MOVING BEYOND THE PING-PONG TABLE: SPORTS DIPLOMACY IN THE MODERN DIPLOMATIC ENVIRONMENT

By Stuart Murray

For decades there has been much interest in the 'ends' of the positive and negative collusions between sports and politics: the role sports can play in development, for example, or the metaphorical sublimation of war, conflict and conquest to the arena, where sports are used as a form of conflict resolution to unite estranged peoples and nations through a mutual affection for physical exercise, competition, and games.

Far less attention has been paid to the 'means' of the relationship between sports and politics: diplomacy. What has been written on sports diplomacy is akin to its practice: sporadic case-studies that anecdotally describe ping-pong diplomacy, football diplomacy (between Turkey and Armenia, for instance) or the impact sports and diplomacy had in overcoming apartheid and reintegrating South Africa into the international community.

Of late however, practical and theoretical interest in sports diplomacy has been growing. In addition to this issue of *PD Magazine*, sports diplomacy earned itself a chapter in the soon-to-be-published *Oxford Handbook on Modern Diplomacy*; respectively, there were two panels on the subject at the 2012 International Studies Association Conference in San Diego and the British International Studies Association conference in Edinburgh; and the *Hague Journal of Diplomacy* will release a special issue on sports diplomacy in spring 2013. The latter brings together scholars and practitioners from all over the world to ascertain what sports scholars and practitioners have to say about diplomacy and vice-versa.

The purpose of this brief article is therefore to further theoretically substantiate the term sports diplomacy, to suggest some reasons and examples of why governments are turning toward sports as a diplomatic tool, and to remind both the scholar and the practitioner of the pitfalls of mixing sports with diplomacy. In the modern diplomatic environment the potential for sports diplomacy is vast, however the 'gap' in the diplomatic studies canon must first be addressed and a dialogue between theorists and practitioners from both realms instigated if sports diplomacy is to become a regular, sustainable and meaningful feature of modern diplomacy.

Since antiquity, international sports has provided a symbolic arena for polities to demonstrate various types of superiority from athletic prowess to the ideology of a particular system of state. Well aware of the reach and power of the opiate of the masses, governments have long been drawn toward sports and sporting festivals. All kinds of governments, as Allison notes:

'have endorsed international sporting competition as a testing ground for the nation or for a political 'system.' German Nazis, Italian Fascists, Soviet and Cuban Communists, Chinese Maoists, western capitalist democrats, Latin American juntas – all have played the game and believed in it.'[1]

The mixing of sports, diplomacy and politics is part of the milieu of international relations, and when sports provide a useful function they are usually 'co-opted by politics.'[2] Sports diplomacy, therefore, is the specialization, exploitation and reification of a familiar element of state-qua-state interaction.

SINCE ANTIQUITY, INTERNATIONAL SPORTS HAS PROVIDED A SYMBOLIC ARENA FOR POLITIES TO DEMONSTRATE VARIOUS TYPES OF SUPERIORITY FROM ATHLETIC PROWESS TO THE IDEOLOGY OF A PARTICULAR SYSTEM OF STATE.

Diplomacy - 'the conduct of relations between sovereign states with standing in world politics by official agents and by peaceful means'[3] – and sports have become increasingly compatible. Today sports diplomacy is associated with governments employing sportspeople to amplify a diplomatic message, or with states using sporting events to enhance their image among global publics, to cool tensions in flagging diplomatic relationships, or simply to test the ground for a possible policy change. Sports diplomacy transcends cultural differences and creates opportunities for alternate avenues for overcoming hostilities, official dialogue and people-to-people relations, uniting separate nations through a love of sports. More specifically, sports diplomacy involves representative and diplomatic activities undertaken by sports people on the behalf of, and in conjunction with, their governments.[4] The practice is facilitated by traditional diplomacy and uses sports people and sporting events to engage, inform and create a favourable image among foreign publics and organisations, and to shape their perceptions in a way that is (more) conducive to the sending government's foreign policy goals.[5] If traditional diplomacy is the means to a state's foreign policy ends, sports diplomacy is one of the means to the means of those ends.

More and more diplomatic institutions are turning toward sports. There are – at least - four reasons behind the transgression. First, sports and sportspeople can am-

plify and complement a nation-state's diplomacy. Since the early 1970's, for example, China's re-emergence and acceptance into the international community has been closely linked to international sports. The most famous instance is – of course - the 'ping heard around the world' where an opportune series of matches between Chinese and American ping-pong players paved the way for the restoration of China's seat on the United Nations Security Council, Richard Nixon's visit to China in 1972, and the normalization of Sino-U.S. diplomatic relations. Since then China has continued developing a sporting prowess to match its economic rise whether as host of the 2008 Beijing Olympics, or through its support of the basketball player Yao Ming as a global spokesperson and representative for Chinese culture, modernity, and progress. Similarly, the Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MOFA) regularly exploits and mobilizes football and footballers to overcome imperial stereotypes in order to reflect 'a level worthy of its [Japan's] economic power and overall achievements after 40 years of post-war peace and prosperity.'[6] And the U.S. State Department typifies a rallying call 'to aggressively use sports as a diplomatic tool' through several programs with American diplomatic partners that promote cultural awareness, discipline, teamwork, leadership, persistence, respects for rules and other players.[7] The State Department regularly employs 'Sports Ambassadors' such as figure skater Michelle Kwan and baseball star Cal Ripken Jr. to engage in sports diplomacy. As recently as August 26th 2012, a team of four professional basketball players and coaches[8] visited Myanmar (Burma) as part of a State Department sponsored program 'to emphasize the importance of sports, cooperation and respect for diversity' and to conduct a number of workshops and sporting clinics.[9] For governments, these sports diplomacy exchanges are an attractive means of promoting international understanding and friendship as well as dispelling stereotypes and prejudices. Not to mention they are also 'low-risk, low-cost and high profile.'[10]

FOR GOVERNMENTS, THESE SPORTS DIPLOMACY EXCHANGES ARE AN ATTRACTIVE MEANS OF PROMOTING INTERNATIONAL UNDERSTANDING AND FRIENDSHIP AS WELL AS DISPELLING STEREOTYPES AND PREJUDICES.

Second, sporting mega-events can offer the host nation significant public diplomacy opportunities. The right to host such an event is a confirmation of good international citizenship, and if the diplomatic posture, image and message is thoughtfully crafted and aligned to positive sporting values, broad swathes of foreign publics can be schmoozed. Globally, some one billion people tuned in for the opening ceremony of 2012 London Olympic Games, 4.8 billion watched throughout and at its closing three hundred million witnessed Jacque Rogge, the President of the International Olympic Committee, telling the organizers that they had 'shown the world a happy and glorious Games…the best of British hospitality [and] earned the respect and admiration of a global audience.'[11] Using sports, it is likely that Brazil will proselytize an image of a rising, modern South American regional leader and economic powerhouse on the back of the 2014 FIFA World Cup and 2016 Olympic Games.

