn by athletes, may seem superficial but serve as a gateway for the general public to engage with and understand the Winter Olympics and winter sports. These discussions also serve as an informal educational platform, connecting the audience's personal experiences with a broader understanding of the Winter Olympics. Through this engaging narrative, the ceremony not only celebrated athletic excellence but also significantly enhanced the public's appreciation and knowledge of winter sports, thereby amplifying the Games' educational and cultural impact.

Additionally, regarding the Weibo platform, previous scholarly inquiries have encompassed aspects such as user behaviour, consumer engagement, and discussions around international sports competitions. (Cao et al., 2023; Li et al., 2019; Liu & Berkowitz, 2013; Yang et al., 2016; Yang et al., 2023). There is a notable gap in the literature concerning the analysis of textual content related to mega-sporting events held in China. This study bridges this gap by enriching the discourse on how Weibo users engage with world-class competitions held within their country.

This research also delves into the issue of content censorship on Weibo, a topic that has garnered considerable academic interest due to the platform's practice of removing dissenting content (Cairns & Carlson, 2016; Vuori & Paltemaa, 2015). It is important to note that, as identified by scholars, the Chinese government does allow for critical discourse on selected subjects, including environmental pollution and food safety, that do not threaten the regime and mobilize mass movements (King et al., 2017; Rauchfleisch & Schäfer, 2015; Stockmann & Luo, 2017). This study extends this observation to the realm of sports by presenting evidence that, despite a prevailing trend of positive sentiment towards the Beijing 2022 on Weibo, instances of critical commentary are nonetheless present. This observation underscores the capacity for sports-related discussions, especially those surrounding major events, to accommodate public expressions of dissent and critique.

Hupu, which originated as a sports forum, has transformed into a more extensive community with a significant emphasis on sports, lifestyle, and entertainment. While it does facilitate discussions on public events, its community is more niche compared to Weibo, with a particular emphasis on sports enthusiasts and youth culture. The Hupu

platform fosters a sense of community among users who have shared interests, resulting in more focused and detailed discussions within its specific domains. The discourse surrounding Beijing 2022 on Hupu particularly showcases the users' expertise. This is evident through their comprehensive discussions on topics such as the IOC's strategies for engaging younger demographics, thorough analyses of torchbearers, and reflective examinations of memorable torch-lighting ceremonies from previous events. These discussions underscore the community's professional approach to sports dialogue.

Moreover, the posts on Hupu often exhibit a complex entanglement of sports with political themes, exemplified by discussions on the representation of Uyghur athletes and issues related to Hong Kong and Taiwan. Additionally, discussions about female athletes on Hupu sometimes involve the sexualization of sportswomen and the belittling of their achievements, reflecting a broader discourse that perpetuates and rationalizes traditional gender power dynamics, as identified by Peng et al. (2024). These characteristics collectively contribute to what can be described as the "authenticity" of the Hupu sports fan community.

Scholars emphasize that authenticity is a crucial concept in comprehending identity politics within fan cultures (Davis, 2015; Gao, 2016; King-O'Riain, 2021). For sports enthusiasts, authenticity transcends mere identification with sports; it is also manifested in their interaction with sports media. This interaction allows fans to articulate their worldviews, navigating the intricate relationship between reality and imagination in their discussions on various topics (Shen et al., 2021).

In comparison with previous studies on Hupu, my research further explores Hupu, a

community of professional sports fans, delving into previously underexamined dimensions. This study enriches the academic dialogue by examining the narratives surrounding significant sporting events on Hupu, thus elucidating the intricate interplay of nationalist and neoliberal ideologies.

In summary, Discussions on Weibo and Hupu regarding the Beijing 2022 opening ceremony offer a fascinating glimpse into the complex blend of nationalism and new liberalism among Chinese audiences. As they dissect the artistic performances, Chinese netizens not only showcase their unwavering confidence in the richness of traditional culture but also celebrate the country's strides in modern development. Moreover, the discussions brim with nostalgia for the grandeur of Beijing 2022, serving as a testament to China's growing stature on the global stage. However, there's a noticeable undercurrent of disdain towards Japan, reflecting historical tensions and contemporary geopolitical dynamics.

When delving into the Parade of Nations, we witness a nuanced interplay of new liberalist ideals. Consumerism takes centre stage, with discussions often revolving around the fashion choices and brand endorsements of different delegations. Moreover, there's a pronounced emphasis on individualism, as netizens highlight the diverse backgrounds and achievements of athletes. Yet, amidst the celebration of diversity, derogatory remarks directed at the South Korean delegation serve as a stark reminder of how nationalism can still rear its head, influenced by historical grievances and geopolitical tensions in the region.

Digital and social media platforms such as Weibo and Hupu have significantly

redefined public engagement in discussions about public events. Weibo, with its broad and open nature, accommodates a diverse range of topics and participants, positioning it as a key platform for national discourse. In contrast, Hupu offers a more focused environment, attracting individuals with a shared interest in sports and related cultural discussions, allowing for in-depth exploration of specific subjects. This shift towards more inclusive, immediate, and participatory discourse underscores the critical role of digital spaces in fostering civic engagement, community building, and amplifying diverse voices within the modern public sphere.

Chapter Eight: Conclusion

In this dissertation, I conduct a thorough examination of emerging trends in audience viewing behaviours during sports mega events through the lens of Channel Complementarity Theory. I particularly focus on the prevalence of multi-screening and second-screen usage during the Beijing 2022 event. Furthermore, I analyse the discussions among Chinese audiences regarding the Beijing 2022 opening ceremony on second screens, exploring the underlying influences of nationalism and neoliberalism. This focus arises from the global significance of the Olympic Games as major media events, drawing attention from audiences worldwide. Moreover, China's status as a key player in the media landscape is underscored by its vast number of television viewers and mobile users, contributing to the global reach of Olympic coverage. Additionally, within China's dynamic media industry, there has been a profound transformation in the sports media landscape in recent years. The emergence of streaming platforms in sports broadcasting has revolutionized how audiences engage with sports content, offering diverse and convenient viewing options beyond traditional channels. This background information provides an extensive contextual backdrop for my study. The exploration of the Beijing 2022 within this dissertation offers a profound understanding of the event's multifaceted impact, extending beyond the realm of sports to encapsulate broader cultural, technological, and social dynamics.

My dissertation consists of eight chapters, each serving a distinct purpose in advancing the understanding of the research topic. Chapters One through Five lay the foundation by providing a comprehensive overview of various key elements. This includes an in-depth examination of the introduction of the Beijing 2022 Olympics, a thorough

analysis of the landscape of the media industry in China, and a detailed exploration of the historical development of sports broadcasting in the country. Moving forward from Chapter Five to Chapter Seven, the focus shifts to the presentation of three empirical studies. These chapters are dedicated to the investigation of specific research questions through empirical research methods. The Chapter Five is a quantitative study aimed at exploring 1) What audience and media factors predict multi-screening viewing for Beijing 2022? 2) What audience and media factors predict second screening viewing for Beijing 2022? The Chapter Six is a qualitative study conducted through semi-structured interviews to explore the media consumption patterns of Chinese viewers during Beijing 2022. The study focuses on 3) Which devices and platforms do Chinese viewers utilize to watch Beijing 2022 content? 4) How do these devices and platforms differ in the viewing experiences they provide? 5) How might Chinese viewers engage with the Beijing 2022 content via social media as an auxiliary second screening? Chapter Seven, text from social media is extracted as a second screening to explore the Chinese public and sports fans' discussions of the Beijing 2022 opening ceremony. Specifically, focus is on three questions 6) How do discussions on Weibo and Hupu platforms reflect themes of nationalism in the context of the Beijing 2022 opening ceremony? 7) How do discussions on Weibo and Hupu platforms illustrate themes of neoliberalism in the context of the Beijing 2022 opening ceremony? 8) What are the differences and similarities in the portrayal of nationalism and neoliberalism in the online discussions about the Beijing 2022 opening ceremony on Weibo and Hupu? Chapter 8 not only provides a comprehensive summary of my research findings but also offers critical reflections on the methodology employed, the significance of the results obtained, and avenues for future research exploration.

In the Chapter One, I provide a comprehensive explanation of the research background, which is crucial to understanding the nature of this study. The Beijing 2022, as highlighted, are not just a sporting spectacle but a pivotal moment in Olympic history and China's global engagement. The importance and achievements of Beijing 2022 are reflected in the following aspects. Firstly, Beijing 2022's significant achievements in gender parity and the extensive global viewership underscore the universal appeal and inclusive nature of the Olympic movement. Secondly, the successful hosting of the Games amidst the challenges posed by the COVID-19 pandemic exemplifies the resilience and adaptability of the organizers and participants alike. Thirdly, the central role of media, particularly the synergy between traditional broadcasting and digital platforms, emerges as a crucial aspect of Beijing 2022. Beijing 2022 serves as a microcosm of the broader transformations in global sports events and media consumption. The unprecedented digital coverage and the surge in digital viewership reflect a significant transformation in how global audiences engage with the Olympics. This shift towards digital and social media platforms represents a broader trend in media consumption, where traditional and new media coalesce to offer diverse and enriched viewing experiences. The phenomenon of multi-screening and second screening usage during the Games epitomizes the evolving landscape of media engagement, where viewers seek a more interactive and immersive connection with the content, which is also the logical starting point for this research. Specific to this research, the focus on the Chinese context fills a critical gap in the existing literature, which has predominantly centred on Western audiences. The insights gleaned from my research contribute to a more global understanding of Olympic media consumption, highlighting the unique characteristics and preferences of audiences in Asia. This regional perspective is essential for global media strategies and for fostering a more inclusive

and diverse Olympic movement. This dissertation underscores the importance of embracing digital innovation and interactivity in enhancing the viewing experience and engaging diverse audiences. Moreover, this research paves the way for further exploration into the complex interplay between culture, technology, and media in the context of global sports, offering a rich avenue for academic inquiry and practical innovation.

In the Chapter Two, I review the roles of television and new media in the dissemination of Olympic sports. Television has long been the cornerstone of Olympic broadcasting, offering a universal window into the spectacle and spirit of the Games. The historical progression from the early telegraphic reports to the sophisticated global broadcasts of today illustrates the medium's adaptability and enduring relevance. The record-breaking viewership and extensive coverage of Beijing 2022 affirm television's central role in bringing the Olympic experience to millions worldwide. The staggering figures reported by rights-holding broadcasters, including NBC and CCTV, highlight the unparalleled reach of television, ensuring the Olympic Games remain a shared global event. However, the narrative of Beijing 2022 also emphasizes the transformative impact of digital and social media platforms on the Olympic ecosystem. The advent of digital initiatives has expanded the boundaries of Olympic viewership, creating a multifaceted media environment that caters to a diverse audience spectrum. The surge in digital engagement, as evidenced by the remarkable increase in social media interactions and streaming figures, reflects a paradigm shift towards more interactive and personalized consumption of Olympic content. This evolution is exemplified by the seamless integration of digital channels with traditional broadcasting, enhancing the accessibility and depth of Olympic coverage. The proliferation of digital platforms has

not only diversified the avenues for consuming Olympic content but has also democratized the process of audience engagement. The ability to stream events live, access on-demand highlights, and participate in global conversations via social media has empowered viewers, enabling them to customize their Olympic experience based on individual preferences. This shift towards a more engaged and participatory viewership model signifies a departure from passive consumption, fostering a dynamic and interactive Olympic community.

In the Chapter Three, my analysis of China's digital media landscape reveals a complex and rapidly evolving ecosystem influenced by technological innovation, regulatory frameworks, and changing consumer behaviours. China's media landscape has undergone a profound transformation driven by the digital revolution. The transition from traditional media formats to digital platforms has been hastened by the widespread use of the internet and mobile devices, establishing digital media as the primary source of information, entertainment, and social interaction for the Chinese population. The proliferation of digital platforms, such as WeChat, Weibo, Douyin, Kuaishou, and Migu Video, reflects the diverse and dynamic nature of China's digital ecosystem, catering to a wide range of user preferences and needs. Television, particularly through state-owned entities like CCTV, continues to play a significant role in China's media landscape. The transition of CCTV to CMG signifies a strategic shift towards integrating traditional broadcast media with digital platforms, highlighting the importance of media convergence in the digital age. The emergence of WeChat as a ubiquitous platform in China highlights the blurred lines between social media, communication, and commerce. Its comprehensive suite of features, ranging from messaging and social networking to financial services, has made it an integral part of

daily life for Chinese citizens. Weibo continues to be an influential platform for public opinion, providing a space for real-time information sharing and discussion. Weibo's microblogging format and its ability to foster user engagement through trending topics and hashtags maintain its uniqueness in the Chinese digital ecosystem. The explosive growth of short-video platforms like Douyin and Kuaishou highlights the changing consumption patterns of Chinese users, who increasingly prefer bite-sized, engaging content. Streaming platforms, like Migu Video, focus on sports broadcasting, illustrating the niche opportunities within China's digital media landscape. Leveraging China Mobile's extensive network and 5G technology, Migu has positioned itself as a key player in sports content. However, challenges persist in maintaining user engagement after major events. Besides, it is noteworthy that the Chinese administration's role in regulating and shaping the media landscape cannot be overstated. The strategic alignment of media entities with national objectives, coupled with stringent content regulations, underscores the unique interplay between media, technology, and governance in China.

In the Chapter Four, I examine the evolution of sports and Olympic broadcasting in China, particularly through CCTV and its successor CMG, encapsulating a profound journey from modest beginnings to becoming a significant player on the global Olympic broadcasting stage. This transformative path highlights not only the technological and professional growth within China's broadcasting industry but also the intricate interplay between media, national soft power, and international diplomacy.

The initial broadcasts of basketball and football matches in the late 1950s and early 1960s in China, despite their simplicity, were significant in establishing a sports

broadcasting foundation within the country. These early endeavours, characterized by modest means and limited reach, gradually evolved as China's television industry began to embrace technological advancements and broaden its international engagement. The restoration of China's relationship with the IOC in 1979, followed by the country's participation in the 1980 Winter Olympics, marked a pivotal moment in China's sports broadcasting history. This period signified China's re-entry into the global sports community and underscored the growing importance of sports as a medium for international engagement and national pride. The subsequent Olympic Games, from Los Angeles 1984 to Seoul 1988 and beyond, witnessed a steady increase in China's broadcasting capabilities. This growth ranged from the expansion of the reporting team to the adoption of satellite technology for live broadcasts. The establishment of CCTV5 in 1995 as China's first professional sports channel was a testament to the growing significance of sports in Chinese society and the state's commitment to enhancing its broadcasting infrastructure. This development, coupled with the increasing involvement of China in hosting major international sports events such as the 1990 Beijing Asian Games, further propelled the professionalization and internationalization of China's sports broadcasting. The Beijing 2008 Olympic Games represented a watershed moment, not only for China's sports broadcasting but also for Chinese media industry on the global stage. The extensive coverage, the deployment of cutting-edge broadcasting technologies, and the successful integration of new media platforms like CCTV.com for online and mobile broadcasting illustrate China's aspirations and capabilities as a global media powerhouse. For Beijing 2022, the accolades received by CMG for its coverage of the Games, including the Olympic Golden Rings awards, further affirm China's esteemed position in the realm of international sports broadcasting. Other important issue is the liberalization of broadcasting rights, which

has led to the participation of digital platforms such as Migu, Tencent, and Kuaishou in covering the Olympic Games, signifies a new era in China's sports broadcasting industry. This development not only diversifies the broadcasting ecosystem but also reflects the changing dynamics of media consumption among the Chinese populace, especially the younger, digitally savvy generation.