Third, sports are no longer a niche or backwater institution below governments. While governments traditionally thought of sports as beneath them, 'a trivial diversion from any serious human purpose, pursued by "muddied oafs on flannelled fools" in Kipling's famous phrase,'[12] these days they cannot afford to be so aloof. In the twenty-first century the scope, power and omnipotence of sports is remarkable. While in 1990 Appadurai identified five dimensions of globalization – ethnoscapes, technoscapes, finance capes, mediascapes and ideoscapes – Manzenreiter in 2011 proposed the missing element of 'sportscapes', which:

'emphasize[s] the significance of sports as another landscape of global dimensions, as well as its autonomy. Sportscapes are characterized by the transnational flows of physical culture, ideologies and practices centering on the body.'[13]

Set free by globalization and driven by increasingly visible non-state actors such as Fédération Internationale de Football Association (FIFA), the International Olympic Committee and sporting demi-gods like Leo Messi, David Beckham and Roger Federer, sports matter today and governments are keen to tap in. In the post-modern information age, foreign publics are more likely to be engaged by soft power overtures from nations such as cultural or sporting exchanges.

Fourth, sports diplomacy allows governments considerable flexibility in testing the strengths or weaknesses of a diplomatic relationship beyond official policy positions. Sports diplomacy exchanges are a soft method of exploring a possible policy change. They create alternate channels for dialogue between so-called estranged peoples and nations and in some cases, can be employed as tool to punish, express disdain or provoke another nation.

In 2012, for example, the Argentinian government expressed its opinion of the host of the London Games and its claim to the Falklands Islands by producing a controversial television advert showing an Argentine Olympian athlete training at sensitive sites in the contested islands. The advert, which finished with the slogan 'To compete on English soil we train on Argentine soil,' provoked outrage in Westminster with Philip Hammond, the UK Defence Secretary, calling it 'tasteless, very insulting and disrespectful propaganda.'[14]

Later that year the British went on the sporting-diplomatic offensive when the government announced a boycott of any England matches to be played in the Ukraine as part of the Euro 2012 football tournament because of the host nation's 'selective justice' in the case of the jailed Ukrainian opposition leader Yulia Tymoshenko.[15] They were not alone. Germany, Sweden and various high profile figures in the European Union also boycotted with Viviane Reading, the EU Justice Commissioner, noting that 'you cannot close your eyes on human rights, even during a great sporting celebration.'[16] Arguably, sports multiply the channels through which a government can disseminate a diplomatic message to a much wider audience and to test whether the public of the two countries would be accepting of less or more formal diplomacy. Clearly sports diplomacy has potential.

TALKING UP SPORTS AS A DIPLOMATIC TOOL, EXPLOITING SPORTS AS A MEANS TO AN END, CONFUSING SPORTS-AS-A-TOOL FOR POLITICAL OR DIPLOMATIC PURPOSES WITH SPORTS-AS-SACRED IS ANATHEMA TO THE PURE SPORTING PUBLIC.

So why has it not been done before? Most of the reasons why sports diplomacy has - to date - been limited, sporadic, and practiced and written about on a case-by-case basis, concern the sacrosanct, bizarre and at times downright violent nature of international sports: a darker realism to the aspirational idealism its advocates are consistently trumpeting.

For most of the direct participants in sports – the fans, players and coaches – the sporting realm borders on sacred. Any encroachment by the 'suits' (diplomats, politicians or sporting administrators, for example) is often viewed with derision. Intrusions to the temple by charlatans are nothing more than a gimmick, sham or photo op, a powerful figure pretending to have a common interest with their subjects in order to secure a few votes in the next election. Talking up sports as a diplomatic tool, exploiting sports as a means to an end, confusing sports-as-a-tool for political or diplomatic purposes with sports-as-sacred is anathema to the pure sporting public. Both the practitioner and scholar need to be aware. Words and messages that have some meaning in international relations can be nothing more than 'empty sounds…after passing through the gates of sport.'[17]

Such intrusions can also backfire. The October 2012 award of the Australian Order of Merit to legendary batsman Sachin Tendulkar by Australian Prime Minister Julia Gillard provides a case in point. While visiting India on a state visit, Ms Gillard said of the award 'this is a very special honour, very rarely awarded to someone who is not an Australian citizen…Cricket is of course a great bond between Australia and India. We are both cricket-mad nations.'[18] Many in the Australian cricketing fraternity were not so enamoured. Tendulkar had been accused of lying to an International Cricket Council following the suspension of a team mate during a Sydney test in 2008, and his standoffish behaviour (at no point did he bother to make a single public utterance to his many fans and followers in the country) during his last and final tour to Australia in the summer of 2011 lost him enormous respect. Tendulkar's recent unsavoury behaviour and the shunning of his fans illustrate one limitation of sports diplomacy: not every sports person is a capable of diplomacy.

Moreover, sports are often associated with war, tribalism, conflict, division, separation and violence – the antithesis of good diplomacy.[19] For Fischer, sports 'imitate' war, 'a sampling of the daily sports page reveals conquest, battle, war, destruction, victory…the taking of manhood, honour and prestige.'[20] These are hardly the sort of values that the advocates of sports diplomacy champion. Virtues, values, and 'humanitarian gestures,' Redeker writes, 'have no place in sports' in that they 'blatantly contradict sportive logic.'[21]

The positive rhetoric which suggests that sporting encounters can act as a pressure release to simmering conflicts in international relations by conducting the 'metaphorical battle in the stadia' is only partly true. Sports are not always a substitute for war, a symbolic, non-violent way to enhance international relations. Just ask any of the residents of towns and cities across Europe who were unlucky enough to host an England football match in the past twenty years. English hooligans (and they were not the only ones) frequently took 'the war metaphor too far

and acted like invading armies on the continent of Europe.'[22] Players too struggle with diplomacy. When Holland beat Germany in a memorable but ill-tempered European Cup semi-final in 1988, one of the Dutch players 'ostensibly wiped his bottom with a German shirt.'[23]

Thus the relationship between violence, nationalism and sports may be greater than any diplomatic undertones in international sports. In a disturbing series of incidents during the 2004 Asian Football Cup, hosted by China, Japan's national side faced hostility everywhere they played. Chinese spectators heckled the players, sung anti-Japanese songs from the war of liberation and 'displayed banners reading "Look into history and apologize to the Asian People," or "Return the Diaoyu (Senkaku) Islands!"[24] In these cases, sports contradict diplomacy, whose core function is the minimization of friction in international affairs.

Just as a state actor can employ sports and sporting events to amplify a diplomatic message, so too can recalcitrant non-state actors. Perhaps the most egregious case concerns the 1972 Munich Games tragedy where eleven Israeli athletes were kidnaped and murdered by Black September, a radical Palestinian terrorist organisation. Writing a week after the tragedy a spokesman for the group issued the following statement:

A bomb in the White House, a mine in the Vatican, the death of Mao-Tse-tung, an earthquake in Paris could not have echoed through the consciousness of every man in the world like the operation at Munich…the choice of the Olympics, from a purely propagandistic viewpoint was 100 percent successful. It was like painting the name of Palestine on a mountain that can be seen from the four corners of the earth.[25]

These words confirm a negative aspect of sports diplomacy: just as sports can disseminate positive sporting values there is a 'strong underlying connection' between sports and the publication of undiplomatic messages.[26]

Animosity, war and violence are manifest in sports. Therefore when a Department of State official says that 'sports diplomacy is not really about competition at all. It is about respect for diversity, leadership, teamwork and dialogue,' it can sound idealistic.[27] If sports diplomacy is to have a sustainable, meaningful future then it is important for its advocates – both theorists and practitioners – to be mindful of the folly of pretending sports are something they are not.