In the Chapter Five, I clarify the existing definitions of multi-screening and second screening in academia, which provided my research with a clear theoretical boundary. I also comprehensively explore audience and media factors influencing multi-screening and second screening viewing during the Beijing 2022, providing a nuanced understanding of contemporary media consumption behaviours in the context of major sports events. This chapter, embedded within the broader discourse on sports communication and audience studies, highlights the dynamic interplay between individual preferences, technological advancements, and the social context of media engagement. The chapter's examination of multi-screening and second screening viewing behaviours reveals several key insights. Multi-screening viewing, particularly the simultaneous use of television and mobile devices, emerges as a prevalent behaviour among viewers, driven by the desire for an enriched and interactive sports viewing experience. This trend signifies the audience's inclination towards a more immersive engagement with sports events. They leverage multiple platforms to access comprehensive content, real-time updates, and social interaction. The positive correlation between entertainment motivation and multi-screening viewing further emphasizes the role of media in fulfilling viewers' craving for a more engaging and diverse entertainment experience. Conversely, the negative relationship between self-esteem motivation and multi-screening viewing highlights a segment of the audience

those values focused and undistracted engagement with content. This finding highlights the diversity within the audience base, where individual psychological motivations influence media consumption patterns. The significant role of team identification in predicting multi-screening viewing behaviour highlights the emotional and communal dimensions inherent in sports viewership. Fans' deep connections to teams or countries amplify their desire for a comprehensive viewing experience, fostering a sense of community and shared identity among viewers. This section also sheds light on the predictors of second screening viewing, with gender emerging as a significant factor. Female viewers' greater propensity for second-screening during sports events challenges traditional perceptions of sports viewership and highlights the inclusive nature of digital platforms in engaging diverse audience segments. The positive correlation between winter sports fandom and second screening viewing underscores the role of fan engagement in shaping media behaviours. Fans' quest for in-depth information and real-time interaction through social media platforms reflects the multifaceted nature of sports fandom in the digital era. Interestingly, the negative association between patriotism and second screening viewing during the Beijing 2022 Olympics invites further reflection on the complex relationship between national identity and media consumption. This counterintuitive finding suggests that strong patriotic sentiments may lead to a preference for a more traditional, focused viewing experience. This preference could be attributed to the desire for undivided attention to the national performance in the sports event. This study examines the factors that influence audience media consumption beyond the specific context of Beijing 2022, offering valuable insights into the evolving landscape of sports media consumption. The findings emphasize the necessity for broadcasters, media planners, and content creators to take into account the varied motivations, preferences, and technological

proficiencies of their audience. Tailoring content delivery and engagement strategies to accommodate multi-screening and second screening behaviours can enhance the viewer experience, fostering greater engagement and loyalty among audiences.

In the Chapter Six, I examine Chinese audiences' media consumption and usage patterns related to multi-screening and second-screening engagement during Beijing 2022. The application of CCT as the theoretical foundation for this study has yielded significant insights into how audiences navigate the increasingly complex media landscape. The findings illustrate that contrary to the notion of media niche, different media platforms serve complementary roles in enriching the viewer's experience of Beijing 2022. Traditional television, particularly CCTV, remains a cornerstone for live sports broadcasting, offering high-quality coverage and authoritative commentary that many viewers find reliable and engaging. The advent of streaming platforms such as Migu, Kuaishou, and Tencent has introduced a new dimension to sports broadcasting. These platforms offer alternative viewing experiences, personalized content, and interactive features that cater to diverse audience preferences. This part also highlights the pivotal role of social media in enhancing the Olympics viewing experience. Platforms such as WeChat, Weibo, and Douyin have become essential for viewers to connect, share, and engage with Olympic content. These platforms offer unique features that enable various forms of audience engagement, ranging from private conversations and group chats to public discussions and access to exclusive behind-the-scenes content. The integration of social media into the viewing experience highlights the importance of comprehending media consumption as a multifaceted and socially embedded practice. Furthermore, the findings underscore the significance of taking demographic factors, such as age and technological proficiency, into consideration when

understanding media consumption patterns. Younger viewers, in particular, demonstrate a preference for mobile devices and streaming platforms, valuing the convenience and flexibility they offer. This trend points to a broader shift in media consumption habits that challenges traditional broadcasting models and necessitates adaptive strategies from content providers. The chapter's exploration of the Beijing 2022 case study provides valuable insights for broadcasters, media platforms, and content creators. It emphasizes the need for a multi-platform strategy that leverages the strengths of each medium to offer a comprehensive and engaging viewing experience. For traditional broadcasters, this may involve forming partnerships with streaming services and social media platforms to expand their reach and attract younger audiences. For streaming platforms and social media, there is a significant potential for innovative content offerings, interactive features, and personalized experiences that cater to viewers' diverse interests and preferences.

The opening ceremony of Beijing 2022 was a complex narrative intertwined with the themes of nationalism, neoliberalism, and the changing public discourse in the digital age. In the Chapter Seven, through qualitative textual analysis of discussions on Weibo and Hupu, I offer a nuanced approach to understanding how the Chinese public interacted with and interpreted this global spectacle. This analysis reveals insights into the broader socio-political and cultural dynamics at play. Nationalism emerged as a powerful force in the discussions surrounding the Beijing 2022 opening ceremony. The ceremony's design, which skilfully blended Chinese cultural motifs with modern technological elements, served as a source of national pride and a reaffirmation of China's global stature. This sentiment was particularly pronounced in the nostalgic reflections on the Beijing 2008 Olympics, which were frequently invoked as a

benchmark of grandeur and a symbol of China's ascent on the world stage. The discussions on Weibo and Hupu highlighted a collective memory that cherished the Beijing 2008 opening ceremony as a defining moment of national achievement, illustrating how mega sporting events like the Olympics can serve as powerful conduits for nationalist sentiment. Concurrently, the discourse on these platforms also revealed the pervasive influence of neoliberalism, manifested in the emphasis on individual achievement, market-driven narratives, and the commodification of the Olympic experience. Despite the common perception of nationalism in China and the diplomatic boycotts of the Beijing 2022 by Western nations, there have been few cases of Chinese audiences showing hostility towards Western countries. Instead, there has been a notable embrace of foreign athletes, demonstrating that the Chinese people can differentiate between politics and the spirit of the Olympics. They view the games as a symbol of unity and friendship. This suggests that the Chinese population may not be entirely influenced by the government's ideologies. This blend of nationalism and consumerism reflects the intricate interplay of traditional values and neo-liberal influences within the context of a global event such as the Olympics.

Considering the various features of digital platforms is important for understanding the discourse surrounding them. Digital and social media platforms, notably Weibo and Hupu, played a pivotal role in shaping and amplifying the public discourse surrounding the Beijing 2022 opening ceremony, despite their distinct characteristics. Weibo, with its broad user base, served as a barometer of public sentiment, capturing the varied reactions of the Chinese populace to the ceremony. Hupu, on the other hand, provided a more specialized forum for sports enthusiasts, offering in-depth analyses and discussions that reflected a deep engagement with the sporting aspects of the Olympics.

The analysis of the Beijing 2022 opening ceremony discussions on these platforms offers valuable insights into the contemporary Chinese public sphere. It reveals a dynamic space where nationalism, neoliberalism, and digital engagement intersect, creating a complex tapestry of public discourse.

Next, I would like to discuss the extension of theoretical boundaries that my study pushes within the context of media consumption. In the section of my thesis dedicated to media consumption research, I primarily focus on utilizing channel complementarity theory as a central framework, alongside its original theories. From the perspective of media studies, the transition from Niche Theory to Channel Complementarity Theory represents a significant theoretical innovation in understanding media ecosystems and communication processes. In a media ecosystem, media can be seen as resources, and different media platforms can be considered as distinct niches. Traditional Niche Theory primarily focused on the utilization of resources and competition among species (Dimmick, 1984; 1997), but it did not fully consider the role of media platforms in information dissemination and resource utilization. With the rapid development of information and communication technologies, it became apparent that media platforms not only provide resources but also serve as vital channels for information dissemination and interaction. The emergence of Channel Complementarity Theory emphasizes the complementary nature of different media channels, which is crucial for understanding information dissemination and social interaction processes (Dutta-Bergman, 2004b). In a media ecosystem, different media platforms may offer various types and forms of information, as well as reach different audience groups (Lin & Dutta, 2017). This complementarity enhances the coverage and depth of information, thereby promoting diversity and accessibility. Viewed from the perspective of media studies,

the innovation of channel complementarity theory lies in integrating the role of media platforms into the framework of niche theory, emphasizing the interactions between media and the diversity of resource utilization. This theoretical advancement provides a new perspective for understanding the structure and function of media ecosystems, guiding more effective utilization of different media platforms for information dissemination and communication.

My research goes further, offers new insights into expanding the Channel Complementarity Theory. Through my surveys and interviews, I found that participants in consuming Beijing 2022 utilized a combination of different media channels, while others continued to rely on a single medium. They placed greater emphasis on the inherent advantages of different media platforms in various contexts, rather than considering the relationship between new and traditional media forms. For instance, television remains dominant for home viewing due to its excellent viewing experience, while mobile devices offer convenience for viewing outside the home. Within television viewing, the dominance of CCTV through cable television is evident, while viewers seeking novel viewing experiences opt for streaming platforms. Similarly, in selecting social media platforms, users choose platforms based on their characteristics: opting for the open discussion atmosphere of Weibo to engage with the public, selecting WeChat to deepen connections with friends, watching behind story on Douyin, talking professional content on Hupu. These observations highlight that the advantages and capabilities of platforms are decisive factors in audience selection.

Therefore, a key innovation aspect of my research is its emphasis on the importance of media platform characteristics and advantages in shaping audience selection. This

diverges from simplistic views of substitution or complementarity. I propose that this advancement is Media Advantage Features-Oriented, which suggests that the unique attributes and strengths of media platforms significantly influence audience preferences and behaviours. This goes beyond mere functional interchangeability or complementarity. Audiences are attracted to specific media platforms based on their distinct features and capabilities, which cater to individual needs and preferences. Ultimately, the Media Advantage Features-Oriented approach highlights the crucial role of platform attributes in guiding audience choices, reflecting a nuanced understanding of contemporary media consumption dynamics.

Overall, this dissertation provides a comprehensive exploration of the multi-screening and second screening viewing behaviours of Chinese viewers during the Beijing 2022, set against the backdrop of a rapidly evolving digital media landscape. Through an in-depth analysis across seven chapters, the dissertation sheds light on the intricate interplay between technological advancements, media consumption patterns, and the broader socio-cultural context of China. The synthesis of these chapters offers a nuanced understanding of how the convergence of traditional broadcasting and digital platforms has transformed the viewing experience of mega sporting events like the Olympics.

The empirical studies conducted in this dissertation encompasses survey, semi-structure interview, and textual analyses of social media discussions surrounding the Beijing 2022 opening ceremony. These studies provide valuable insights into the factors influencing multi-screening and second screening viewing, the media consumption patterns of Chinese viewers, and the themes and dynamics shaping public discourse on

digital platforms. The dissertation reveals that the Beijing 2022 served as a microcosm for observing broader transformations in global sports events and media consumption. A central finding of my research pertains to the shifting behaviours of sports viewers, which has profound implications for the future of sports. While television remains significant for fans, there is a discernible trend towards digital media. It is clear that fandom has undergone a digital transformation, as fans are increasingly choosing to consume sports through digital platforms in addition to traditional formats. This shift underscores a growing appetite for immersive experiences. Notably, the preferred venue for following sports extends beyond the arena or living room, especially among younger generations. Furthermore, younger fans now expect sports entertainment to facilitate two-way communication rather than mere one-way broadcasts. This shift towards a more interactive and immersive engagement through multi-screening and second screening is supported by the Channel Complementarity Theory, which suggests that various media platforms play complementary roles in enhancing the audience's viewing experience. This theory offers a valuable framework for comprehending the complex patterns of media consumption among Chinese audiences, unveiling a landscape where traditional and digital media coexist and interact dynamically.

Moreover, the dissertation emphasizes the significance of comprehending the Chinese context, offering unique insights into global Olympic media consumption. By focusing on Chinese audiences, it addresses a crucial gap in current literature, shedding light on the specific characteristics and preferences of viewers in the Asia region. This regional viewpoint is essential for crafting worldwide media strategies and promoting a more inclusive and diverse Olympic movement.

The dissertation delves deeper into the complex relationship between culture, technology, and media in the global sports arena. Media entities, whether traditional or digital, face the challenge of navigating regulatory frameworks, technological advancements, and evolving consumer tastes to stay relevant and competitive in this dynamic environment. The ongoing evolution of the digital media landscape is inevitable, with the adoption of emerging technologies like artificial intelligence, virtual reality, and 5G set to revolutionize media consumption patterns, content creation, and distribution channels. The future trajectory of sports and Olympic broadcasting in China is poised for innovation and expansion. The incorporation of emerging technologies, enhanced collaboration with international broadcasting partners, and strategic utilization of sports broadcasting for cultural diplomacy and national branding are expected to shape the field's future. As China continues to navigate the complexities of the global media landscape, the insights gained from its extensive broadcasting history will undoubtedly guide its strategies, ensuring that sports remain a significant and unifying influence in Chinese society and beyond.

Furthermore, concerning the Olympics and media, my research reveals that the implications of this evolving media landscape extend beyond viewership to encompass the broader strategies of Rights-Holding Broadcasters and the IOC. In the future, the trajectory of Olympic media is poised for further innovation and expansion. The increasing convergence of television and digital platforms suggests a future where hybrid broadcasting models become the norm, offering a seamless blend of live, immersive, and interactive content. The challenge for broadcasters and the IOC will be to navigate this complex media ecosystem, ensuring that the Olympic spirit and values are effectively communicated and accessible to all. The strategic digital initiatives and

emphasis on the need for a holistic approach that embraces both traditional and new media undertaken by the IOC serve as a blueprint for future Olympic broadcasts.

Looking ahead, the study opens several avenues for future research. As media technologies continue to evolve and audience habits shift, ongoing investigation into the interplay between different media channels, content types, and viewer engagement is crucial. Subsequent research endeavours might delve into the influence of burgeoning technologies like virtual reality and augmented reality on the landscape of sports spectatorship. Furthermore, scholars could delve into the ramifications of data analytics and artificial intelligence in tailoring content and enriching viewer interaction. Exploring comparative analyses across diverse cultural settings and sporting occasions could also furnish deeper comprehension of both the general principles and unique aspects of media consumption trends.

References

36 Ke. (2022, February 23). *Kuaishou Winter Olympics Answer Sheet (快手的冬奥答卷)*. https://baijiahao.baidu.com/s?id=1725519334651524102&wfr=spider&for=pc

Alexander, A. (2001). The meaning of television in the American family. In J. Alison Bryant (Ed.), *Television and the American family* (pp. 273–287). Routledge.

Analysys Qianfan. (2022, February 19). *Wang Meng's commentary is famous, how does Migu video keep the ratings? (借王濛解说出圈 咪咕视频如何保住流量C位？)*. https://baijiahao.baidu.com/s?id=1725127317079512245&wfr=spider&for=pc

Andrews, D. L., & Silk, M. (2018). Sport and neoliberalism: An affective-ideological articulation. *Journal of popular culture*, *51*(2), 511-533.

Appleton, J. V. (1995). Analysing qualitative interview data: addressing issues of validity and reliability. *Journal of advanced nursing*, *22*(5), 993-997.

Arning, C. (2013). Soft power, ideology and symbolic manipulation in Summer Olympic Games opening ceremonies: A semiotic analysis. *Social Semiotics, 23*(4), 523-544.

Askew, D. (2009). Sport and politics: the 2008 Beijing Olympic games. In *The European Union and China* (pp. 103-120). Brill.

Atherton, A., & Elsmore, P. (2007). Structuring qualitative enquiry in management and organization research: A dialogue on the merits of using software for qualitative data analysis. *Qualitative research in organizations and management: An International Journal*, *2*(1), 62-77.

Baek, H., & Hwang, H. J. (2014). Measuring gratification of social media use in Kazakhstan using niche theory. *International Journal of Multimedia and Ubiquitous Engineering*, *9*(12), 453-462.

Bairner, A. (2001). *Sport, nationalism, and globalization: European and North American perspectives*. Suny Press.

Baker, C. (2015). Beyond the island story?: The opening ceremony of the London 2012 Olympic Games as public history. *Rethinking History*, *19*(3), 409-428.

Bandao Chenbao. (2022, February 18). *Entered the hot search list 50 times! Why is Wang Meng so popular? (连登50次热搜！王濛凭啥这么火)*. https://baijiahao.baidu.com/s?id=1725066828958320347&wfr=spider&for=pc

Barmé, G. R. (2009). China's flat earth: history and 8 August 2008. *The China Quarterly, 197*, 64-86.

Barszczewski, J. (2021). Creativity as neoliberal self-governance. *Creativity Studies*, *14*(2), 593-603.

Barthes, R. (1972). *Critical essays*. Northwestern University Press.

BBC. (2021, August 3). *Tokyo Olympics: Chinese nationalists turn on their athletes.*

Beer, D. (2015). Productive measures: Culture and measurement in the context of everyday neoliberalism. *Big Data & Society*, *2*(1), 2053951715578951.

Bergström, A., & Jervelycke Belfrage, M. (2018). News in social media: Incidental consumption and the role of opinion leaders. *Digital Journalism*, *6*(5), 583–598.

https://doi.org/10.1080/21670811.2018.1423625

Billig, M. (1995). Banal nationalism. *Banal nationalism*, 1-208.