If the past few months in the road cycling world have taught us anything, it is that the pressure to win at all costs - the harsh reality of international sports - produces dopers and cheaters, as well as match-fixers, gamblers, a cast of unsavoury characters, and other elements that are distinctly anti-diplomatic in their moral physiognomy. Who could forget, for example, the eight Chinese, South Korean and Indonesian badminton players that were banned from the London 2012 Olympics for 'conducting oneself in a manner that is clearly abusive or detrimental to the sport' and 'not using one's best efforts to win a match.'[28] Not surprisingly, the institute of sports parodies the relations between states: just as there are Herculean moments of unifying idealism there is a Hobbesian aspect to sports, a bleak yin to its aspirational yang.

IN THE PLURAL, MODERN AND DYNAMIC DIPLOMATIC ENVIRONMENT, SPORTS DIPLOMACY OFFERS PEOPLE AND NATIONS A CHANCE TO SHOWCASE THEIR BEST IN WAYS OTHER THAN POLITICS, WARFARE AND GLOBAL ONE-UPMANSHIP.

Bearing these and other realities in mind, sports diplomacy should have a positive future in the modern diplomatic environment. As a method of demonstrating comity between estranged peoples and nations it has a proven track record. It is topical and malleable depending on its particular circumstances and immense in terms of the scope and reach of the globalized sportscape. In the plural, modern and dynamic diplomatic environment, sports diplomacy offers people and nations a chance to showcase their best in ways other than politics, warfare and global one-upmanship.

References and Notes

1. Allison, L. The Changing Politics of Sport. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2003. p. 17.

2. Jackson, Steven J. and Stephen Haigh "Between and Beyond Politics: Sport and foreign policy in a globalizing world," *Sport in Society*, 11 (4), 2008. p. 354.

3. Bull, Hedley. *The anarchical society: a study of order in world politics*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1977. p. 156.

4. The paper does not explore the relationships between domestic sport and diplomacy, or those which exist between non-state actors and sport (but readily admits that these are untapped, promising areas of research. See Murray, Stuart and Geoffrey A. Pigman, "'It's Our Game': Mapping The Hectic Convergence of

Diplomacy and International Sport." Paper presented at the International Studies Association Annual Convention, San Diego, April, 2012.

5. Thanks to Caitlin Byrne of Bond University for help with this definition.

6. Manzenreiter, Wolfram. "Football diplomacy, post-colonialism and Japan's quest for normal state status," *Sport in Society*, (11) 4, 2008. p. 417.

7. SportsUnited is an international sports programming initiative designed to help start a dialogue at the grassroots level with non-elite boys and girls ages 7-17. The programs aid youth in discovering how success in athletics can be translated into the development of life skills and achievement in the classroom. Foreign participants are given an opportunity to establish links with U.S. sports professionals and exposure to American life and culture. Americans learn about foreign cultures and the challenges young people from overseas face today.

8. The group includes Charlotte Bobcats basketball team manager Richard Cho, a Myanmar native who migrated to the United States. Also traveling are Los Angeles Lakers assistant coach Darvin Ham, former Women's National Basketball Association player Allison Feaster and former NBA player Marty Conlon.

9. NBA News, "US sends basketball players, coaches to Myanmar," National Basketball Association. Web. August 26 2012, http://www.nba.com/2012/news/08/26/us-sends-players-to-myanmar.ap/index.html

10. Keech, Marc and Barrie Houlihan "Sport and the end of apartheid." The Round Table: *The Commonwealth Journal of International Affairs*, 88 (349), 1999. pp. 109 – 121.

11. Barlow, Karen. "Rogge closes 'happy and glorious' Games," ABC News. Web. August 13 2012, http://www.abc.net.au/news/2012-08-13/rogge-closes-happy-and-glorious-games/4194846

12. Allison, 5-6.

13. Manzenreiter, Wolfram. "Global Movements, sports Spectacles and the Transformation of Representational Power," *Asia Pacific World* 1, no. 1, 2010. p. 37.

14. BBC News, "UK criticises 'tasteless' Falklands Olympic ad," BBC World News, Web. May 4 2012, http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-latin-america-17946838

15. BBC News, "Tymoshenko case: Europe pressure on Ukraine intensifies," BBC World News, Web. April 30 2012, http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-europe-17892514

16. Ibid.

17. Redeker, R. "Sport as an opiate of international relations: The myth and illusion of sport as a tool of foreign diplomacy," *Sport in Society* 11 (4), 2008. p. 18.

18. Conn, Malcolm. "Sachin Tendulkar's Order of Australia medal riles cricket community," The Daily Telegraph, Web. October 17 2012, http://www.news.com.au/sport/cricket/sachin-tendulkars-medal-is-out-of-order/story-fndpt0dy-1226497310037

19. During the ancient Olympics, the word for competition was agon, where the English word agony is derived from; similarly, the etymology of the words athlete and athletics come from the Greek word athlos, a contest taking place in a stadium or on a battlefield. See Sweet, Waldo E. *Sport and Recreation in Ancient Greece. Oxford*, Oxford University Press, 1987.

20. Fischer, Normal. Competitive Sport's Imitation of War: Imaging the Completeness of Virtue, in *Journal of the Philosophy of Sport*, XXIX, 2003. p. 16.

21. Redeker, op .cit., p. 497 - 8

22. Buruma, Ian. "Post-National Football?," Project Syndicate, Web. September 7 2012, http://www.project-syndicate.org/commentary/post-national-football

23. Ibid.

24. Manzenreiter, op. cit., p. 423.

25. Hewett, as cited by Toohey, Kristine. "Terrorism, sport and public policy in the risk society." *Sport in Society*, 11 (4), 2008. p. 434.

26. Toohey, op. cit., p. 429.

27. Walters, Caroline. "Sports Diplomacy is the New comeback Kid," *USC Center on Public Diplomacy*, Web. August, 2007, http://uscpublicdiplomacy.org/index.php/newswire/cpdblog_detail/070803_sports_diplomacy_is_the_new_comeback_kid/

28. Spillane, Chris. "Olympic Badminton Players Banned on Deliberate Poor Play," *Bloomberg*, Web. August 1 2012,http://www.businessweek.com/news/2012-08-01/olympic-badminton-players-banned-because-of-deliberate-poor-play

Stuart Murray is a Senior Lecturer in International Relations and Diplomacy at Bond University, Australia, and the Secretary of the Diplomatic Studies Section and the International Studies Association

SPECIFYING THE GLOBAL CHARACTER OF SPORTS AUTHORITY

By Rook Campbell

At the turn of the 20th century, Pierre de Coubertin's Olympic Movement debuted alongside the social height of the World Fairs and a diversity of other emerging international movements, such as the Scouting Movement, Red Cross, and Esperanto, each aiming to create an alternative social glue that might transcend the particular moorings of culturally relative and political strappings.[1] The Olympic Movement renovated sports as a *lingua franca*, a social technology, in a project to facilitate cooperation among nation states. To assess the contemporary situation of sports diplomacy and the status of sports as (a) political, it is necessary to understand the institutional processes and global character of sports governance. In the following article, I attempt to specify some of the relations and capacities by which sport governing bodies, such as the International Olympic Committee (IOC) and other sports discipline specific International Federations, act on a transnational level.

The IOC is what international relations scholars describe as a norm carrier.[2] Legal scholar Paul Schiff Berman characterizes the legal context of such norm carrying capacities as having shifted in a post-Cold War era of law now to consist of a "transnational legal process".[3] The IOC's norm carrying capacity entails the ability to generate, diffuse, and facilitate the cooperation needed for implementing new norms. Sports governing bodies such as the IOC are transnational actors who promote and enjoy a sport "halo effect" that enables them to push certain agendas transnationally.[4]

THE IOC'S NORM CARRYING CAPACITY ENTAILS THE ABILITY TO GENERATE, DIFFUSE, AND FACILITATE THE COOPERATION NEEDED FOR IMPLEMENTING NEW NORMS.

Since 2009, the IOC's official United Nations (UN) Observer status has provided it with distinct social and political capital. This seemingly invisible or token status matters. For one, UN Observer status grants the IOC speaking rights on the UN floor. Moreover, UN Observer status orients how others perceive, defer to, call upon, and engage with the IOC. The IOC has long been involved in transnational partnerships to promote sport projects and sees sports as a vehicle for promoting a variety of social and cultural interests globally. The IOC's transnational activities most strongly commenced in the 1990's through co-operation agreements with United Nations agencies such as the following:

The United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP, 1992), the World Health Organization (WHO, 1993), the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF, 1994), the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC, 1995), the World Meterological Organization (WMO, 1996), the World Bank (1996), the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP, 1996), the Universal Postal Union (UPU, 1997), the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO, 1997), the International Labout Organization (ILO, 1998), the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO, 1998 and 2004), the World Tourism Organization (WTO, 1999), the International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies (IFRCRCS, 2003). Joint activities were also undertaken with the High Commission for Refugees, [and] the International Telecommunication Union, the Joint United Nations Programme on HIV/AIDS.[5]

These transnational legal practices are important. Legitimacy or power increasingly calls up global authority that is not simply power based in or in relation to nation states.[6]

While conducting interviews with an IOC legal counsel, I learned that the IOC feels confident of its recognition as an able and important transnational actor: "WIPO [World Intellectual Property Organization] sees [the] IOC and FIFA [Fédération Internationale de Football Association] as having influence to move forward certain agenda internationally…this is mutually important for us and states".[7] The IOC holds substantial normative force.

Evidence of sports governing bodies' rapport and soft power among other transnational governance actors is difficult to measure but actively present. During one conversation with a UNESCO Programme Specialist in the Communication and Information Sector, I asked about the importance of soft power and working with sports governance actors like the IOC. My informant explained that, in 2010, there were discussions about the IOC registering with the UNESCO World Archives: raising his voice, he exclaimed, this would have been "a real coup! Others would see [the] IOC there and would want to register. It would build legitimacy for us and [for] them. Oh, this [would be] a very good thing. We don't solicit, but this is a desired thing…and we told them this." To be sure, the IOC's importance as a transnational actor transcends the sport sector of global governance.

The IOC's power as a norm carrier evidences legal pluralism. The IOC commands legitimacy as a transnational actor –oftentimes, the IOC commands greater legitimacy than other national or official government sponsored entities.[8] Prior to awarding Beijing hosting honors for the

2008 Games, the IOC put pressure on China to implement intellectual property (IP) rights laws, pressure that proved effective in bringing about the desired legal change. In 2002, *China's Regulations on the Protection of the Olympic Symbols* stands as an important example of the weight that the IOC can bring to bear as a transnational actor.[9] Remarkably, China acquiesced on an issue on which other states and transnational actors previously and repeatedly failed to gain ground.

As a global governance force, the IOC shows itself as an able norm carrier, capable of helping spread norms of importance across sectors. While pushing China to implement intellectual property legislative protections is an example of the transnational power that the IOC can bring to bear in effecting change for desired law and policy, these processes are not entirely supportive of a total global governance thesis – an absent or totally withered state thesis. Even as this is an important example of a non-state actor capable of agenda setting, pressuring a state to erect law and policy measures more in harmony with an international legal landscape, there is a caveat. China's implementation of IP protections happens through internal, national protections vis-à-vis national IP registry rather than any adoption, acceptance, or membership in an international IP legal regime or network of transnational governance. This difference matters: rather than contributing to a global governance network, these IP laws reinforce a state-by-state compartmentalized international legal system.

AS A GLOBAL GOVERNANCE FORCE, THE IOC SHOWS ITSELF AS AN ABLE NORM CARRIER, CAPABLE OF HELPING SPREAD NORMS OF IMPORTANCE ACROSS SECTORS.

Another instance in which the IOC can be seen as a norm carrier is in the rapid construction and development of the World Anti-Doping Agency (WADA) in 1999, in response to the doping integrity crisis. WADA now stands as a hybrid public-private body, funded by and representative of both national and sports institutional bodies. WADA's ability to control doping by setting standards, developing testing technologies, and administering controls for doping in sports on a global level stands as a model of transnational governance in which actors can rapidly facilitate broad cooperation in new relations and institutions capable of effecting change at a global level. WADA is a recognized, successful model of governance happening beyond the state level and has increasingly become the subject of scholarship exploring the workings and implications of public-private partnerships.[10]

It is interesting to consider the transnational institutional relations and processes that helped WADA garner its political punch, its persuasive, even coercive, power to facilitate cooperation. The scaffolding of the anti-doping regime led by WADA has derived much of its authority by networking with other transnational governance actors, primarily the United Nations. Rather than acquiesce to the WADA Code alone, international treaties have also set up reciprocal responsibilities and rights for participants via an international system very much centered upon a nation-state basis. States became roped in and bound to WADA Code compliance through a UNESCO Convention. It is "under the UNESCO Convention [that] these government parties formally agree to equally fund WADA with the Olympic Movement".[11] However, the UNESCO Convention does more than financially commit states to support WADA. WADA's political legitimacy, as Lorenzo Casini elaborates, operates via a global governance network: "governments instead are not asked to be signatories to the Code, but rather to sign the Copenhagen Declaration (2003) and ratify, accept, approve or accede to the UNESCO Convention against Doping in Sport" (Casini, 2009: 434).[12] When governments convened at the UNESCO General Conference in 2005, 191 nation states unanimously approved and ratified the International Convention against Doping in Sports. To be sure, this ability to elicit a unanimous approval from so many nations is remarkable. In this way, WADA centers itself as an expert regulator and "global standard setter" for the global anti-doping regime, while also embedding itself into a larger global governance network.[13]

Even as the state is included in this global anti-doping regime, WADA shows that the nation-state-based system of law has shifted: "international law lost its privileged place as the primary conceptual framework for understanding cross-border development of norms".[14] New, transnational actor-led governance networks are articulated through bureaucratic institutions such as the IOC, WADA or other sports governing bodies that are also subject to pressures of powerful private interests.