Billings, A. C., Angelini, J. R., & Wu, D. (2011). Nationalistic notions of the superpowers: Comparative analyses of the American and Chinese telecasts in the 2008 Beijing Olympiad. *Journal of Broadcasting & Electronic Media*, *55*(2), 251-266.

Billings, A. C., Broussard, R. M., Xu, Q., & Xu, M. (2019a). Untangling international sport social media use: Contrasting US and Chinese uses and gratifications across four platforms. *Communication & Sport*, *7*(5), 630-652.

Billings, A. C., Lewis, M., Brown, K. A., & Xu, Q. (2020). Top rated on five networks—and nearly as many devices: the NFL, social TV, fantasy sport, and the ever-present second screen. *International Journal of Sport Communication*, *13*(1), 55-76.

Billings, A. C., Qiao, F., Conlin, L., & Nie, T. (2017). Permanently desiring the temporary? Snapchat, social media, and the shifting motivations of sports fans. *Communication and Sport*, *5*(1), 10–26. https://doi.org/10.1177/2167479515588760

Billings, A., Brown, K., & Brown, N. (2013). 5,535 Hours of Impact: Effects of Olympic Media on Nationalism Attitudes. *Journal of Broadcasting and Electronic Media*, *57*(4), 579–595. https://doi.org/10.1080/08838151.2013.850591

Billings, A., Brown-Devlin, N., Brown, K., & Devlin, M. (2019b). When 18 Days of Television Coverage Is Not Enough: A Six-Nation Composite of Motivations for Mobile Device Use in 2018 Winter Olympic Games. *Mass Communication and Society*, *22*(4), 535–557. https://doi.org/10.1080/15205436.2019.1587781

Biressi, A., & Nunn, H. (2013). The London 2012 Olympic games opening ceremony: History answers back. *The Journal of Popular Television, 1*(1), 113-120.

Biscaia, R., Correia, A., Rosado, A., Maroco, J., & Ross, S. (2012). The effects of emotions on football spectators' satisfaction and behavioural intentions. *European Sport Management Quarterly*, *12*(3), 227–242. https://doi.org/10.1080/16184742.2012.679949

Black, D., & Peacock, B. (2011). Catching up: Understanding the pursuit of major games by rising developmental states. *The International Journal of the History of Sport, 28*(16), 2271-2289.

Blake, J. (2016). *Television and the second screen: Interactive TV in the age of social participation*. Taylor & Francis.

Bloom, W. (1990). *Personal identity, national identity and international relations* (No. 9). Cambridge University Press.

boyd, d. (2010). Social network sites as networked publics: Affordances, dynamics, and implications. In Z. Papacharissi (Ed.), Networked self: Identity, community, and culture on social network sites (pp. 39–58). Taylor & Francis

Brasel, S. A., & Gips, J. (2011). Media multitasking behavior: Concurrent television and computer usage. *Cyberpsychology, Behavior, and Social Networking*, *14*(9), 527–534. https://doi.org/10.1089/cyber.2010.0350

Braun, V., & Clarke, V. (2012). Thematic analysis. In *APA handbook of research methods in psychology, Vol 2: Research designs: Quantitative, qualitative, neuropsychological,*

and biological. American Psychological Association. https://doi.org/10.1037/13620-004

Bravo, G. A., Won, D., & Lee, C. (2013). Team USA and the 2010 FIFA World Cup: An examination of TV fans viewing intention. *International Journal of Sport Management and Marketing*, *14*(1–4), 169–187. https://doi.org/10.1504/IJSMM.2013.060636

Brown, A. (2007). 'Not for sale'? The destruction and reformation of football communities in the Glazer takeover of Manchester United. *Soccer & Society*, *8*(4), 614-635.

Brown, W. J., & De Matviuk, M. A. C. (2010). Sports celebrities and public health: Diego Maradona's influence on drug use prevention. *Journal of health communication*, *15*(4), 358-373.

Brubaker, R. (2020). Populism and nationalism. *Nations and nationalism*, *26*(1), 44-66.

Bryant, C. G. (2015). National art and Britain made real: the London 2012 Olympics opening ceremony. *National Identities*, *17*(3), 333-346.

Bryman, A. (2016). *Social research methods*. Oxford university press.

Burnasheva, R., & Suh, Y. G. (2021). The influence of social media usage, self-image congruity and self-esteem on conspicuous online consumption among millennials. *Asia Pacific Journal of Marketing and Logistics*, *33*(5), 1255-1269.

Cairns, C., & Carlson, A. (2016). Real-world islands in a social media sea: Nationalism and censorship on Weibo during the 2012 Diaoyu/Senkaku crisis. *The China Quarterly*, *225*, 23-49.

Calhoun, C. (2006). Nationalism matters.

Cao, Y., Xu, Z., & Matsuoka, H. (2023). Consumer Engagement on Weibo in a Professional Sport Context: The Case of the Chinese Super League. *International Journal of Sport Communication*, *1*(aop), 1-12.

Carley, K. (1994). Extracting culture through textual analysis. *Poetics*, *22*(4), 291-312.

Carrier, L. M., Cheever, N. A., Rosen, L. D., Benitez, S., & Chang, J. (2009). Multitasking across generations: Multitasking choices and difficulty ratings in three generations of Americans. *Computers in Human Behavior*, *25*(2), 483–489. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.chb.2008.10.012

Carroll, T., & Jarvis, D. S. (2015). The new politics of development: Citizens, civil society, and the evolution of neoliberal development policy. *Globalizations*, *12*(3), 281-304.

Castiglione, D. (2009). Political identity in a community of strangers. *European identity*, 29-51.

CCTV. (2007, December 19). *CCTV.com acquires new media broadcast rights for 2008 Beijing Olympic Games(中央电视台获2008奥运新媒体转播权).* https://news.cctv.com/society/20071219/106661.shtml

CCTV. (2009a, March 26). *CCTV wins the broadcast rights for the 2010 Winter Olympics and the 2012 Olympic Games (中央电视台获2010年冬奥会2012年奥运会转播权).* https://sports.cctv.com/20090326/105077.shtml

CCTV. (2009b, July 16). *Wang Xiuyun, Deputy General Manager of CCTV.com: The*

Olympic Games have made CCTV.com a success (央视网副总经理王秀云：奥运成就了央视网). https://sports.cctv.com/special/tiyufenghui/20090716/108591.shtml

CCTV. (2012a, March 2). *CCTV 2012 London Olympic Games Reporting Plan (中央电视台2012年伦敦奥运会报道方案).* https://1118.cctv.com/special/2012aoyun/20120302/118040.shtml

CCTV. (2012b, July 29). *CCTV becomes the rights-holding broadcaster of the 2014 Winter Olympic Games and 2016 Olympic Games(CCTV成为2014冬奥会/2016夏奥会持权转播商).* http://2012.cntv.cn/20120729/100027.shtml

CCTV. (2012c, August 15). *CCTV's broadcasting of London Olympic Games achieves full media coverage (伦敦奥运会转播 央视实现全媒体覆盖).* http://1118.cctv.com/20120815/108280.shtml

CCTV. (2016, August 24). *CCTV Successfully Completed the Broadcasting and Reporting Work of the Rio Olympics (央视圆满完成里约奥运会转播报道工作).* https://www.cctv.com/2016/08/24/ARTIUWUUx64GB8wbeLbXPleG160824.shtml

CCTV. (2021a, May 19). *China Media Group reached a cooperation with the International Olympic Committee(中央广播电视总台与国际奥委会达成合作).* https://baijiahao.baidu.com/s?id=1700164342174437111&wfr=spider&for=pc

CCTV. (2021b, July 14). *CMG Holds the Departure Ceremony of the Tokyo Olympics Reporting Team (中央广播电视总台举行东京奥运会前方报道团出发仪式).* http://sports.cctv.com/2021/07/14/ARTI6ydJSwCoFJOyKJoDJy4K210714.shtml

CCTV. (2021c, July 28). *"China Red" Passes Good News | Demystifying the "CMG Strength" Behind the Tokyo Olympics Report ("中国红"传捷报｜揭秘东京奥运会报道背后的"总台实力").* http://ghrp.cctv.com/2021/07/28/ARTIij240SEkHlS3FynNixEO210728.shtml

CCTV. (2021d, August 21). *CMG commends the Tokyo 2020 Olympic Games and reporting team (中央广播电视总台表彰总台东京奥运会宣传报道团队). https://baijiahao.baidu.com/s?id=1708699137985556440&wfr=spider&for=pc*

CCTV. (2021e, August 27). *The 48th "Statistical Report on Internet Development in China" was released: the number of Internet users in China exceeded one billion (第48次《中国互联网络发展状况统计报告》发布：我国网民规模超十亿).* https://baijiahao.baidu.com/s?id=1709206361768414559&wfr=spider&for=pc

CCTV. (2022, February 13). *Viewership of the Beijing Winter Olympics hits a new high, over 500 million people in China watched the Winter Olympics through the CMG (北京冬奥会创收视新高 中国超5亿人通过总台看冬奥).* https://baijiahao.baidu.com/s?id=1724624542977563529&wfr=spider&for=pc

CCTV. (2023, May 31). *2022 China Media Group Social Responsibility Report (中央广播电视总台社会责任报告（2022年度).* http://news.cctv.cn/2023/05/31/ARTIBqcMeqiboIZF3hxVKyy5230531.shtml

Cerny, P. G. (2008). Embedding neoliberalism: the evolution of a hegemonic paradigm. *The journal of international trade and diplomacy*, *2*(1), 1-46.

CGTN. (2019, January 30). *China Media Group and IOC agree to launch CCTV Olympic*

channel.
https://news.cgtn.com/news/3d3d414e34677a4d32457a6333566d54/index.html

CGTN. (2023, May 06). CMG invited to become one of the main broadcasters for Paris 2024. https://news.cgtn.com/news/2023-05-06/CMG-invited-to-become-one-of-the-main-broadcasters-for-Paris-2024-1jAAGy5Pgbu/index.html

Chadwick, A. (2013). Politics and Communications in the Hybrid Media System. *Hanover Communications Blog*.

Chadwick, A., O'Loughlin, B., & Vaccari, C. (2017). Why people dual screen political debates and why it matters for democratic engagement. *Journal of broadcasting & electronic media*, *61*(2), 220-239.

Chan-Olmsted, S., & Kwak, D. H. (2020). Fantasy Sport Usage and Multiplatform Sport Media Consumption Behaviors. *Sport Marketing Quarterly*, *29*(3).

Chen, G, J. (2010a, March 11). *The 2010 Vancouver Winter Olympics created the highest CCTV ratings. CCTV(2010年温哥华冬奥会收视创历史最高).* CCTV.com. http://ad.cctv.com/special/news/20100311/101688.shtml

Chen, G. Q. (2008). The History of Chinese TV Olympic Reporting（中国电视奥运会报道的历史）. *News and Writing* (08):17-19.

Chen, G. Q. (2009). The History and Current Situation of Chinese Sports TV Broadcasting (中国体育电视转播的历史与现状). In Zhou. T, Hu. Z, & Long. Y (Eds.), Olympic Communication Studies (pp.90-99). *Communication University of China Press*.

Chen, G. Q. (2010b). 30 years of TV coverage of Winter Olympic Games in China (我国

冬季奥运会电视报道30年). *Global Sports Market* (01):36-37.

Chen, G. Q., & Li, S. (2008). Three stages of development of TV sports news in contemporary China (当代中国电视体育新闻发展的三个阶段). *Journal of Shanghai University of Sport* (06), 12-18.

Chen, Y., Mao, Z., & Qiu, J. L. (2018). The Eventful WeChat. In C. Yujie, M. Zhifei, & Q. Jack Linchuan (Eds.), *Super-Sticky WeChat and Chinese Society* (pp. 77–101). Emerald Publishing Limited. https://doi.org/10.1108/978-1-78743-091-420181005

Chen, Z. (2022). *Neoliberal Globalization and Mediated Sport Fandom: A Study of Chinese Distant Fans* (Doctoral dissertation, The Florida State University).

Cheng, Q. (2012). CCTV successfully completed the broadcast report of the London Olympic Games *(中央电视台圆满完成伦敦奥运会转播报道)*. *TV Research* (09):2.

China News Net. (2021, June 24). *Su Hua: Kuaishou's global monthly active users reach 1 billion, creating the most interactive new experience for watching Olympic games. (宿华：快手全球月活跃用户达10亿 打造互动最强奥运观赛新体验)*. https://baijiahao.baidu.com/s?id=1703420546868061282&wfr=spider&for=pc

China Sports Press New Media Center. (2012). Research report on Chinese media coverage of the 2012 London Olympics *(2012年伦敦奥运会中国媒体报道研究报告)*. *News and Writing* (09), 6-17. doi:CNKI:SUN:XWXZ.0.2012-09-006.

China Sports Press. (2022, March 1). *Beijing Winter Olympics on social media (社交媒体上的北京冬奥会)*. https://weibo.com/ttarticle/p/show?id=2309404742194618827000

Ching, L. (2012). 'JAPANESE DEVILS' The conditions and limits of anti-Japanism in

China. *Cultural studies, 26*(5), 710-722.

Chisari, F. (2002). 'An Armchair Seat at the Olympics' BBC Television and the 1968 Mexico City Olympic Games. *Sports Historian, 22*(2), 1-22.

Choi, B., & Jung, Y. (2016). The effects of second-screen viewing and the goal congruency of supplementary content on user perceptions. *Computers in human behavior*, *64*, 347-354.

Choi, Y. K., Kim, J., & McMillan, S. J. (2009). Motivators for the intention to use mobile TV: A comparison of South Korean males and females. *International Journal of Advertising*, *28*(1), 147–167. https://doi.org/10.2501/S0265048709090477

Chu, Y. W., & So, A. Y. (2010). State neoliberalism: The Chinese road to capitalism. *Chinese capitalisms: Historical emergence and political implications*, 46-72.

CNR News. (2019, November 30). *China Media Group's " China Media Group Mobile" 5G new media platform officially launched (中央广播电视总台"央视频"5G新媒体平台正式上线).* https://baijiahao.baidu.com/s?id=1650711037645987911&wfr=spider&for=pc

CNTV. (2004, July 15). *Introduction to CCTV 2004 Athens Olympic Program Arrangement.* http://www.cntv.cn/program/tongying/20040715/101479.shtml

Coakley, J. (2011). Ideology doesn't just happen: Sports and neoliberalism. *Revista da Associación Latinoamericana de Estudios Socioculturales del Deporto*, *1*(1), 67-84.

Cohen, S., & Wills, T. A. (1985). Stress, social support, and the buffering hypothesis. *Psychological bulletin*, *98*(2), 310.

Coleman, R. (2020). Making, managing and experiencing 'the now': Digital media and the compression and pacing of 'real-time'. *new media & society*, *22*(9), 1680-1698.

Cooper, R., & Tang, T. (2009). Predicting audience exposure to television in today's media environment: An empirical integration of active-audience and structural theories. *Journal of Broadcasting and Electronic Media*, *53*(3), 400–418. https://doi.org/10.1080/08838150903102204

Cooper, R., & Tang, T. (2013). Fans, Nonfans, and the Olympics: Predictors of Audience's Multiplatform Experience with the 2008 Beijing Games. In K. Bissell & S. Perry (Eds.), *The Olympics, Media and Society* (pp. 26–44). Routledge.

Courtois, C., & Nelissen, S. (2018). Family television viewing and its alternatives: Associations with closeness within and between generations. *Journal of Broadcasting & Electronic Media*, *62*(4), 673-691.

Creswell, J. W. (2014). *A concise introduction to mixed methods research*. SAGE publications.

Creswell, J. W., & Miller, D. L. (2000). Determining validity in qualitative inquiry. *Theory into practice*, *39*(3), 124-130.

Creswell, J. W., & Poth, C. N. (2016). *Qualitative inquiry and research design: Choosing among five approaches*. Sage publications.

Cui, X. (2013). Media events are still alive: The opening ceremony of the Beijing

Olympics as a media ritual. *International Journal of Communication*, *7*, 16.

Cummins, R. G., & Hahn, D. (2022). Selective exposure and exemplification within sports highlights. *Journal of Broadcasting & Electronic Media*, *66*(1), 22-46.

Cunningham, N. R., & Eastin, M. S. (2017). Second screen and sports: A structural investigation into team identification and efficacy. *Communication and Sport*, *5*(3), 288–310. https://doi.org/10.1177/2167479515610152

Darnell, S., & Millington, R. (2015). Modernization, neoliberalism, and sports mega-events. *Mega-events and globalization: Capital and spectacle in a changing world order*, 65.

Dart, J. (2014). New media, professional sport and political economy. *Journal of Sport and Social Issues*, *38*(6), 528-547.

Datta, A., & Chakraborty, I. (2018). Are you neoliberal fit? The politics of consumption under neoliberalism. *The SAGE handbook of consumer culture*, 453-477.

Davies, W. (2014). The limits of neoliberalism: Authority, sovereignty and the logic of competition. *The Limits of Neoliberalism*, 1-240.

Davis, L. (2015). Football fandom and authenticity: A critical discussion of historical and contemporary perspectives. *Soccer & Society*, *16*(2-3), 422-436.

Day, G., & Thompson, A. (2004). *Theorizing nationalism*. Palgrave Macmillan.

Dean, J. (2008). Enjoying neoliberalism. *Cultural politics*, *4*(1), 47-72.

Dean, M. (2014). Rethinking neoliberalism. *Journal of sociology*, *50*(2), 150-163.

Dedaj, P. (2022, February 7). *NBC's Beijing Olympics opening ceremony broadcast sees record low viewers, down 43% from previous Games*. Fox News. https://www.foxnews.com/sports/nbcs-beijing-olympics-opening-ceremony-record-low-viewers-down-previous-games

Devlin, M. B., & Brown-Devlin, N. (2017). Using personality and team identity to predict sports media consumption. *International journal of sport communication*, *10*(3), 371-392.

Devlin, Michael., & Billings, Andrew. (2016). Examining the World's Game in the United States: Impact of Nationalized Qualities on Fan Identification and Consumption of the 2014 FIFA World Cup. *Journal of Broadcasting and Electronic Media*, *60*(1), 40–60. https://doi.org/10.1080/08838151.2015.1127243

Dias, P. (2016). Motivations for multi-screening: An exploratory study on motivations and gratifications. *European Journal of Communication*, *31*(6), 678–693. https://doi.org/10.1177/0267323116674111

Dimmick, J. (1997). The theory of the niche and spending on mass media: The case of the" video revolution". *Journal of Media Economics*, *10*(3), 33-43.

Dimmick, J., & Rothenbuhler, E. (1984). The theory of the niche: Quantifying competition among media industries. *Journal of communication*, *34*(1), 103-119.

Dimmick, J., Chen, Y., & Li, Z. (2004). Competition between the Internet and traditional news media: The gratification-opportunities niche dimension. *The journal of media economics*, *17*(1), 19-33.

Dreamgrow. (2023, March 12). *The 15 Biggest Social Media Sites and Apps [2023]*. https://www.dreamgrow.com/top-15-most-popular-social-networking-sites/#6_WeixinWeChat_%E2%80%93_1213_Billion_Active_Users

Du, Z. (2009). *Research on live reports of 2008 Beijing Olympic Games (北京奥运会电视现场直播报道研究)* [Master dissertation, Xinjiang University]. CNKI.

Dubal, S. (2010). The neoliberalization of football: Rethinking neoliberalism through the commercialization of the beautiful game. *International Review for the Sociology of Sport*, *45*(2), 123-146.

Duff, B. R.-L., Yoon, G., Wang, Z. (Glenn), & Anghelcev, G. (2014). Doing It All: An Exploratory Study of Predictors of Media Multitasking. *Journal of Interactive Advertising*, *14*(1), 11–23. https://doi.org/10.1080/15252019.2014.884480

Dutta-Bergman, M. J. (2004a). Primary sources of health information Comparisons in the domain of health attitudes health cognitions and health behaviors. *Health Communication*, *16*(3), 273–288.

Dutta-Bergman, M. J. (2004b). Complementarity in consumption of news types across traditional and new media. *Journal of broadcasting & electronic media*, *48*(1), 41-60.

Eagly, A. H., & Chaiken, S. (1993). *The psychology of attitudes*. Harcourt brace Jovanovich college publishers.

Eagly, A. H., & Chaiken, S. (2005). Attitude research in the 21st century: the current state of knowledge.

Eagly, A., & Chaiken, S. (1998). Attitude structure. *Handbook of social psychology*, *1*,

269-322.

Economist. (2018, Jun 14). *China is spending billions on its foreign-language media.* https://www.economist.com/china/2018/06/14/china-is-spending-billions-on-its-foreign-language-media

Eick, V. (2010). A neoliberal sports event? FIFA from the Estadio Nacional to the fan mile. *City*, *14*(3), 278-297.

El Said, G. R. (2017). Understanding how learners use massive open online courses and why they drop out: Thematic analysis of an interview study in a developing country. *Journal of Educational Computing Research*, *55*(5), 724-752.

Elaine, Yau. (2020, June 23). *Chinese TV shows with strong women characters strike a chord with contemporary female audiences.* South China Morning Post. https://www.scmp.com/lifestyle/entertainment/article/3089791/chinese-tv-shows-strong-women-characters-strike-chord

Fan, J. (2020, July 22). *New media has become the main channel for the public to obtain news, with 77.25% of people getting it from WeChat (新媒体成大众获取新闻信息主渠道，77.25%的人从微信群获取).* Shang Guan. https://export.shobserver.com/baijiahao/html/272257.html

Fan, X. (2021, October 28). *China's largest broadcasting system launches Olympic Channel*. China Daily. http://global.chinadaily.com.cn/a/202110/28/WS617a5850a310cdd39bc71e5b.html

Faure, G. O., & Fang, T. (2008). Changing Chinese values: Keeping up with

paradoxes. *International business review*, *17*(2), 194-207.

Feng, C. G., Lau, T. Y., Atkin, D. J., & Lin, C. A. (2009). Exploring the evolution of digital television in China: An interplay between economic and political interests. *Telematics and Informatics*, *26*(4), 333-342.

Fernández-Peña, E. (2009). Olympic Summer Games and Broadcast Rights. Evolution and Challenges in the New Media Environment/Juegos Olímpicos de Verano y derechos audiovisuales. Evolución y retos en el entorno New Media. *Revista Latina de Comunicación Social*, *64*(800–878), 1000–1010. https://doi.org/10.4185/RLCS-64-2009-1.000-1.010-Eng

Fernández-Peña, E. (2011). New Media and the Olympic Games: The Olympic Movement and the Social Web in the dissemination of messages. In *An Olympic Mosaic: Multidisciplinary Research and Dissemination of Olympic Studies: CEO-UAB 20 Years.* (pp. 143-152).

Fernández-Peña, E. (2015). TV Rights management of the Olympic Games: a historical approach. *Вестник Российского Международного Олимпийского Университета*, (1), 94-103.

Fernández-Peña, E. (2017). Barcelona 92 and the creation of a model. In *Megaevents Footprints: Past, present and future* (p. 186).

Fernández-Peña, E., & Gila, J. M. P. (2017). Olympic TV Rights Evolution and Management. In *Olympic & Paralympic Discourses. Olympiche & Paralympische Diskurse* (p. 217). Agon Sportverlag Kassel.

Fernández-Peña, E., & Ramajo Hernández, N. (2021). Olympic Channel: Digital strategy and content. *Journal of Human Sport and Exercise*, *16*(1), 1–13. https://doi.org/10.14198/jhse.2021.16.Proc1.01

Fernández-Peña, E., Gila, J. M., & Coromina, Ò. (2017). Nature of engagement on Facebook during London 2012 Olympic Games: Insight into public participation in terms of language and gender. *South African Journal for Research in Sport, Physical Education and Recreation*, *39*(1: 2), 135-151.

Fernández-Peña, E., Ramajo, N., & Arauz, M. (2014). Social media in the Olympic Games: Actors, management and participation. In *Routledge handbook of sport and new media* (pp. 153-164). Routledge.

Fernández-Peña, E., Ramajo, N., & Nieto, A. (2022). A cross-pollination of fame?: Star athletes and influencers on Instagram. In *The Dynamics of Influencer Marketing* (pp. 143-164). Routledge.

Festinger, L. (1957a). A theory of cognitive dissonance. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 291 p.

Festinger, L. (1957b). Social comparison theory. *Selective Exposure Theory*, *16*, 401.

Foehr, U. G. (2006). Media multitasking among American youth: Prevalence, predictors and pairings. *Henry J. Kaiser Family Foundation*.

Foster, R. (2016). The therapeutic spirit of neoliberalism. *Political Theory*, *44*(1), 82-105.

Frosh, S., & Emerson, P. D. (2005). Interpretation and over-interpretation: disputing the meaning of texts. *Qualitative Research*, *5*(3), 307-324.

Fukuyama, F. (2018). Against identity politics: The new tribalism and the crisis of democracy. *Foreign Aff.*, *97*, 90.

Fürsich, E. (2009). In defense of textual analysis: Restoring a challenged method for journalism and media studies. *Journalism studies*, *10*(2), 238-252.

Gantz, W., & Lewis, N. (2014). Sports on traditional and newer digital media: Is there really a fight for fans? *Television and New Media*, *15*(8), 760–768. https://doi.org/10.1177/1527476414529463

Gantz, W., & Wenner, L. A. (1995). Fanship and the television sports viewing experience. *Sociology of sport Journal*, *12*(1), 56-74.

Gantz, W., Wang, Z., Paul, B., & Potter, R. F. (2006). Sports Versus All Comers: Comparing TV Sports Fans With Fans of Other Programming Genres. *Journal of Broadcasting & Electronic Media*, *50*(1), 95–118.

Gao, C., & Wei, B. (2022, February 21). *A panoramic view of the Winter Olympics! CMG promotes the perfect presentation of Beijing 2022 Winter Olympics (全景展现冬奥盛况！总台助力北京2022年冬奥会完美呈现)*.Huanqiu Com. https://baijiahao.baidu.com/s?id=1725362457452497456&wfr=spider&for=pc

Gao, F. (2010). Politics/nationalism affect 2008 Olympics coverage. *Newspaper research journal*, *31*(4), 77-92.

Gao, Y. (2016). Inventing the 'authentic' self: American television and Chinese audiences in global Beijing. *Media, Culture & Society, 38*(8), 1,201–1,217. https://doi.org/10.1177/0163443716635870

Garrett, R. K. (2009). Echo chambers online?: Politically motivated selective exposure among Internet news users. *Journal of computer-mediated communication*, *14*(2), 265-285.

Garrett, R. K., & Stroud, N. J. (2014). Partisan paths to exposure diversity: Differences in pro-and counterattitudinal news consumption. *Journal of Communication*, *64*(4), 680-701.

Garrett, R. K., Carnahan, D., & Lynch, E. K. (2013). A turn toward avoidance? Selective exposure to online political information, 2004–2008. *Political Behavior*, *35*, 113-134.

Gellner, E. (2008). *Nations and nationalism*. Cornell University Press.

Gil de Zúñiga, H., & Liu, J. H. (2017). Second screening politics in the social media sphere: Advancing research on dual screen use in political communication with evidence from 20 countries. *Journal of broadcasting & electronic media*, *61*(2), 193-219.

Gil de Zúñiga, H., Garcia-Perdomo, V., & McGregor, S. C. (2015). What Is Second Screening? Exploring Motivations of Second Screen Use and Its Effect on Online Political Participation. *Journal of Communication*, *65*(5), 793–815. https://doi.org/10.1111/jcom.12174

Glynn, C. J., & Huge, M. E. (2014). Applying channel complementarity theory to new and traditional economic media usage patterns of US investors. *Computers in Human Behavior*, *38*, 93-99.

Gong, Y. (2020a). Virtual Collectivity through Second Screen: Chinese Fans' WeChat Use

in Televised Spectatorship of European Football. *Television and New Media*, *21*(8), 807–824. https://doi.org/10.1177/1527476419857199

Gong, Y. (2020b). Reading European football, critiquing China: Chinese urban middle class fans as reflexive audience. *Cultural Studies*, *34*(3), 442-465.

Goodman, D. (2008). Introduction: the new rich in China: the dimensions of social change. In *The new rich in China* (pp. 15-34). Routledge.

Gorokhov, V. A. (2015). Forward Russia! Sports mega-events as a venue for building national identity. *Nationalities papers*, *43*(2), 267-282.

Gottfried, J. A., Hardy, B. W., Holbert, R. L., Winneg, K. M., & Jamieson, K. H. (2017). The changing nature of political debate consumption: Social media, multitasking, and knowledge acquisition. *Political communication*, *34*(2), 172-199.

Graeff-Bastos, B. (2019). *A political economy of the 2014 FIFA World Cup: global capitalism, sport mega events and the perceptions of Porto Alegre residents impacted by the FIFA 2014 World Cup works* (Doctoral dissertation, Loughborough University).

Greenfly. (2022, October 7). *Social Media in Sports: Driving Fan Engagement.* https://www.greenfly.com/blog/social-media-in-sports/

Gries, P. H. (2005). China's “new thinking” on Japan. *The China Quarterly*, *184*, 831-850.

Gruneau, R., & Horne, J. (2015). Mega-events and globalization: a critical introduction. In *Mega-Events and Globalization* (pp. 1-28). Routledge.

Guang Ming Daily. (2022, January 11). *Without repeating the "human sea tactics", Zhang*

Yimou, chief director of the opening and closing ceremonies of the Winter Olympics, talks about how to surpass the classics. (不复刻"人海战术"，冬奥会开闭幕式总导演张艺谋谈如何超越经典) https://m.gmw.cn/baijia/2022-01/11/1302758915.html

Gubrium, J. F., & Holstein, J. A. (Eds.). (2002). *Handbook of interview research: Context and method*. Sage.

Gündoğan, I., & Sonntag, A. (2018). Chinese football in the era of xi jinping: What do supporters think? *Journal of Current Chinese Affairs*, *47*(1), 103–141. https://doi.org/10.1177/186810261804700104/ASSET/IMAGES/10.1177_186810261804700104-IMG2.PNG

Guo, L., & Zhang, Y. (2020). Information Flow Within and Across Online Media Platforms: An Agenda-setting Analysis of Rumor Diffusion on News Websites, Weibo, and WeChat in China. *Journalism Studies*, *21*(15), 2176–2195. https://doi.org/10.1080/1461670X.2020.1827012

Guo, M. (2020). Second Screening: Measuring Second Screen User Behavior in a Social Television Viewing Environment. *JMM International Journal on Media Management*, *22*(2), 97–116. https://doi.org/10.1080/14241277.2020.1803326

Guo, S., & Xu, Q. (2023). Home nation first, but to what degree?: Nationalism in Chinese central television's broadcasts of the 2018 winter Olympics. *Communication & Sport*, *11*(4), 770-786.

Guo, Y. (2004). *Cultural nationalism in contemporary China*. Routledge.

Ha, L., & Fang, L. (2012). Internet experience and time displacement of traditional news

media use: An application of the theory of the niche. *Telematics and Informatics*, *29*(2), 177-186.

Habermas, J. (2020). The public sphere: An encyclopedia article. In *Critical theory and society* (pp. 136-142). Routledge.

Hall, C. M. (2006). Urban entrepreneurship, corporate interests and sports mega-events: The thin policies of competitiveness within the hard outcomes of neoliberalism. *The sociological review*, *54*(2_suppl), 59-70.

Hamann, T. H. (2009). Neoliberalism, governmentality, and ethics. *Foucault studies*, 37-59

Hammarberg, K., Kirkman, M., & de Lacey, S. (2016). Qualitative research methods: when to use them and how to judge them. *Human reproduction*, *31*(3), 498-501.

Han, L. (2011). "Lucky cloud" over the world: The journalistic discourse of nationalism beyond China in the Beijing Olympics global torch relay. *Critical Studies in Media Communication*, *28*(4), 275-291.

Haniff, Z. (2012). Niche Theory in New Media: Is Digital Overtaking the Print Magazine Industry?.

Hayes, G., & Karamichas, J. (2012). Introduction: Sports mega-events, sustainable development and civil societies. In *Olympic games, mega-events and civil societies: Globalization, environment, resistance* (pp. 1-27). London: Palgrave Macmillan UK.

Hearn, J. (2007). National identity: Banal, personal and embedded. *Nations and nationalism*, *13*(4), 657-674.

Heron, T. (2008). Globalization, neoliberalism and the exercise of human agency. *International Journal of Politics, Culture, and Society*, *20*(1-4), 85-101.

Hill, D., & Kumar, R. (2012). Neoliberalism and its impacts. In *Global neoliberalism and education and its consequences* (pp. 32-49). Routledge

Hoeck, L., & Spann, M. (2020). An experimental analysis of the effectiveness of multi-screen advertising. *Journal of Interactive Marketing*, *50*(1), 81-99.