In addition to coupling with other global governance actors such as UNESCO, WADA got off the ground as a specialized global authority with the help of the IOC. As a transnational actor in its own right, the IOC threw its weight via incentives offered or withheld by making candidacy qualification to host the Olympic Games contingent upon a state's signatory status to the International Convention Against Doping in Sports.[15]

The WADA-led anti-doping regime offers a successful

example of a quickly erected set of norms and institutions, forged of strong public-private partnerships, which linked disparate public, private, and state actors in a global network, backed by mechanisms with real bite – UN Conventions. The WADA system represents and reinforces a sports-specific logic of governance and achieves a legal basis for a sports in-house solution by tying states into its system of authority. However, while seemingly dependent upon states, WADA reconfigures how state and non-state actors obtain and exercise power. In this manner, WADA garners legitimacy while simultaneously departing from a nation-state-centered international system and introducing an alternative – and very serious – mechanism of networked global authority.

Sports are an important example of law-making activity left to non-state entities.[16] The IOC works as an international actor in an international system of states via mechanisms of state and international law, but the IOC is also outside this system, operating as a transnational actor more or less indifferent to national interests. In its sports-specific and interrelated global governance spheres, sports governing bodies, like the IOC, can be seen to transform the state. Customized legal frameworks and expert justice bind sports stakeholders together internally: dispute resolution and rule enforcement appear through private arbitration systems, namely the Court of Arbitration for Sport.

THE POLITICS OF HOSTING SPORTS MEGA-EVENTS SUCH AS THE OLYMPICS HAS BECOME COMMONPLACE, YET SPORTS GOVERNING BODIES OCCUPY CONTRADICTORY POSITIONS WHEN INSISTING THAT SPORTS ARE, AFTER ALL, APOLITICAL.

The politics of hosting sports mega-events such as the Olympics has become commonplace, yet sports governing bodies occupy contradictory positions when insisting that sports are, after all, apolitical. States pander to the prestige, limelight, jobs, tourism, rebranding opportunities, and anticipated economic boon of hosting the Games, and the IOC, for its part, does not desire to lose potential hosting clients. The Olympics exemplify an enduring sports model that is a national model – teams representing nations rather than businesses. Because of this strong national basis, the IOC solicits states, commercializing nationalism. The IOC remains a state-strengthening "international" sport organization, and this commitment works nicely for nation states. Yet the IOC also presents itself and works as a transnational body and a commercial player –not simply an 'international' body premised upon the nation-state.

Dissemination of norms that become globally harmonized in law in ways that promote basic rights might be cause for optimism (i.e., disability, sustainability), but the interests that sports governing bodies laud and impress upon its members and hosting nations may not be entirely so benign. A more suspect instance of norm carrying can be seen in FIFA's pressure upon Brazil to revoke legislation prohibiting the sale of alcohol in sports venues. After awarding World Cup 2014 hosting honours to Brazil, FIFA found Brazilian alcohol consumption laws in conflict with the interests of one of its title sponsors, Budweiser. Caught in a bind, FIFA launched a sharp lobbying effort to have the national laws banning alcohol sales and consumption in sport venues revoked. Sports governing bodies have found it more financially profitable to shed their Dudley-Do-Right image that has kept things like tobacco, alcohol, and gambling at bay. More and more, global commercial sports have lifted their blanket prohibitions that have categorically disqualified such corporate sponsorships. Sports institutional rules, policies, and deal-making, such as those for hosting nations, are hewn to satisfy commercial interests.

Sports governing bodies claim to represent a global polity, sports as a global public good, yet the selection of policies and policy techniques promulgate interests that are commercial, not social. Mounting all sorts of sports sanctions and threats, FIFA insists that the national legislation for social order via regulation of alcohol must give way to what it perceives as ultimately more serious economic stakes.

Sports governing bodies have independence as an expert body at the transnational level. Sports governing bodies can be understood as what Peter Haas calls an epistemic community, i.e., "a network of professionals with recognized expertise and competence in a particular domain and an authoritative claim to policy-relevant knowledge within that domain or issue area".[17] Thinking of the sports governing bodies as an epistemic community is helpful up to a point, but not sufficient. Despite possessing the sharpness to scrimshaw details of global standards, norms, and rules, sports governing bodies cannot muster adequate authority to control sports integrity worries in areas such as match fixing without further incursion into public law enforcement fields. Moreover, conceptualizing sports governing bodies as an epistemic community is furthermore deficient because the IOC and sports governing bodies are transnational entities that both govern and commercially compete on a global level.

Sports governing bodies like the IOC are quick to re-

cite public relations credos that sports are, after all, apolitical. Yet, sports scholars and practitioners of cultural diplomacy working with sports platforms must not be so quick to drink this Kool-Aid. To be sure, global sports offer a seductive platform for facilitating cooperation, in hopes of surmounting hurdles of cultural relativity and political division. Yet, the maneuvers and relations by which sport governing bodies ensure this 'neutral' cultural stage – sports as a public good – involve exacting measures that lean heavily in (re)shaping laws and policies in service of quite particular, intertwined political and economic interests.

References and Notes

1. Hoberman, John. 1995. "Toward a Theory of Olympic Internationalism." *Journal of Sport History*. 22(1): 1-37.

2. Finnemore, M. & Sikkink, K. 1998, "International norm dynamics and political change", *International organization*, vol. 52, no. 4, pp. 887-917.

3. Berman, P.S. 2005, "From International Law to Law and Globalization", *Columbian Journal of Transnational Law*, pp. 487.

4. Hoberman, J.M. 2001, *Mortal Engines: The science of performance and the dehumanization of sport*, Blackburn Press, London.

5. Chappelet, J.L. & Kübler-Mabbott, B. 2008, *The International Olympic Committee and the Olympic system: The governance of world sport*, Routledge, New York. Pp. 111-112.

6. Hurrell, A. 2007, *On global order: power, values, and the constitution of international society*, Oxford University Press, Oxford. Pp. 86-89.

7. Stupp, Howard. International Olympic Committee, Director of Legal Affairs. Interview: Lausanne, 19 July 2010.

8. Berman, p. 538.

9. Mitten, M.J. & Opie, H. 2010, *"Sports law: Implications for the development of international, comparative, and national law and global dispute resolution". Marquette University Law School Legal Studies Research Series*, Paper no.10-31, p. 21.

10. Casini, L. 2009, "Global hybrid public-private bodies: The World Anti-Doping Agency (WADA)", *International Organizations Law Review*, vol. 6, no. 2, pp. 421-446.

11. Ramos, M. 2008, ""Game, set, match-fixing: Will international anti-doping initiatives pave the way for similar reform for corrupt betting in tennis?"", *Houston Journal of International Law*, vol. 32, no. 1, pp. 233-234.

12. Casini, p. 434.

13. Ibid., p. 433.

14. Berman, p. 555.

15. Ramos, p. 236.

16. Berman, p. 493.

17. Haas, P. 1992, "Epistemic communities and international policy coordination", *International Organization*, vol. 46, no. 1, p. 3.

Rook Campbell currently teaches interdisciplinary studies in areas of political science and diplomacy at the University of Southern California. Her research interests lie in three primary areas: international security, human rights, and global governance. As a scholar of international security, she interested in how local crime, deviance, and social control theories and practices transform in global society. Her research on security focuses on transnational criminal networks and global polity issues of financial market integrity and money laundering. Looking at truth commissions and legal forums, her work concentrates in the sociology of human rights, while considering issues of collective memory, truth, justice, and reconciliation. Questions of cultural politics and a discourse of freedom and rights carry through much of her work and largely inform her approach in looking at global governance. Forged from each of these specialized research areas, she has a developing expertise in the sociology of sport.
She is author of "Staging Globalization for National Projects: Global Sport Markets and Elite Athletic Transnational Labour in Qatar" (International Review for Sociology of Sport, 2010). Her current book manuscript is entitled, Global Governance of Sport in a Digital Age: The Political Economy of Sport Integrity Regulation.

SELLING NATIONS TO THE WORLD THROUGH SPORTS: MEGA-EVENTS AND NATION BRANDING AS GLOBAL DIPLOMACY

By John Nauright

In the twenty-first century the proliferation of technologies and instant communication channels mean that people have far greater choice as to how and where they focus their leisure time activities and interests. While much of the twentieth century was still largely an age of nationalisms and national consciousness, the twenty-first century is definitely an age of globalism. While formal diplomacy still shapes international perceptions and strategic concerns, increasingly diplomacy has evolved in the post-Cold War era into shaping international views of nations as sites for business development and tourism. Thus, marketing the "national brand" has become increasingly important in a world becoming economically integrated, yet still divided into almost 200 nations. The power of attraction on the international stage is also used by governments and politicians to enhance their own "brands" among the citizenry in order to gain or sustain legitimacy.

In this increasingly unified yet still divided world, sports mega-events, particularly the Olympic Games and the FIFA World Cup, have become high demand focal points that have symbolic value well beyond the results on the fields of sporting competition. Major sporting competitions and tournaments are regarded as 'events' to be 'marketed' and 'managed', and terms such as 'hallmark' and 'mega' suggest that size really does matter. The lure of large and spectacular events is thought to be an expedient way to attract media interest in a host city and nation, which, it is hoped, will translate into an influx of capital through tourism and new investment. A few years ago, I suggested a sports-media-tourism complex had emerged whereby governments utilized large scale sports events presented via the global media to attract increased event linked tourism and to promote future tourism and other investments.[1]

WHILE FORMAL DIPLOMACY STILL SHAPES INTERNATIONAL PERCEPTIONS AND STRATEGIC CONCERNS, INCREASINGLY DIPLOMACY HAS EVOLVED IN THE POST-COLD WAR ERA INTO SHAPING INTERNATIONAL VIEWS OF NATIONS AS SITES FOR BUSINESS DEVELOPMENT AND TOURISM.

The branding of destinations as desirable sites for new investment and tourist consumption has included sport and sporting events as key elements of new

economic development strategies. We now live in an age of special events, and a major part of national, regional and local politics is tied up with boosterism and branding through the hosting of special events. The two most common of such events are sports events and festivals.

Local, regional and national boosters have for some time recognized the added value that tourism generates particularly around special events. As early as the 1930s, Irish institutions understood that tourism could play an important economic role in the country and also forge stronger connections with the Irish diaspora. The 1932 Eucharistic Congress of the Catholic Church drew nearly 28,000 visitors from the USA.[2] The GAA attempted to cement its connection with the American Irish community by holding the All-Ireland Final at the Polo Grounds in New York City in 1947.[3] In 1951, the idea of a national festival of Irish culture highlighting music and sports was discussed by the head of Pan American Airlines with Irish Prime Minister Seán Lemass. The An Tóstal began on Easter Sunday 1953 in Dublin. Though not immediately successful, it suggested future possibilities that could be generated through linking culture and tourism drawing upon Irish traditions.[4] Since that time, there has been a steadily increasing flow of travel between Ireland and the diaspora community.

By the 1980s, it was clear that enhanced access to international travel and global circuits of communication could lead to increased economic revenue. Australian comedian Paul Hogan undertook a series of advertisements in the United Kingdom (UK) and the USA for the Australian Tourist Board following the success of his commercials for Foster's Beer in the UK. It is no coincidence, then, that Brand Australia was launched in 1995, less than two years after Sydney was awarded the 2000 Olympic Games. A three-year advertising campaign began in 1998 to maximize potential returns linked to Sydney's hosting of the Olympics and to draw together Brand Australia, the Olympic brand and the brands of Olympic sponsors. Under this approach, the integration of brands capitalizes on enhanced awareness generated by a major event such as the Sydney Olympics, and focuses on the development of positive experiences for the visitor that synergies between brands can generate. The New South Wales government created a ministerial position in the government for the Olympics, a position held by Michael Knight from 1995 to 2001. In this capacity Knight also served as Chairman of the Sydney Organising Committee for the Olympic Games (SOCOG).

Sporting events are particularly attractive as they can evoke powerful imagery and elicit emotional responses

from spectators. Think of the images and sounds during the Opening and Closing Ceremonies of the 2012 London Olympic Games, as well as key sporting moments. Governments know the symbolic power of sport, as do major international sports organizations like the International Olympic Committee (IOC) and the International Federation of Football Associations (FIFA). Framing the nation for global consumption, however, is not a simple process. It is difficult to create a global brand beyond preheld notions of what 'Sydney' or 'London' or 'Australia' or 'China' is. Yet, the significance of the 2000 Sydney Olympic Games to the Australian government's strategy of attracting global business and tourism interest was so strong it became linked to Australian patriotism.

In general, events such as the Olympic Games, the Commonwealth Games, the FIFA or Rugby World Cups and Continental Championships in soccer – have gained greater significance in large part to an expansion of global media markets, new technologies enabling great exposure to be achieved, and the increasingly large profits generated by such events, exemplified by the 1984 Olympic Games in Los Angeles. As a result, many countries began to link their economic development strategies to the attraction of major international sporting events that they hoped would leverage exposure into an increase in tourism income and outside business investment while encouraging the rapid development of supporting infrastructure that could be used more widely post-event. Therefore, even though mega-sporting events are vulnerable to imprecise impact studies and much ambiguity exists with the meaning of the concept of "legacy," it is a reality that a continually growing number of cities and nations compete to host large-scale events.