Holdaway, J. (2013). Environment and Health Research in China: The State of the Field. *The China Quarterly*, *214*, 255–282. https://doi.org/10.1017/S0305741013000337

Holland, O. (2022, February 4). *What we know – and don't – about director Zhang Yimou's Winter Olympics opening ceremony.* CNN. https://edition.cnn.com/style/article/zhang-yimou-olympics-opening-closing-ceremony/index.html

Horesh, N., & Lim, K. F. (2017). China: an East Asian alternative to neoliberalism?. *The Pacific Review*, *30*(4), 425-442.

Howard III, J. W., & Prividera, L. C. (2006). Gendered Nationalism: A Critical Analysis of Militarism, Patriarchy, and the Ideal Soldier. *Texas Speech Communication Journal*, *30*(2).

https://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-china-58024068

Hu, M. (2022). *World Cup viewing data champion, Migu's "Limited Time Famous" (世界杯流量霸主，咪咕的"限时翻红").* Wall Street Insights. https://baijiahao.baidu.com/s?id=1750842082024315183&wfr=spider&for=pc

Huang, L., & Lu, W. (2017). Functions and roles of social media in media transformation in China: A case study of "@ CCTV NEWS". *Telematics and Informatics*, *34*(3), 774-785.

Huber, B., Gil de Zúñiga, H., Diehl, T., & Liu, J. (2019). Effects of second screening: Building social media social capital through dual screen use. *Human Communication Research*, *45*(3), 334-365.

Hunter, T. (2022, February 16). *Official Olympic coverage tells us who wins. TikTok tells us everything else.* The Washington Post. https://www.washingtonpost.com/technology/2022/02/16/tiktok-winter-olympics/

Hutchins, B., & Sanderson, J. (2017). The primacy of sports television: Olympic media, social networking services, and multi-screen viewing during the Rio 2016 games. *Media International Australia*, *164*(1), 32–43. https://doi.org/10.1177/1329878X17707065

Hwang, H. J., Kim, H. K., Mahmood, M., & Dawi, N. M. (2022). Applying niche theory to measure uses and gratifications of social media in Malaysia. *International Journal of Software Innovation (IJSI)*, *10*(2), 1-11.

Ie, A., Haller, C. S., Langer, E. J., & Courvoisier, D. S. (2012). Mindful multitasking: The relationship between mindful flexibility and media multitasking. *Computers in Human Behavior*, *28*(4), 1526–1532. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.chb.2012.03.022

iiMedia. (2018, July 18). *iiMedia Report | 2018 World Cup China APP Data Change and Trend Analysis Report.Sohu (艾媒报告 |2018世界杯中国APP流量变化与数据趋势分析报告)*. https://www.sohu.com/a/241954448_533924

Ikanchai. (2022, March 2). *Kuaishou Winter Olympics-related content has played more than 154.48 billion times, and more than 20 brands have joined the magnetic engine ice and snow appointment (快手冬奥相关内容播放量超1544.8亿，二十余品牌共赴磁力引擎冰雪之约).* https://baijiahao.baidu.com/s?id=1726187245411890822&wfr=spider&for=pc

IO, H. N., LEE, C. B. P., & LIAN, Z. (2019). COMMENTS ABOUT THE SIRI CHATBOT: A SENTIMENT ANALYSIS OF THE POSTINGS AT A MICROBLOGGING SITE. *Journal of Information Technology Management*, *30*(4).

IOC. (2009, March 25). *IOC awards 2010 & 2012 broadcast rights in China.* https://olympics.com/ioc/news/ioc-awards-2010-2012-broadcast-rights-in-china

IOC. (2016). *MARKETING REPORT Rio 2016*. https://stillmed.olympics.com/media/Documents/Olympic-Movement/Partners/IOC-Marketing-Report-Rio-2016.pdf

IOC. (2018, June). *PYEOMGCHANG 2018 GLOBAL BROADCAST AND AUDIENCE REPORT*. https://stillmed.olympic.org/media/Document%20Library/OlympicOrg/Games/Winter-Games/Games-PyeongChang-2018-Winter-Olympic-Games/IOC-Marketing/Olympic-Winter-Games-PyeongChang-2018-Broadcast-Report.pdf

IOC. (2021a, July 1). *IOC SOCIAL AND DIGITAL MEDIA GUIDELINES GAMES OF THE XXXII OLYMPIAD TOKYO 2020*. IOC. https://stillmed.olympics.com/media/Documents/Olympic-Games/Tokyo-2020/IOC-Digital-and-social-media-guidelines/SMG-FAQs-Tokyo-2020.pdf

IOC. (2021b, December 8). *Olympic Games Tokyo 2020 watched by more than 3 billion people*. https://olympics.com/ioc/news/olympic-games-tokyo-2020-watched-by-more-than-3-billion-people

IOC. (2022a). *Beijing 2022 Audience & Insights Report*. https://stillmed.olympics.com/media/Documents/International-Olympic-Committee/IOC-Marketing-And-Broadcasting/Beijing-2022-Audience-Insights-Report.pdf

IOC. (2022b). *IOC MARKETING REPORT BEIJING 2022*. https://stillmed.olympics.com/media/Documents/Olympic-Movement/Partners/IOC-Marketing-Report-Beijing-2022.pdf

IOC. (2022c, February 7). *Beijing 2022 set to be the most immersive Olympic Winter Games yet*. https://olympics.com/ioc/news/beijing-2022-set-to-be-the-most-immersive-olympic-winter-games-yet

IOC. (2022d, February 14). *Beijing 2022 sets new records for gender equality*. https://olympics.com/ioc/news/beijing-2022-sets-new-records-for-gender-equality

IOC. (2022e, February 15). IOC President congratulates CMG for unprecedented Beijing 2022 broadcast results. https://olympics.com/ioc/news/ioc-president-congratulates-cmg-for-unprecedented-beijing-2022-broadcast-results

IOC. (2022f, February 19). *IOC awards Olympic Cup to the people of the People's Republic of China*. https://olympics.com/ioc/news/ioc-awards-olympic-cup-to-the-people-of-the-people-s-republic-of-china

IOC. (2022g, June). *OLYMPIC MARKETING FACT FILE 2022 EDITION*. https://stillmed.olympics.com/media/Documents/International-Olympic-Committee/IOC-Marketing-And-Broadcasting/IOC-Marketing-Fact-File.pdf

IOC. (2022h, October 20). *Olympic Winter Games Beijing 2022 watched by more than 2 billion people*. https://olympics.com/ioc/news/olympic-winter-games-beijing-2022-watched-by-more-than-2-billion-people

IOC. (2022i, November 30). *Broadcasters honoured at Olympic Golden Rings Awards.* https://www.huffpost.com/entry/anxiety-love-watching-horror-movies_l_5d277587e4b02a5a5d57b59e

Jago, R., Sebire, S. J., Gorely, T., Cillero, I. H., & Biddle, S. J. (2011). " I'm on it 24/7 at the moment": A qualitative examination of multi-screen viewing behaviours among UK 10-11 year olds. *International Journal of Behavioral Nutrition and Physical Activity*, *8*, 1-8.

Jamieson, K. H., & Cappella, J. N. (2008). *Echo chamber: Rush Limbaugh and the conservative media establishment*. Oxford University Press.

Jeong, S. H., & Fishbein, M. (2007). Predictors of multitasking with media: Media factors and audience factors. *Media Psychology*, *10*(3), 364–384. https://doi.org/10.1080/15213260701532948

Ji, S. W., & Lee, J. (2020). Cultural dimensions of online vs. offline media competition: an application of niche theory. *Journal of Media Economics*, *33*(3-4), 31-48.

Jia, W., & Lu, F. (2023). Media convergence for US–China competition? Comparative case

studies of China Media Group and the US Agency for Global Media. *International Communication Gazette*, 17480485231165371.

Jiang, M. (2010). Authoritarian Informationalism: China's Approach to Internet Sovereignty. *SAIS Review of International Affairs*, *30*(2), 71–89. https://muse.jhu.edu/article/403440

Jinxia, D. (2013). Women, nationalism and the Beijing Olympics: Preparing for glory. In *Modern Sport-The Global Obsession* (pp. 44-58). Routledge.

Johns, M. D. (2012). Two Screen Viewing and Social Relationships. Exploring the invisible backchannel of TV viewing.

Johnston, A. I. (2016). Is Chinese nationalism rising? Evidence from beijing. *International security*, *41*(3), 7-43.

Jonas, E., Schulz-Hardt, S., Frey, D., & Thelen, N. (2001). Confirmation bias in sequential information search after preliminary decisions: an expansion of dissonance theoretical research on selective exposure to information. *Journal of personality and social psychology*, *80*(4), 557.

Katz, E., Blumler, J. G., & Gurevitch, M. (1973). Uses and Gratifications Research. *The Public Opinion Quarterly*, *37*(4), 509–523.

Kaun, A. (2015). Regimes of time: Media practices of the dispossessed. *Time & Society*, *24*(2), 221-243.

Keaton, S. A., Watanabe, N. M., & Ruihley, B. J. (2015). What types of #sportfans use social media? The role of team identity formation and spectatorship motivation on

self-disclosure during a live sport broadcast. In A. F. Slade, A. J. Narro, & D. Givens-Carroll (Eds.), *Television, social media and fan culture* (pp. 89–107). Lexington Books.

Keene, J. R., & Cummins, R. G. (2009). Sports commentators and source credibility: Do those who can't play... commentate?. *Journal of Sports Media*, *4*(2), 57-83.

Kennedy, P. (2020). 'All the better to eat you with!'The contribution of consumer culture to the rise of predatory capitalism. *Journal of Consumer Culture*, *20*(3), 266-284.

Kim, K., Cheong, Y., & Kim, H. (2016). Competition and coexistence of sports media: The case of watching the 2014 Sochi Winter Olympic Games. *Asian Journal of Communication*, *26*(5), 485-503.

King, G., Pan, J., & Roberts, M. E. (2017). How the Chinese government fabricates social media posts for strategic distraction, not engaged argument. *American political science review*, *111*(3), 484-501.

King-O'Riain, R. C. (2021). "They were having so much fun, so genuinely...": K-pop fan online affect and corroborated authenticity. *New media & society*, *23*(9), 2820-2838.

Kniazeva, M. (2010). A Happy Man in a Buick: How Chinese Consumers Let Western Brands Enter their Lives. In *Handbook of contemporary marketing in China*. Nova Science Publisher.

Konig, C. J., Buhner, M., & Murling, G. (2005). Working memory, fluid intelligence, and attention are predictors of multitasking performance, but polychronicity and extraversion are not. *Human performance*, *18*(3), 243-266.

Kononova, A. (2013). Multitasking Across Borders: A Cross-National Study of Media Multitasking Behaviors, Its Antecedents, and Outcomes. *International Journal of Communication*, *7*, 1688–1710. http://ijoc.org.

Kotz, D. M., & McDonough, T. (2010). Global neoliberalism and the contemporary social structure of accumulation. *Contemporary capitalism and its crises: Social structure of accumulation theory for the 21st century*, 93-120.

Krcmar, M., & Strizhakova, Y. (2009). Uses and gratifications as media choice. In *Media Choice* (pp. 67-83). Routledge.

Lau, J. (2022, February 3). *The 'heavy burden' of Zhang Yimou's second Olympics opening ceremony.* South China Morning Post. https://www.scmp.com/news/china/article/3165739/heavy-burden-zhang-yimous-second-olympics-opening-ceremony

Laursen, D., & Sandvik, K. (2014). Talking with TV shows: Simultaneous conversations between users and producers in the second-screen television production Voice. *Northern Lights*, *12*(1), 141-160.

Lawn, J., & Prentice, C. (2015). Introduction: Neoliberal culture/the cultures of neoliberalism. *Sites: A Journal of Social Anthropology and Cultural Studies*, *12*(1), 1-29.

Lazarsfeld, P. F., Berelson, B., & Gaudet, H. (1968). *The people's choice: How the voter makes up his mind in a presidential campaign*. Columbia University Press.

Lee Ludvigsen, J. A., & Petersen-Wagner, R. (2022). From television to YouTube:

digitalised sport mega-events in the platform society. *Leisure Studies*. https://doi.org/10.1080/02614367.2022.2125557

Lee Ludvigsen, J. A., Rookwood, J., & Parnell, D. (2022). The sport mega-events of the 2020s: Governance, impacts and controversies. *Sport in Society*, *25*(4), 705-711.

Lee, J. W. (2021). Olympic ceremony and diplomacy: South Korean, North Korean, and British media coverage of the 2018 Olympic Winter Games' opening and closing ceremonies. *Communication & Sport*, *9*(5), 761-784.

Lee, J., & Yoon, H. (2017). Narratives of the nation in the Olympic opening ceremonies: comparative analysis of Beijing 2008 and London 2012. *Nations and Nationalism*, *23*(4), 952-969.

Lemus Delgado, D. R. (2016). Opening ceremonies of international sports events: The other face of Chinese soft power. *The International Journal of the History of Sport*, *33*(5), 607-623.

Lemus-Delgado, D. (2021). International sports events and national identity: the opening ceremony of the Taipei Universiade. *Sport in Society*, *24*(7), 1093-1109.

Lemus-Delgado, D. (2023). Opening ceremonies and national identity: Beijing 2008 and Tokyo 2020. *National Identities*, *25*(5), 463-482.

Levien, M. (2013). Regimes of dispossession: From steel towns to special economic zones. *Governing global land deals: The role of the state in the rush for land*, 185-210

Lewis, N., Gantz, W., & Wenner, L. A. (2021). What we do when we watch live sports: An analysis of concurrent viewing behaviors. *International Journal of Sport*

Communication, *14*(2), 153-167.

Li, B., Dittmore, S. W., Scott, O. K. M., Lo, W. Juo, & Stokowski, S. (2019). Why we follow: Examining motivational differences in following sport organizations on Twitter and Weibo. *Sport Management Review*, *22*(3), 335–347. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.smr.2018.04.006

Li, B., Naraine, M. L., Zhao, L., & Li, C. (2021). A Magic "Bullet": Exploring Sport Fan Usage of On-Screen, Ephemeral Posts During Live Stream Sessions. *Communication and Sport*. https://doi.org/10.1177/21674795211038949

Li, B., Scott, O. K., Wang, J. J., & Xiao, L. (2023). Understanding Chinese Consumers' Media Behaviors During Tokyo 2020: An Exploration of Media Consumption Among Different Generations. *International Journal of Sport Communication*, *1*(aop), 1-13.

Li, J. (2014). Nation and globalization as social interaction: Interdiscursivity of discourse and semiosis in the 2008 Beijing Olympics' opening ceremony. *Semiotica*, *2014*(200), 137-164.

Li, J., & Ge, J. (2018). Features of CCTV's PyeongChang Winter Olympic Games Reporting——Also discussing the development and trend of Winter Olympic Games broadcasting (*央视平昌冬奥会赛事报道特点——兼议冬奥会赛事转播的发展与趋势*). *TV Research* (08):35-37.

Li, S. C. S. (2017). Television media old and new: A niche analysis of OTT, IPTV, and digital cable in Taiwan. *Telematics and Informatics*, *34*(7), 1024-1037.

Liam, K. (2022, May 13). *The Power of Short Form Video*. Front Office Sports.

https://frontofficesports.com/pro-archive/scouting-report-the-power-of-short-form-video/

Lin, A., Gregor, S., & Ewing, M. (2008). Developing a scale to measure the enjoyment of web experiences. *Journal of Interactive Marketing*, *22*(4), 40–57. https://doi.org/10.1002/dir.20120

Lin, J. S., Sung, Y., & Chen, K. J. (2016). Social television: Examining the antecedents and consequences of connected TV viewing. *Computers in Human Behavior*, *58*, 171-178.

Lin, J., & de Kloet, J. (2019). Platformization of the unlikely creative class: Kuaishou and Chinese digital cultural production. *Social Media+ Society*, *5*(4), 2056305119883430.

Lin, J., & Dutta, M. J. (2017). A replication of channel complementarity theory among internet users in India. *Health Communication*, *32*(4), 483-492.

Lin, T. T. (2013). Convergence and regulation of multi-screen television: The Singapore experience. *Telecommunications Policy*, *37*(8), 673-685.

Lin, T. T., & Chiang, Y. H. (2017). Dual screening: Examining social predictors and impact on online and offline political participation among Taiwanese Internet users. *Journal of Broadcasting & Electronic Media*, *61*(2), 240-263.

Lin, Z., & Zhao, Y. (2020). Self-enterprising eSports: Meritocracy, precarity, and disposability of eSports players in China. *International Journal of Cultural Studies*, *23*(4), 582-599.

Lincoln, Y. S., & Guba, E. G. (1985). *Naturalistic inquiry*. sage.

Lindlof, T. R., & Taylor, B. C. (2017). *Qualitative communication research methods*. Sage publications.

Ling, R. (2004). *The mobile connection: The cell phone's impact on society*. Elsevier.

Liu, K. Z. (2020). From invisible to visible: Kwai and the hierarchical cultural order of China's cyberspace. *Global Media and China*, *5*(1), 69-85.

Liu, X., Xu, W. (Wayne), & Li, B. (2019). Reason and passion in public discussion on Sina Weibo. *Telematics and Informatics*, *45*, 101285. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.tele.2019.101285

Liu, Z., & Berkowitz, D. (2013). "Love sport, even when it breaks your heart again": Ritualizing consumerism in sports on Weibo. *International Journal of Sport Communication*, *6*(3), 258-273.

Lopez-Gonzalez, H., Stavros, C., & Smith, A. C. T. (2019). The transition of second screen devices to first screen status in sport viewing. *Sport in Society*, *22*(12), 2077–2088. https://doi.org/10.1080/17430437.2018.1554649

Lowery, S., & de Fleur, M. L. (1988). *Milestones in mass communication research: Media effects*. Addison-Wesley Longman Limited.

Lu, S. (2022, February 18). *It is difficult for Wang Meng to make Migu a top platform (顶流王濛难成就顶流咪咕)*. Guancha. https://www.guancha.cn/economy/2022_02_18_626756.shtml

Lu, X. (2011). *Research on the evolution of Chinese TV media reporting Olympics—take the coverage of Olympic on CCTV as an example (中国电视媒体奥运报道的历史演*

进研究一一以央视夏奥会为例) (Publication No. BT61552851521) [Master dissertation, Beijing Sports University]. CNKI.

Lui, S. (2016, August 9). *Rio Olympics the most social games ever, sport marketing prof says*. CBC. https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/sudbury/laurentian-social-media-olympics-1.3712546

Ma, G. (2008). Glamorous Olympics, Panorama Presentation——Review of Beijing Olympic TV Broadcasting (*魅力奥运 全景呈现——北京奥运会电视转播回顾*). *TV Research* (11):14-15.

Ma, G. (2012). *Let's start the talk right away—experience the 30 years of Chinese sports TV (马上开讲-亲历中国体育电视三十年).* Communication University of China Press.

Ma, Y. (2018). Online Chinese nationalism: A competing discourse? A discourse analysis of Chinese media texts relating to the Beijing Olympic torch relay in Paris. *The Journal of International Communication*, *24*(2), 305-325.

MacAloon, J. J. (2017). Agenda 2020 and the Olympic movement. In *From Olympic Administration to Olympic Governance* (pp. 31-49). Routledge.

Malanski, D., & Fernández Peña, E. (2023). A Mulatto Brazil–the narrative of the Dionysian character of Brazilian society in the 2014 FIFA World Cup. *National Identities*, *25*(4), 423-439.

Matei, S. A. (2010). What can uses and gratifications theory tell us about social media?. *Human Communication Research*, *3*(3), 214-221.

McDonald, D. G., & Meng, J. (2009). The Multitasking. *The culture of efficiency: Technology in everyday life*, *55*, 142.

McGill, M., Williamson, J. H., & Brewster, S. A. (2015). A review of collocated multi-user TV: Examining the changing role of the TV in the multi-viewer, multi-screen home. *Personal and Ubiquitous Computing*, *19*, 743-759.

McKee, A. (2003). Textual analysis: A beginner's guide. *Textual analysis*, 1-160.

Media. (2022). *2021-2022 China Media Industry Development Report (速看！2021—2022年中国传媒产业发展报告).* https://mp.weixin.qq.com/s?__biz=MzI1MDU4OTA0Mg==&mid=2247660129&idx=2&sn=1d09ba744857f3cde385b4a4bf16a71a&chksm=e9f3c87cde84416a3d5e9d76096172d0d48b05ec21ae0e1d7418485920885fb7522057eafd97&scene=27

Meichtry, Y., & Sánchez, I. (2021). The Olympic World Feed Project: Searching, acquiring and preserving the international television signal of the Olympic Games from 1956 to 1988. *Journal of Digital Media Management, 10*(1), 36-52.

Meng-ying, L. I. (2021). “Nei Juan” in Exam-oriented Education in China. *Journal of Literature and Art Studies*, *11*(12), 1028-1033.

Merriam, S. B., & Tisdell, E. (2009). Qualitative research: A guide to design and implementation. san francisco, ca: Lohn wiley & sons.

Miquel de Moragas Spà, John MacAloon, & Montserrat Llinés (Eds.). (1996). *Olympic ceremonies: Historical continuity and cultural exchange* (International Symposium on Olympic Ceremonies, Barcelona-Lausanne, November 1995).

https://ceo.uab.cat/es/b/olympic-ceremonies-symposium-1995/

Moghaddam, A. (2006). Coding issues in grounded theory. *Issues in educational research*, *16*(1), 52-66.

Moragas Spà, M. D. (1992). Communication, cultural identities and the Olympic Games: the Barcelona'92 experience.

National Business Daily. (2022, February 8). *China Mobile's Migu Winter Olympics occupies the screen, China Mobile rose more than 7% in intraday trading (中国移动旗下咪咕冬奥刷屏 中移动盘中涨超7%).* https://new.qq.com/rain/a/20220208A0B7CP00

National Radio and Television Administration. (2022, April 25). *2021 National Radio and Television Industry Statistical Bulletin(2021年全国广播电视行业统计公报).* http://www.nrta.gov.cn/art/2022/4/25/art_113_60195.html

National Radio and Television Administration. (2023, April 27). *2022 National Radio and Television Industry Statistical Bulletin (2022年全国广播电视行业统计公报).* http://www.nrta.gov.cn/art/2023/4/27/art_113_64140.html

Navarro, V. (2007). Neoliberalism as a class ideology; or, the political causes of the growth of inequalities. *International Journal of Health Services*, *37*(1), 47-62.

NBC SPORTS. (2022a, February 11). *MORE THAN 100 MILLION AMERICANS HAVE WATCHED THE BEIJING OLYMPICS ON THE NETWORKS OF NBCUNIVERSAL*. https://nbcsportsgrouppressbox.com/2022/02/11/more-than-100-million-americans-have-watched-the-beijing-olympics-on-the-networks-of-nbcuniversal/

NBC SPORTS. (2022b, February 18). *USA NETWORK RANKS AS CABLE'S #1 SPORTS AND ENTERTAINMENT NETWORK SINCE START OF 2022 BEIJING OLYMPICS*. https://nbcsportsgrouppressbox.com/2022/02/18/usa-network-ranks-as-cables-1-sports-and-entertainment-network-since-start-of-2022-beijing-olympics/

NBC SPORTS. (2022c, February 21). *NBCUNIVERSAL'S 2022 BEIJING OLYMPICS – THE MOST EXTENSIVE WINTER GAMES PRESENTATION EVER – DOMINATES MEDIA LANDSCAPE*. https://nbcsportsgrouppressbox.com/2022/02/21/nbcuniversals-2022-beijing-olympics-the-most-extensive-winter-games-presentation-ever-dominates-media-landscape/

Newell, J., Pilotta, J. J., & Thomas, J. C. (2008). Mass media displacement and saturation. *The International Journal on Media Management*, *10*(4), 131-138.

Neyazi, T. A., Kumar, A., & Dutta, M. J. (2019). Channel complementarity or displacement? Theory and evidence from a non-Western election context. *Journal of Broadcasting & Electronic Media*, *63*(4), 656-676.

Nielsen (2013). *Action Figures: How Second Screens are Transforming TV Viewing.* https://www.nielsen.com/insights/2013/action-figures-how-second-screens-are-transforming-tv-viewing/

Nielsen. (2015). *Live TV + Social Media = Engaged Viewers*. https://www.nielsen.com/zh/insights/2015/live-tv-social-media-engaged-viewers/

Nielsen. (2018, August). *Asian Games 2018 Events Provoked The Nationalism of TV Viewers.* https://www.nielsen.com/insights/2018/asian-games-2018-events-provoked-

the-nationalism-of-tv-viewers/

Nielsen. (2022, June). *Sports fandom is increasing, powered by new digital platforms, global report finds.* https://www.nielsen.com/news-center/2022/sports-fandom-is-increasing-powered-by-new-digital-platforms-global-report-finds/

Nielsen. (2023, March). *With almost 1 million video choices, women 18-34 turn to classic TV.* https://www.nielsen.com/insights/2023/with-almost-1-million-video-choices-women-18-34-turn-to-classic-tv/

Nik-Khah, E., & Van Horn, R. (2012). Inland empire: economics imperialism as an imperative of Chicago neoliberalism. *Journal of Economic Methodology*, *19*(3), 259-282.

Novak, T. P., Hoffman, D. L., & Yung, Y. F. (2000). Measuring the customer experience in online environments: A structural modeling approach. *Marketing Science*, *19*(1), 22–42. https://doi.org/10.1287/mksc.19.1.22.15184

Ogbonna, E., & Harris, L. C. (2014). Organizational Cultural Perpetuation: A Case Study of an English Premier League Football Club. *British Journal of Management*, *25*(4), 667-686.

Olssen, M., & Peters, M. A. (2005). Neoliberalism, higher education and the knowledge economy: From the free market to knowledge capitalism. *Journal of education policy*, *20*(3), 313-345.

Panagiotopoulou, R. (2012). Nation branding and the Olympic games: New media images for Greece and China. *The International Journal of the History of Sport*, *29*(16),

2337-2348.

Parker, H. M., & Fink, J. S. (2008). The effect of sport commentator framing on viewer attitudes. *Sex Roles*, *58*, 116-126.

Peng, A. Y. (2021). Neoliberal feminism, gender relations, and a feminized male ideal in China: A critical discourse analysis of Mimeng's WeChat posts. *Feminist Media Studies*, *21*(1), 115-131.

Peng, A. Y., & Sun, Y. (2022). A dialectical-relational approach to anti-trans sentiments on Hupu. *Discourse, Context & Media*, *50*, 100654.

Peng, A. Y., Kuang, X., & Hou, J. (2022). Love NBA, hate BLM: Racism in China's sports fandom. *International Journal of Communication*, *16*, 3133-3153.

Peng, A. Y., Wu, C., & Chen, M. (2024). Sportswomen under the Chinese male gaze: A feminist critical discourse analysis. *Critical Discourse Studies*, *21*(1), 34-51.

Phonthanukitithaworn, C., & Sellitto, C. (2017). Facebook as a second screen: An influence on sport consumer satisfaction and behavioral intention. *Telematics and Informatics*, *34*(8), 1477–1487. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.tele.2017.06.011

Pilotta, J. J., Schultz, D. E., Drenik, G., & Rist, P. (2004). Simultaneous media usage: A critical consumer orientation to media planning. *Journal of Consumer Behaviour: An International Research Review*, *3*(3), 285-292.

Pimlott-Wilson, H. (2017). Individualising the future: the emotional geographies of neoliberal governance in young people's aspirations. *Area*, *49*(3), 288-295.

Plantin, J. C., & de Seta, G. (2019). WeChat as infrastructure: the techno-nationalist shaping of Chinese digital platforms. *Chinese Journal of Communication*, *12*(3), 257–273. https://doi.org/10.1080/17544750.2019.1572633

Potter, J., & Hepburn, A. (2005). Qualitative interviews in psychology: Problems and possibilities. *Qualitative research in Psychology*, *2*(4), 281-307.

Pu, H., Newman, J. I., & Giardina, M. D. (2019). Flying solo: Globalization, neoliberal individualism, and the contested celebrity of Li Na. *Communication & sport*, *7*(1), 23-45.

Qi, J., Joye, S., & Van Leuven, S. (2022). Framing China's mask diplomacy in Europe during the early covid-19 pandemic: Seeking and contesting legitimacy through foreign medical aid amidst soft power promotion. *Chinese Journal of Communication*, *15*(2), 205-226.

Qianfan. (2022, June 29). *Analysys Qianfan List｜Analysis of Data Analysis of Speed Edition APP in May (易观千帆榜单｜5月极速版APP数据分析).* https://baijiahao.baidu.com/s?id=1736966111893331333&wfr=spider&for=pc

Qing, S., & Yang, Z. (2023). Identity, nationalism and orientalism: media representation of football player Wu Lei in China and Spain. *Sport in Society*, *26*(8), 1382-1397.

Quest Mobile. (2022, July 26). *QuestMobile2022 China mobile network semi-annual report (QuestMobile2022中国移动互联网半年大报告行业篇）*. Zhihu. https://zhuanlan.zhihu.com/p/546239725?utm_id=0

Rains, S. A., & Ruppel, E. K. (2016). Channel complementarity theory and the health

information-seeking process: further investigating the implications of source characteristic complementarity. *Communication Research*, *43*(2), 232-252.

Ramirez Jr, A., Dimmick, J., Feaster, J., & Lin, S. F. (2008). Revisiting interpersonal media competition: The gratification niches of instant messaging, e-mail, and the telephone. *Communication Research*, *35*(4), 529-547.

Ramon, X. (2018). Olympic Channel: showcasing the Games in the age of digital plenitude. *Diagoras: International Academic Journal on Olympic Studies*, *2*, 83-102.

Ramon, X., Xu, Q., & Billings, A. (2020). Lost in the Vault?: Demonstration Sports at the Winter Olympics and How Digital Media Can Bring Them 'Back to the Future.' *International Journal of the History of Sport*, *37*(13), 1300–1321. https://doi.org/10.1080/09523367.2020.1854229

Ran, W., & Yamamoto, M. (2019). Media multitasking, second screening, and political knowledge: Task-relevant and task-irrelevant second screening during election news consumption. *Journal of Broadcasting & Electronic Media*, *63*(1), 1-19.

Rauchfleisch, A., & Schäfer, M. S. (2015). Multiple public spheres of Weibo: a typology of forms and potentials of online public spheres in China. *Information Communication and Society*, *18*(2), 139–155. https://doi.org/10.1080/1369118X.2014.940364

Ren, X. (2020, May 13). *Strengthen self-confidence in values—understand the essence of "universal value theory",* Hongqi Daily. https://www.hswh.org.cn/wzzx/llyd/zz/2020-05-11/62837.html

Rofel, L. (2007). *Desiring China: Experiments in neoliberalism, sexuality, and public*

culture. Duke University Press.

Rogers, R. (2009). *The end of the virtual: Digital methods* (Vol. 339). Amsterdam University Press.

Rogers, R. (2015). Digital methods for web research. *Emerging trends in the social and behavioral sciences: An interdisciplinary, searchable, and linkable resource*, 1-22.

Rogers, R. (2024). *Doing digital methods*. SAGE Publications Limited.

Rubenking, B. (2016). Multitasking With TV: Media Technology, Genre, and Audience Influences. *Communication Research Reports*, *33*(4), 324–331. https://doi.org/10.1080/08824096.2016.1224167

Ruggiero, T. E. (2000). Uses and gratifications theory in the 21st century. *Mass communication & society*, *3*(1), 3-37.

Ruppel, E. K., & Rains, S. A. (2012). Information sources and the health information-seeking process: An application and extension of channel complementarity theory. *Communication Monographs*, *79*(3), 385-405.

Ruppel, E. K., Burke, T. J., & Cherney, M. R. (2018). Channel complementarity and multiplexity in long-distance friends' patterns of communication technology use. *New media & society*, *20*(4), 1564-1579.

Ryan, G. W., & Bernard, H. R. (2003). Techniques to identify themes. *Field methods*, *15*(1), 85-109.

Sahu, G., Gaur, L., & Singh, G. (2021). Applying niche and gratification theory approach

to examine the users' indulgence towards over-the-top platforms and conventional TV. *Telematics and Informatics*, *65*, 101713.

Sankar, V. (2022, September 10). *Vimal Sankar: TikTok on the clock with role to play in IOC youth drive*. Inside the Games. https://www.insidethegames.biz/articles/1127906/vimal-snakar-tiktok-blog-olympics

Sarrina Li, S. C. (2001). New media and market competition: A niche analysis of television news, electronic news, and newspaper news in Taiwan. *Journal of Broadcasting & Electronic Media*, *45*(2), 259-276.

Schäfer, S., Sülflow, M., & Müller, P. (2017). The special taste of snack news: An application of niche theory to understand the appeal of Facebook as a news source. *First Monday*.