THE OLYMPIC GAMES ULTIMATELY ARE AS MUCH ABOUT SELLING CONSUMER PROCESSES AND DOMINANT POLITICAL IDEOLOGIES AS THEY ARE ABOUT PROMOTING PEACE

The Olympic Games provide a prime example of complexities in utilizing mega-events as economic development strategies to promote the common good. The creation of the Olympic Games in the latter 19th century was associated with the concepts of perpetuating class distinction while shrouding the Games with an aura of universalism. Alternative international sporting movements were marginalized as the governing body for the Games, supported by business and governmental elites, established control of the governance and operation of global sport. The rise of neo-liberal economic strategies in the West in the 1980s enabled the Olympic "Movement" as a single institution with the capital to organize events, to define, delineate, and sustain particular meanings about sport and human society to tie human aspirations together with economic development issues. In addition, the hegemonic ideology of Olympism has been coupled with a financial capitalist ideology through association with transnational corporations. Thus, mega-events exist to legitimate political, economic, diplomatic and militaristic institutions that support and gain benefit from them. At the same time, competition in sport event production has led corporate interests to demand that event organizers demonstrate value or return on investment resulting from sponsorship and public exposure.

The Olympic Games ultimately are as much about selling consumer processes and dominant political ideologies as they are about promoting peace. The Games are political; they always have been. Unfortunately, the disturbing testimony to their success is that most people don't complain, and in fact actively support the Games. Olympic Games are, therefore, historically linked to the process of modern capitalist development, and since the 1980s, and have been rejuvenated by neoliberalism and its connected globalization processes in a context of total monopoly of the ownership of the concepts and values that have defined and sustained dominant interpretations of "sport." FIFA's recent decision to send its global extravaganza World Cup event to Russia in 2018 and Qatar in 2022 clearly demonstrates that the world's leading sports organizations are selling to the highest bidder and that countries willing to prostrate themselves fully to organizations such as the IOC and FIFA are the ones likely to be given the right to host the flagship events of the Olympic Games and the FIFA World Cup. The stakes have been raised higher and higher in the past decade as countries from Africa to South America to Australia and Asia have begun to vie for the scarce commodity of global mega-sporting events.

Countries with a much lower level of global visibility, particularly in the developing world, face an increasingly uphill battle as the global sport–media–tourism complex solidifies around large events with widespread interest. An events driven global economy favors the already wealthy nations that can afford the levels of investment necessary to attract such events. To illustrate income inequalities we should note that the combined annual income of Tiger Woods as far back as 2003 was $76.6 million, while Bhutan's Gross Domestic Product that year amounted to $68 million. Multi-year baseball, basketball, American football and European soccer contracts now surpass gross domestic products of countries such as Belize and Botswa-

na, and this is money paid to a single athlete. The value of leading sport franchises such as Real Madrid, Manchester United, or the New York Yankees, exceeds the GDP of many developing nations such as Paraguay, Honduras or Zambia to name but a few.

Local community interests and democratic practices are often subverted as businesses and governments align in support of event-driven economies as part of pro-growth strategies. In substance, business and political leaders view sports mega-events as significant channels for local and regional economic development and as a way to facilitate urban redevelopment using the event as a catalyst to leverage additional resources that might not otherwise be as forthcoming. This strategy is justified through projecting increases in tourism, infrastructural improvements, and increases in short-term employment opportunities. Tourism and the envisaged new investment in the specific locality or nation are key aspects of the heightened interest in hosting mega-events as they are thought to be the most expedient way to attract media interest in a host city or nation, which, it is hoped, will translate into an influx of outside capital through tourism and new investment. Sports critic Marc Perelman suggests there is now an entire mode of production that has emerged around globalized sport.[5] Therefore, in addition to economic issues, mega events also must to be understood from political and social viewpoints, because mega-events involve the political leadership of a host country and often shape legacies that governments and leaders envision for themselves.

BUSINESS AND POLITICAL LEADERS VIEW SPORTS MEGA-EVENTS AS SIGNIFICANT CHANNELS FOR LOCAL AND REGIONAL ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

Governments are often keen advocates for promoting the positive impact that these events have not only on a country's economy but also on its developmental legacy. While political factors form the power behind the willingness to host mega-events, the hosting itself, beside the usually advertised economic and 'image' impacts, can have a variety of social consequences. Examples of social costs that impact local day-to-day life include: traffic congestion and overcrowding of roads; increased potential for criminal activity; disruption to daily schedules; and increased pollution. The political willingness to host mega-events can, therefore, involuntarily (or not), ignore negative consequences faced by the local community such as residential displacement, breakdown of historic communities, and cost overruns that impact negatively upon citizens' quality of life. Host nations and cities work to establish a sanitized space where imagined visions can be projected to spectators and the global community. Boosterist politicians and business leaders through the media within host nations promote sports mega events as an expression of national self-worth and tout the benefits of being generous hosts to the global community.

When the IOC announced on September 7, 1997 that Greece had won the right to host the 2004 Summer Olympic Games, a few Greeks on the political left warned that the Games would be financed by "debt" that future generations of Greeks would be paying.[6] No one apart from the far left party of Greece took notice of these prophetic words. The Games were coming 'home' and the Greek people were mesmerized; national sentiment ran high. Coupled with this wave of nationalism it was envisaged that there would be real financial benefits for the country. After the failure to win the right to host the centenary Olympic Games in 1996, the Greek government embarked on a path of debt-fuelled spending to produce an excellent Olympic Games. This was particularly important since then IOC President Juan Antonio Samaranch had genuinely declared the 2000 Sydney Olympic Summer Games as the "best ever" in terms of organization and delivery, so the bar of expectation had been raised to new heights. The specter of hosting one of the leading sports events in terms of global awareness, and one that is indelibly tied to Greek history, was attractive both to most Greeks and for the IOC. Despite this allure, hosting the Olympic Games is a high risk venture where some, most notably Montreal in 1976, have failed to deliver projected economic and social benefits, while others have been successful economically (Los Angeles 1984) or in terms of legacies for the cities and citizens (Barcelona 1992; Sydney 2000).

For the Greek government a mediocre 2004 Olympics was not an option. Success could revitalize the image of Greece around the world. The timing of Greece's entry into the European Monetary Union in 2001 was not coincidental; progress on the Athens Games was behind schedule and criticism came from both inside and outside the country. Between 2000 and 2004, the majority of Olympic preparations took place. The Athens Organizing Committee was given an open check book and entry into the European Union allowed for easier financing than was previously possible. This cheaper and easier ways of financing and borrowing had the effect of making the government less responsible particularly as the thinking was the Games would stimulate tourism and outside invest-

ment in Greece thus recouping the debt financing that was undertaken.