Schrag, D. (2009). 'Flagging the nation'in international sport: a Chinese Olympics and a German World Cup. *The International Journal of the History of Sport*, *26*(8), 1084-1104.

Segijn, C. M., & Kononova, A. (2018). Audience, Media, and Cultural Factors as Predictors of Multiscreen Use: A Comparative Study of the Netherlands and the United States. In *International Journal of Communication* (Vol. 12). http://ijoc.org.

Seidman, I. (2006). *Interviewing as qualitative research: A guide for researchers in education and the social sciences*. Teachers college press.

Shamir, R. (2010). Capitalism, governance, and authority: The case of corporate social responsibility. *Annual Review of Law and Social Science*, *6*, 531-553.

Shao, P., & Wang, Y. (2017). How does social media change Chinese political culture? The formation of fragmentized public sphere. *Telematics and Informatics*, *34*(3), 694–704. https://doi.org/10.1016/J.TELE.2016.05.018

Shen, H. J., Yan, L., Ye Haobin, B., & Yan, Q. (2021). We are Wu: Assessing Chinese fans' socio-cultural identification with the only Chinese footballer in a top European league. *Leisure Studies, 40*(4), 468–479. https://doi.org/10.1080/02614367.2020.1820554

Shi, Y. (2021, May 22). *CCTV distributes Olympic copyrights, and a new pattern of domestic sports copyright market is settled (「深度」央视分销奥运版权，国内体育版权市场新格局落定)*. Jiemian News. https://baijiahao.baidu.com/s?id=1700426438351054600&wfr=spider&for=pc

Shin, D. (2015). Beyond user experience of cloud service: Implication for value sensitive approach. *Telematics and Informatics*, *32*(1), 33-44.

Sigley, G. (2006). Chinese governmentalities: Government, governance and the socialist market economy. *Economy and Society*, *35*(4), 487-508.

Sina Sport. (2014, December 4). *CCTV won the broadcast rights for the four Winter Olympics and Summer Olympics from 2018 to 2024 （CCTV获得2018-2024年内4届冬奥夏奥转播权）*. https://sports.sina.com.cn/o/2014-12-04/21377435430.shtml

Sina Technology. (2019, December 25). Alibaba, Tencent, Baidu, and ByteDance Battle in the Industrial Internet. Retrieved from https://baijiahao.baidu.com/s?id=1653870025673640318&wfr=spider&for=pc

Sina. (2023, July 3). *We Are Social: China Digital Marketing Insights Report 2023（We Are Social：2023年中国数字化营销洞察报告)*. https://finance.sina.cn/tech/2023-07-03/detail-imyziuzi2816811.d.html?from=wap

Smith, A. D. (1999). Ethnic election and national destiny: some religious origins of nationalist ideals. *Nations and nationalism*, *5*(3), 331-355.

Smith, J. A. (2017). Textual analysis. *The international encyclopedia of communication research methods*, 1-7.

Socolow, M. J. (2022). 'Australians are the Greatest Sport Loving People in the World' Sport Broadcasting's Role in the Development of National Radio in Australia, 1925–1935. *Media History, 28*(4), 510-528.

Sohu Sport. (2022, February 24). *The history of young people watching the Olympics is essentially a history of the migration of internet traffic.* https://sports.sohu.com/a/525231930_116667

Sohu Sports. (2010, March 5). *Audiences at the Vancouver Winter Olympics are enthusiastic and CCTV ratings set a historical record (温哥华冬奥会观众热情高 央视收视创造历史纪录).* https://sports.sohu.com/20100305/n270608528.shtml

Sohu Sports. (2014, February 4). *China's official media focuses on Sochi Winter Olympics, CCTV coverage reaches new heights (中国官方媒体发力索契冬奥 央视报道规模创新高)*. https://sports.sohu.com/20140207/n394538360.shtml

Sohu Sports. (2016, July 29). *[Rio Olympics] Revealing CCTV's Olympic live broadcast plan, commenting that the opening ceremony will still be the "Bin and Tong Group"*

(【里约奥运】揭秘央视奥运直播计划，解说开幕式还是"斌桐组合"). https://www.sohu.com/a/108181152_349653.

Spinda, J. S. W., & Puckette, S. (2018). Just a Snap: Fan Uses and Gratifications for Following Sports Snapchat. *Communication and Sport*, *6*(5), 627–649. https://doi.org/10.1177/2167479517731335

Sport Business. (2014, December 4). *CCTV extends Olympic Games rights deal in China.* https://media.sportbusiness.com/news/cctv-extends-olympic-games-rights-deal-in-china/

St. Pierre, E. A., & Jackson, A. Y. (2014). Qualitative data analysis after coding. *Qualitative Inquiry*, *20*(6), 715-719.

Stockmann, D., & Luo, T. (2017). Which social media facilitate online public opinion in China?. *Problems of Post-Communism*, *64*(3-4), 189-202.

Stroud, N. J. (2008). Media use and political predispositions: Revisiting the concept of selective exposure. *Political Behavior*, *30*, 341-366.

Sun, H., & Chu, B. (2014). On the Innovation of TV Sports Reporting under the Background of Omnimedia——Taking CCTV's Sochi Winter Olympics Report as an Example (试论全媒体背景下电视体育报道的创新——以CCTV索契冬奥会报道为例). *TV Research* (06):43-45.

Sun, X. (2013). *A brief history of CCTV sports broadcasting (中央电视台体育转播简史).* [Master dissertation, Shandong University]. CNKl.

Sun, Y., Graham, T., & Broersma, M. (2017). Environmental talk in the Chinese green

public sphere: A comparative analysis of daily green-speak across three Chinese online forums. In J. Schwanholz, T. Graham, & P.-T. Stoll (Eds.), *Managing Democracy in the Digital Age: Internet Regulation, Social Media Use, and Online Civic Engagement* (pp. 243–263). Springer International Publishing. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-61708-4_13/COVER

Sundar, S. S., & Limperos, A. M. (2013). Uses and grats 2.0: New gratifications for new media. *Journal of broadcasting & electronic media*, *57*(4), 504-525.

Tamir, I. (2020). Whatsappsport: Using Whatsapp While Viewing Sports Events. *Journal of Sport and Social Issues*, *44*(3), 283–296. https://doi.org/10.1177/0193723520907624

Tan, S. (2022). *China's market takes a pragmatic approach to sports broadcasting rights (中国市场理性对待体育版权：奥运会、世界杯通吃，一些商业赛事白送也要播).* Jiemian. https://baijiahao.baidu.com/s?id=1730052733353826690&wfr=spider&for=pc

Tang, S. (2003). The First and Change of China Central Television.

Tang, T., & Cooper, R. (2013). Olympics Everywhere: Predictors of Multiplatform Media Uses During the 2012 London Olympics. *Mass Communication and Society*, *16*(6), 850–868. https://doi.org/10.1080/15205436.2013.804936

Tang, T., & Cooper, R. (2017). Predicting Changing Media Use Patterns via Mega Events: An Examination of Multi-Screen Viewing During the 2016 Rio Olympics. *International Journal of Sport Communication*, *10*(4), 531–549.

Tang, T., & Cooper, R. (2018a). Predictors of Simultaneous Media Use during the 2016 Rio Games. *Journal of Sports Media*, *13*(2), 119–141. https://doi.org/10.1353/jsm.2018.0011

Tang, T., & Cooper, R. (2018b). The Most Social Games: Predictors of Social Media Uses During the 2016 Rio Olympics. *Communication and Sport*, *6*(3), 308–330. https://doi.org/10.1177/2167479516688438

Tang, T., Schallhorn, C., Guo, Q., & Coombs, D. S. (2022). The World is Watching Women's Soccer: Audiences' Multiplatform Experience During the World Cup. *International Journal of Sport Communication*, *15*(2), 127–138. https://doi.org/10.1123/ijsc.2021-0121

Tang, Z. (2008). Extraordinary Olympics and Extraordinary Broadcasting—A Review of the "Olympic Television Reporting and Communication High-Level Forum" *(非凡的奥运 非凡的转播——"奥运电视报道与传播高层论坛"综述)*. *Contemporary Television* (10), 16-17. doi:10.16531/j.cnki.1000-8977.2008 .10.024.

Theodorakis, N. D., Alexandris, K., Tsigilis, N., & Karvounis, S. (2013). Predicting spectators' behavioural intentions in professional football: The role of satisfaction and service quality. *Sport Management Review*, *16*(1), 85–96. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.smr.2012.05.004

ThePaper.cn. (2022, November 17). *Weibo's revenue in the third quarter fell by 20%: daily active users reached 253 million, and advertising resumed quarter-on-quarter (微博三季度营收降两成：日活用户2.53亿，广告投放环比恢复)* . https://baijiahao.baidu.com/s?id=1749744627443872554&wfr=spider&for=pc

Thomas, G., Bennie, J. A., De Cocker, K., & Biddle, S. J. (2021). Exploring contemporary screen time in Australian adolescents: A qualitative study. *Health Promotion Journal of Australia*, *32*, 238-247.

Thomas, R. J., & Antony, M. G. (2015). Competing constructions of British national identity: British newspaper comment on the 2012 Olympics opening ceremony. *Media, Culture & Society*, *37*(3), 493-503.

Toffoletti, K., Pegoraro, A., & Comeau, G. S. (2021). Self-Representations of Women's Sport Fandom on Instagram at the 2015 FIFA Women's World Cup. *Communication and Sport*, *9*(5), 695–717. https://doi.org/10.1177/2167479519893332

Tokan, F. (2011). *Media as Multitasking: An Exploratory Study on Capturing Audiences' Media Multitasking and Multiple Media Use Behaviours* [Master dissertation, Aalto University]. School of Business publications portal. http://epub.lib.aalto.fi/en/ethesis/id/12739

Tomé, J., & Cardita, S. (2021, December 20). *In 2021, the Internet went for TikTok, space and beyond*. Cloudflare. https://blog.cloudflare.com/popular-domains-year-in-review-2021/

Trilling, D. (2015). Two different debates? Investigating the relationship between a political debate on TV and simultaneous comments on Twitter. *Social science computer review*, *33*(3), 259-276.

Vaccari, C., Chadwick, A., & O'Loughlin, B. (2015). Dual screening the political: Media events, social media, and citizen engagement. *Journal of communication*, *65*(6), 1041-1061.

Van Cauwenberge, A., Schaap, G., & Van Roy, R. (2014). “TV no longer commands our full attention”: Effects of second-screen viewing and task relevance on cognitive load and learning from news. *Computers in Human Behavior*, *38*, 100-109.

Vanwynsberghe, R., Surborg, B., & Wyly, E. (2013). When the games come to town: Neoliberalism, mega-events and social inclusion in the Vancouver 2010 Winter Olympic Games. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, *37*(6), 2074-2093.

Vicari, S., & Kirby, D. (2023). Digital platforms as socio-cultural artifacts: developing digital methods for cultural research. *Information, Communication & Society*, *26*(9), 1733-1755.

Vincent, J., Hill, J. S., Billings, A., Harris, J., & Massey, C. D. (2018). “We are Great Britain”: British Newspaper Narratives during the London 2012 Olympic Games. *International Review for the Sociology of Sport*, *53*(8), 895-923.

Voorveld, H. A. M., & van der Goot, M. (2013). Age Differences in Media Multitasking: A Diary Study. *Journal of Broadcasting and Electronic Media*, *57*(3), 392–408. https://doi.org/10.1080/08838151.2013.816709

Voorveld, H. A. M., & Viswanathan, V. (2015). An Observational Study on How Situational Factors Influence Media Multitasking With TV: The Role of Genres, Dayparts, and Social Viewing. *Media Psychology*, *18*(4), 499–526. https://doi.org/10.1080/15213269.2013.872038

Voorveld, H. A. M., Segijn, C. M., Ketelaar, P. E., & Smit, E. G. (2014). Investigating the Prevalence and Predictors of Media Multitasking Across Countries. *International*

Journal of Communication, *8*, 2755–2777. http://ijoc.org.

Vukovich, D. F. (2012). The battle for Chinese discourse and the rise of the Chinese new left: towards a post-colonial politics of knowledge. *China and New Left Visions: Political and Cultural Interventions. Ban Wang and Lu Jie, eds. Rowman and Littlefield Publishers*.

Vuori, J. A., & Paltemaa, L. (2015). The lexicon of fear: Chinese internet control practice in Sina Weibo microblog censorship. *Surveillance & society*, *13*(3/4), 400-421.

Wallis, C., & Shen, Y. (2018). The SK-II# changedestiny campaign and the limits of commodity activism for women's equality in neo/non-liberal China. *Critical Studies in Media Communication*, *35*(4), 376-389.

Wang, H. (2022a). Transformation or continuation? Comparing journalism in digital and legacy media in China. *Journalism Practice*, *16*(7), 1431-1448.

Wang, X. (2013). Applying the integrative model of behavioral prediction and attitude functions in the context of social media use while viewing mediated sports. *Computers in Human Behavior*, *29*(4), 1538–1545. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.chb.2013.01.031

Wang, X. (2015). Using attitude functions, self-efficacy, and norms to predict attitudes and intentions to use mobile devices to access social media during sporting event attendance. *Mobile Media and Communication*, *3*(1), 75–90. https://doi.org/10.1177/2050157914548932

Wang, Y. (2022b). CMG: Integration and Innovation Create a Feast of Communication for

the Beijing Winter Olympics *(中央广播电视总台：融合与创新铸就北京冬奥会传播盛宴)*. *Media* (06):12-13.

Wang, Y., Feng, D., & Wang, H. (2024). Modernity, Aesthetics, and Nation Re-branding in Olympics: A Multimodal Discourse Analysis of the Opening Ceremony of the 2022 Beijing Winter Olympic Games. *Communication & Sport*, 21674795231225202.

Wang, Z., & Tchernev, J. M. (2012). The "myth" of media multitasking: Reciprocal dynamics of media multitasking, personal needs, and gratifications. *Journal of communication*, *62*(3), 493-513.

Wann, D. L., & Branscombe, N. R. (1993). Sports fans: Measuring degree of identification with their team. *International Journal of Sport Psychology*, *24*(1), 1–17.

Weber, I. (2002). Shanghai baby: Negotiating youth self-identity in urban China. *Social Identities*, *8*(2), 347-368.

Weber, I. M. (2018). China and neoliberalism: Moving beyond the China is/is not neoliberal dichotomy. *The SAGE handbook of neoliberalism*, 219-233.

Webster, J. G., & Nelson, J. L. (2016). The evolution of news consumption: A structurational interpretation. In *News Across Media* (pp. 84-101). Routledge.

Webster, J., Phalen, P. F., & Lichty, L. W. (2014). *Ratings analysis: Audience measurement and analytics.* (4th ed.). Routledge.

Wei, W. (2011). *History of International Sports Broadcasting (国际广播电视体育史).* China Radio and Television Press.

Whannel, G. (2012). The rings and the box: Television spectacle and the Olympics. In The Palgrave handbook of Olympic studies (pp. 261-273). London: Palgrave Macmillan UK.

Widjajanta, B., Senen, S. H., MASHARYONO, M., LİSNAWATİ, L., & ANGGRAENİ, C. P. (2018). The impact of social media usage and self-esteem on conspicuous consumption: Instagram user of Hijabers Community Bandung member. *International Journal of eBusiness and eGovernment Studies*, *10*(2), 1-13.

Williams, J. (2007). Rethinking sports fandom: The case of European soccer. *Leisure Studies*, *26*(2), 127-146.

Wimmer, R. D., & Dominick, J. R. (2013). *Mass media research*. Cengage learning.

Wohn, D. Y., & Na, E. K. (2011). Tweeting about TV: Sharing television viewing experiences via social media message streams. *First Monday*.

Wu, F. (2010). How neoliberal is China's reform? The origins of change during transition. *Eurasian Geography and Economics*, *51*(5), 619-631.

Wu, Z. (2022, November 22). *The monthly active users have exceeded 600 million, with daily active users spending an average of 129 minutes each day. Kuaishou's third-quarter report is here! (月活破6亿，日活用户平均每天使用129分钟，快手三季报来了！)* Financial. https://baijiahao.baidu.com/s?id=1750200946968811020&wfr=spider&for=pc

Xia, T., & Wei, J. (2022, February 15). *Who were the first batch of Chinese journalists to stand in the Winter Olympics? People's Political Consultative Conference Network*

(第一批站在冬奥赛场的中国记者，是谁？).
https://baijiahao.baidu.com/s?id=1725002116830969647&wfr=spider&for=pc

Xinhua News. (2021, January 31). *Xi Focus: President Xi delivers on Olympic promises*. http://www.xinhuanet.com/english/2021-01/31/c_139711064.htm

Xinhua News. (2022a, January 12). *Chasing the Light｜Official announcement: 346 million people! The goal of "driving 300 million people to participate in ice and snow sports" has been achieved! (追光｜官宣：3.46亿人！"带动三亿人参与冰雪运动"的目标实现了！)*
https://baijiahao.baidu.com/s?id=1721748962861846145&wfr=spider&for=pc

Xinhua News. (2022b, August 31). *China's Internet users reach 1.051 billion (我国网民规模达10.51亿).* https://www.gov.cn/xinwen/2022-08/31/content_5707605.htm

Xu, F. (2022, February 24). *Director Zhang Yimou responds to internet queries on Beijing 2022.* China Daily. https://www.chinadaily.com.cn/a/202202/24/WS62173ab3a310cdd39bc88b87.html

Xu, G. (2008). *Olympic dreams: China and sports, 1895-2008*. Harvard University Press.

Xu, Q., & Billings, A. C. (2021). Voices of the gatekeepers: Examining the Olympic channel production through a gendered lens. *Mass Communication and Society*, *24*(5), 629-650.

Xu, Y. (2021). The "Lucky Money" That Started It All—The Reinvention of the Ancient Tradition "Red Packet" in Digital Times. *Social Media and Society*, *7*(3). https://doi.org/10.1177/20563051211041643

Xue, J. (2018). Overall plan of CCTV PyeongChang Winter Olympics broadcast front technology system (中央电视台平昌冬奥会转播前方技术系统总体方案). *Modern Television Technology*, (05):44-48+52.

Ya, X., & Liu, Y. (2022). Research on the monopoly problem and anti-monopoly strategy of broadcasting rights marketing of sports mega events in China (我国大型体育赛事转播权营销垄断问题及反垄断策略研究). *Journal of Guangzhou Sport University, 42*(05):67-74. DOI:10.13830/j.cnki.cn44-1129/g8.2022.05.008.

Yahoo Finance. (2023, August 17). *Chinese super app WeChat gets bigger and more profitable as it takes on TikTok in short videos and lures ad dollars.* https://finance.yahoo.com/news/chinese-super-app-wechat-gets-093000334.html?guccounter=1&guce_referrer=aHR0cHM6Ly93d3cuZ29vZ2xlLmNvbS5oay8&guce_referrer_sig=AQAAANYleBDU4m6WJDzEuHOWgrnOf5Yt-7ydr9XS2vEV9n2FjLOdIC-WYuZGNXS7ANZgD5bABPynZKntpBjguva3h3RkFZ1slt2E7TVAJHjV2Kgb0u-4b488MgunkEiXVvqePGK6_7S_Oz6mpA6XLus0sXFjITZNm3vySeZd-CElmkPc#:~:text=Tencent%20said%20on%20Wednesday%20that,1.319%20billion%20three%20months%20earlier.

Yan, W., Xu, N., Xue, R., Ye, Z., Wang, Z., & Ren, D. (2022). Efforts Proposed by IOC to Alleviate Pressure on Olympic Games Hosts and Evidence from Beijing 2022. *Sustainability*, *14*(23), 16086.

Yang, C. (2018). Individualised values of happiness: exploring changing ethics in young people's dating and relationships in post-reform China. *Families, Relationships and Societies*, *7*(2), 301-316.

Yang, Y., Wang, Y., & Billings, A. C. (2016). Online Chinese discussions about the 2014 world cup. *Online Information Review*, *40*(6), 834-848.

Yang, Z. (2022). *2021 Online Audiovisual Development Report (重磅！2021年网络视听发展报告)*. Sohu. https://www.sohu.com/a/517968151_613537

Yang, Z., Ruan, Y., & Zhang, J. (2023). "Our City Will Be the First to Hold Both Summer and Winter Olympics": A comparative analysis of how media coverage and public opinion were framed on social media in the lead up to the Beijing 2022 winter Olympic games. *Frontiers in Psychology*, *14*, 1125522.

Yi, J. (2023, March 1). *Yi Jiandong: China Mobile's Migu Fusion Empowers National Fitness and Watching Sports (易剑东：中国移动咪咕数实融合赋能全民健身与观赏体育)*. Wenzhou University Website. https://www.wzu.edu.cn/info/1321/43797.htm

Yi, J., & Hong, J. (2016). Research on CCTV Sports Communication Innovation in the Age of Media Convergence from the Rio Olympics *(从里约奥运看媒介融合时代央视体育的传播创新)*. *TV Research* (10):7-9.

Yiguan Analysis. (2022, February 15). *Beijing 2022 Winter Olympics Mid-term User Behaviour Analysis.* Pengpai News. https://m.thepaper.cn/baijiahao_16688689

Ytreberg, E. (2009). Extended liveness and eventfulness in multi-platform reality formats. *New media & society*, *11*(4), 467-485.

Yu, Y. (2010). Olympic aspirations: Reconstructed images, national identity and international integration. *The International Journal of the History of Sport*, *27*(16-18), 2821-2841.

Yu, Y. (2022, November 14). *The 44-year history of watching the World Cup: From listening to the ball on the radio to watching the game with hundreds of inches of projectors, fanaticism will never go out of style (世界杯44年观战史：从收音机听球到几百英寸投影仪观战，狂热永不过时)*. NetEase News. https://www.163.com/dy/article/HM5T3BIP053469LG.html

Zeng, J. (2018). *Contesting rumours on social media during acute events: The 2014 Sydney siege and 2015 Tianjin blasts* (Doctoral dissertation, Queensland University of Technology).

Zhang, B. (2021, May 22). *Through the history of Olympic Internet broadcasting changes, let's see how Tencent entered the "finals" from the edge? (透过奥运互联网版权变迁史，看腾讯如何从边缘杀进"决赛圈"？)* .Baidu. https://baijiahao.baidu.com/s?id=1700461878338599079&wfr=spider&for=pc

Zhang, L., & Pentina, I. (2012). Motivations and usage patterns of weibo. *Cyberpsychology, Behavior, and Social Networking*, *15*(6), 312–317. https://doi.org/10.1089/cyber.2011.0615

Zhang, L., Qin, Y., & Li, P. (2020). Media complementarity and health information acquisition: a cross-sectional analysis of the 2017 HINTS-China survey. *Journal of Health Communication*, *25*(4), 291-300.

Zhang, N. (2022, February 22). *How many people watch the Beijing Winter Olympics? The ratings of more than 100 games broke 1% (有多少人看北京冬奥？超百场赛事收视破1%)*. Yangtze River Daily. https://baijiahao.baidu.com/s?id=1725413050658601378&wfr=spider&for=pc

Zhao, S. (2004). *A nation-state by construction: Dynamics of modern Chinese nationalism*. Stanford University Press.

Zhao, Suisheng. "The Olympics and Chinese Nationalism." *China Security* 4, no. 3 (2008): 48-57.

Zhao, W. (2008a). *CCTV sets a record with 3,000 people covering the 2008 Beijing Olympics (央视3000人报道2008北京奥运创历史纪录).* Sina. http://ent.sina.com.cn/v/m/2008-07-15/12092101213.shtml

Zhao, W., & Luo, Z. (2020). Web text data mining method based on Bayesian network with fuzzy algorithms. *Journal of Intelligent & Fuzzy Systems*, *38*(4), 3727-3735.

Zhao, Y. (2008b). Neoliberal strategies, socialist legacies: Communication and state transformation in China. *Global communications: Toward a transcultural political economy*, 23-50.

Zhao, Y. (2023). *Weibo's monthly active users reached 590 million in the first quarter 2023, with a net profit of 100 million USD (微博一季度月活用户5.9亿 净利1亿美元).* Beijing Daily. https://baijiahao.baidu.com/s?id=1766862326893821275&wfr=spider&for=pc

Zhiyan Consulting. (2022). *Analysis of China's TV program output, broadcast time and comprehensive population coverage of TV programs in 2021 (2021年中国电视节目产量、播出时间及电视节目综合人口覆盖率分析).* https://www.chyxx.com/industry/1100962.html

Zhong, Y., Fan, H., & Herrmann, P. (2022). The Impact of the 2008 Beijing Olympic

Games on China and the Olympic Movement: The Legacy. *The International Journal of the History of Sport*, *38*(18), 1863-1879

Zhou, F., Mou, J., Su, Q., & Wu, Y. C. J. (2020). How does consumers' Perception of Sports Stars' Personal Brand Promote Consumers' brand love? A mediation model of global brand equity. *Journal of Retailing and Consumer Services*, *54*, 102012.

Zhou, K., & Huang, D. (2020). From big speakers, four-level offices to county-level financial media centers ——A historical analysis of the construction of China's grassroots media system *(从大喇叭、四级办台到县级融媒体中心——中国基层媒体制度建构的历史分析)*. *Shanghai Journalism Review* (06): 14-27.

Zhou, M., & Liu, S. D. (2022). Be my boss: Migrant youth and the contradiction of hope labour on Kuaishou. *New Media & Society*, 14614448221141828.

Zillmann, Dolf., & Bryant, Jennings. (1985). Selective-Exposure Phenomena. In D. Zillmann & J. Bryant (Eds.), *Selective Exposure To Communication* (pp. 1–10). Routledge. https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203056721-2

Appendices

1. Survey

1. Have you ever watched the Beijing Winter Olympics?
    yes
    no

2. During the Beijing Winter Olympics, how much time do you usually spend watching the games on TV? _____ minutes a day. During the Beijing Winter Olympics, how much time do you usually spend watching the games on your mobile device? _____ minutes a day. During the Beijing Winter Olympics, how much time do you usually spend _____ minutes a day following, discussing, or sharing the games via social media.

3. When watching the live broadcast of the Beijing Winter Olympics, your preferred signal source is
    cable TV signal
    Internet signal

4. During the Beijing Winter Olympics, your preferred viewing device is
    television
    laptop
    tablet
    cell phone

5. During the Beijing Winter Olympics, your preferred viewing platform is
    CCTV (Cable TV)
    CCTV (CCTV)
    Migu video
    Kuaishou

6. During the Beijing Winter Olympics, how often did you do the following activities? (1=never, 2=rarely, 3=sometimes, 4=half the time, 5=often, 6=most of the time, 7=always)
    Simultaneous use of TV and computer to access Winter Olympics content
    Simultaneous use of TV and mobile devices (mobile phones, etc.) to access Winter Olympics content
    Simultaneous use of computers and mobile devices (phones, etc.) to access game content
    Simultaneously use TV, computer, mobile device (mobile phone, etc.) to obtain game content

7. While watching the live broadcast of the Beijing Winter Olympics, how often do you use the following social media? (1=never, 2=rarely, 3=sometimes, 4=half the time, 5=often, 6=most of the time, 7=always)

WeChat
Weibo
Tik Tok
quick worker
little red book
Sports vertical communities (Hupu, Dianqiudi, etc.)

8. Use multiple devices and social media while watching the Beijing Winter Olympics because (1=strongly disagree, 7=strongly agree)

It's good for my viewing
It's worth watching the game for me
It is helpful for me to watch the game

9. Use multiple devices and social media while watching the Beijing Winter Olympics because (1=strongly disagree, 7=strongly agree)

Make my game enjoyable
Make my game enjoyment
Give me satisfaction in watching games
Get excited for my viewing
Let me watch the game with a sense of ease
Made my viewing experience overall feel good

10. Regarding the identity of sports fans, please answer the following questions. (1=disagree very much, 7=agree very much)

I think I’m a sports fan
My friends think I’m a sports fan
I think sports are the funniest form of entertainment
My life wouldn't be as pleasant if I wasn't allowed to follow sports
Being a sports fan means a lot to me

11. Regarding the feeling of national identity, please answer the following items. (1=disagree very much, 7=agree very much)

I love my country
I am proud of my country
In a sense I am emotionally attached to my country
Although I don't fully agree with it at times, my loyalty to my country is firm
It is important to serve the motherland
I feel good when I see my country perform well in big sporting events like World Cup, Olympics

12. Regarding the Chinese team's views, please answer the following items.

(1=disagree very much, 7=agree very much)

It is very important to me that the Chinese team wins

I consider myself a fan of the Chinese team

My friends think I'm a fan of the Chinese team

During the Winter Olympics, I followed the Chinese team almost every day

Being a fan of the Chinese team is very important to me

I don't like the Chinese team's competitors very much

I will often display the logo of the Chinese team at work, at home and on my clothes

13. Regarding your views on watching sports games, please answer the following items (1=strongly disagree, 7=strongly agree)

I watch sports for its entertainment value

I love watching sports just because watching sports is fun

For me, watching sports is just a form of recreation

I watch sports because it gives me a temporary escape from life's problems

I watch sports because it makes me forget about my problems in real life

For me, watching sports is like daydreaming because it keeps me away from the troubles of life

I watch sports because I'm the type of person who enjoys being around other people

I love watching sports because it gives me a chance to be with my family

I watch sports because it gives me a chance to spend time with my spouse or close friends

I watch sports because I feel good when the Chinese team wins

I watch sports because I get excited when I see my favorite team

I like the thrill of watching sports

I watch sports for its artistic value

I watch sports because I enjoy the beauty of sports

14. During the Beijing Winter Olympics, how often do you watch the following scenes (1=never, 2=rarely, 3=sometimes, 4=half of the time, 5=often, 6=most of the time, 7=always)

Watching the Beijing Winter Olympics Alone at Home

Watch the Beijing Winter Olympics at home with others

Watching the Beijing Winter Olympics at someone else's home

Watching the Beijing Winter Olympics in public places (restaurants, etc.)

15. Please answer the following questions about your skills in using social media and mobile devices. (1=disagree very much, 7=agree very much)

I'm very good at using multiple mobile devices and social media

I know how to find what I want using multiple mobile devices and social media

I think I understand multiple mobile devices and social media use

I use multiple mobile devices and know less about social media than most users

16. Your gender
    male
    female

17. Your age
    under 18
    18-30
    31-40
    41-50
    over 50 years old

18. Your education level
    High school and below
    University student
    Undergraduate
    Master
    PhD
    other

19. Your personal annual income level
    10,000-50,000
    60,000-100,000
    110,000-150,000
    160,000-200,000
    210,000-250,000
    260,000-300,000
    More than 310,000

2. Interview Guide

Demographic:

- What is your age?
- What is your profession?
- What is your educational background?

Sports fans:

- Are you a sports enthusiast?
- To what extent do you enjoy sports?
- Which sport or athlete is your favorite?
- How frequently do you engage in watching sports events or matches?

Olympic Viewing:

- During the Beijing Winter Olympics, how long did you spend watching the Winter Olympics every day?
- Which athlete and sport captivated you the most during the Beijing Winter Olympics?
- Throughout the Beijing Winter Olympics, which device did you primarily utilize to watch the games? (e.g., TV, computer, mobile phone, etc.)
- Which platform did you primarily rely on for viewing the games? (e.g., CCTV cable signal, CCTV client, Migu, Kuaishou, etc.)
- What factors influenced your choice of these devices and platforms?
- How did these devices and platforms enhance your viewing experience?
- What are your thoughts on traditional TV broadcasts versus new media live

streams in terms of the Beijing Winter Olympics?

- Apart from watching the games, what other activities did you engage in while following the Beijing Winter Olympics? (e.g., checking Weibo, chatting with friends on WeChat, conversing with family members while watching TV)

- Why did you specifically choose to follow these activities?

- In addition to watching live broadcasts, how did you acquire relevant information about the Beijing Winter Olympics?

- Which media platforms did you rely on to access information about the Beijing Winter Olympics?

3. Ethics Approval Lette

UAB
Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona
Vicerectorat d'Investigació

Comisión de Ética en la Experimentación Animal y Humana (CEEAH)
Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona
08193 Bellaterra (Cerdanyola del Vallès)

La Comisión de Ética en la Experimentación Animal y Humana (CEEAH) de la Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona, reunida el día **10-12-2021**, acuerda informar favorablemente el proyecto con número de referéncia **CEEAH CA24** y que tiene por título **"Multi-screen and Second Screen Viewing of Chinese Audience during the Beijing 2022 Winter Olympic Games"** presentado por **Zesheng Yang.**

Elaborado:	**Aprobado:**
Nombre: Nuria Perez Pastor Cargo: Secretària de la CEEA de la UAB Fecha: UAB Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona 2021.12.14 08:59:02 +01'00'	Nombre: José Luis Molina González Cargo: President de la CEEAH de la UAB Fecha: UAB Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona 2021.12.14 10:42:36 +01'00'