Public investment in sports facilities is justifiable if the net benefits are greater that the cost of alternative uses. For Athens most of the venues, which had very high maintenance and operating costs, had very little practical use and have not been utilized post-Olympics. Many of them are deserted, the most striking example being the Olympic village, which, located six miles from the centre of Athens, lies unused. Housing more than 10,000 athletes in 2004, it is now reminiscent of a ghost town from an old western movie. There are also a number of other fields and courses (judo, hockey, table tennis, canoe and kayak), which are also not being used. The canoe and kayak course was supposed to be turned into a water theme park. Even though these facilities were officially designed with a post-Olympics plan, it became very clear after the Games that this plan in reality was never conceptualized fully, let alone implemented. In Cape Town, South Africa, it is likely that the showpiece stadium built near the waterfront at the foot of Table Mountain for the 2010 FIFA World Cup will be demolished in the near future due to high costs of maintenance and chronic underuse of the facility.

The subversion of democratic practices and public transparency are often present around sports mega events and were evident in South Africa in the lead up to the World Cup. In examining the covert government-led management practices in the city of Durban, for example, it is clear that building the Moses Mabhida stadium was part of a larger and secretive plan involving Durban municipal manager Michael Sutcliffe. While a new stadium in Durban was 'nice to have', it was not a FIFA requirement for hosting matches. The new stadium displaced useful spending elsewhere, but was constructed with a view to an Olympic bid and as part of a massive urban redevelopment focused on increasing tourism and high-end leisure activities.

The Durban beachfront urban renewal has greatly enhanced the image of Durban and the space is now widely used in sport/leisure activities over all its length from Moses Mabhida stadium to uShaka Marine World. Many community members have used the space, though few infrastructural investments were made to the numerous impoverished areas in and around the city where the consumers live. Embracing an almost exclusively neo-liberal, market-orientated approach, the idea among advocates of the FIFA World Cup was to position cities like Johannesburg, Durban, and Cape Town among a global hierarchy of competitive metropolitan areas. Yet, evidence from previous such events suggest that the results of hosting do not deliver on the promise of widespread community benefit.

In the lead up to the Sydney 2000 and London 2012 Olympics, democratically elected governments enacted Olympic related legislation that restricted public freedoms and rights and protected Olympic sponsors and Olympic related logos, signs and phrases in draconian fashion to satisfy the International Olympic Committee's (IOC) requirements. Former Australian Prime Minister John Howard argued in the 1990s that criticism of the Olympics was "un-Australian" in efforts to minimize protests against the requirements for Sydney 2000 and the country had to implement to satisfy the IOC. Protest and vigorous debate are hallmarks of the Australian tradition. Similarly in Britain, the London Olympic Games and Paralympic Games Act of 2006 exacts even tighter control over what can and cannot be done or said in the lead-up to the event and during the event itself.

IT IS CLEAR THAT THE EVENT-DRIVEN ECONOMIC APPROACH HAS RESHAPED THE URBAN LANDSCAPE IN MANY CITIES AROUND THE WORLD, NOT ALWAYS TO DETRIMENTAL EFFECT.

Who benefited from the London Olympics? We know for sure that the IOC and its group of elite global corporate sponsors will top the list. Today, sport appears more and more popular yet less and less accessible to the masses as corporate boxes and specialized event tourist packages price events beyond the means of the average citizen.[7] Estimates for the upcoming 2014 World Cup in Brazil and the 2016 Summer Olympics in the Brazilian city of Rio de Janeiro suggest that 500,000 to one million residents are being displaced as stadiums and event precincts are renovated and constructed.

It remains to be seen whether public diplomacy surrounding sports mega events will be successful in the long term. It is clear that the event-driven economic approach has reshaped the urban landscape in many cities around the world, not always to detrimental effect. Yet, the outcomes of creating urban pleasure palaces whether for one off events or continual future use are clearly uneven and have served to reinforce class differences within contemporary capitalist societies. Governments that have been most successful have carefully thought out long-term strategies that focus on the creation of legacies rather than immediate economic results. In many cases, cities and regions have chosen to concentrate on smaller-scale recurring events that maximize local participation, involvement of local and regional producers, and use existing resources, facilities and landscapes. Whether promoting small scale or large-scale events, however, governments have found sports to be a significant player in public diplomacy efforts.

References and Notes

1. Nauright, John. "Global games: culture, political economy, and sport in the globalized world of the twenty-first century." *Third World Quarterly*, 25:7 (2004), 1325-1336.

2. Furlong, Irish Tourism, 58.

3. For more on the 1947 All-Ireland Final and the GAA in the USA, see Darby, Gaelic Games, Nationalism and the Irish Diaspora in the United States.

4. Furlong, Irish Tourism, 58.

5. M. Perelman, *Barbaric Sport: A Global Plague*. London: Verso, 2012.

6. The Greek case is discussed more fully in S. Georgiakis & J. Nauright, "Creating The 'Scarecrow': The 2004 Athens Olympic Games and the Greek Financial Crisis", Sport and Society Working Papers (Manassas & Fairfax: *The Center for the Study of Sport and Leisure in Society*, George Mason University, 2012), Available online: http://rht.gmu.edu/cssls/research/

7. Also see my discussion in John Nauright, *"The Modern Olympics and the Triumph of Capitalist Sport,"* History Workshop Online, 6 August 2012. Available online: http://www.historyworkshop.org.uk/the-modern-olympics-and-the-triumph-of-capitalist-sport/

John Nauright is Co-Director of The Center for Research on Sport and Leisure in Society; Founding Director of the Academy of International Sport; and Professor of Sport Management and Professor of History at George Mason University in Virginia. He is also Visiting Professor of Cultural Studies at the University of the West Indies, Cave Hill in Barbados. His PhD is in African history and political economy from Queen's University in Canada.

He is the author or editor of 15 books and author of 50 refereed journal articles dealing with the role of sports in society around the world including Sports Around the World (2012) and Long Run to Freedom: Sport, Cultures and Identities in South Africa (2010). He was program consultant for and appeared in the BBC Television Series The Union Game

2014 FIFA WORLD CUP AND 2016 OLYMPIC GAMES: BRAZIL'S STRATEGY 'TO WIN HEARTS AND MINDS' THROUGH SPORTS AND FOOTBALL

By Andreia Soares e Castro

In the upcoming years Brazil will host several mega sporting events: the 20th World Masters Athletics Championships Stadia (in Porto Alegre)[1], the FIFA Confederations Cup[2] in 2013, the FIFA World Cup[3] in 2014 and the Summer Olympic and Paralympic Games (in Rio de Janeiro)[4] in 2016. Brazil has already successfully staged the XV Pan American and Parapan American Games (in Rio de Janeiro) in 2007[5] and the 5th edition of the Military World Games (in Rio de Janeiro) in 2011[6]. This paper looks at Brazil's vision and strategy articulated around the successful hosting of these tournaments, suggesting that they are an important stage of a broader long-term strategy of enhancing Brazil's soft power, prestige and visibility. It examines how sports and football are used as important cultural diplomacy tools to achieve specific targeted goals.

Underlying this analysis is the argument that soft power is now more than ever a crucial component of foreign policy strategies. The concept of 'soft power', coined by Joseph S. Nye, is 'getting others to want the outcomes that you want'[7] without force or coercion, and contrasts with 'hard power' or the capacity to influence others to do what you want through force and coercion. According to Nye:

A country's soft power can come from three resources: its culture (in places where it is attractive to others), its political values (when it lives up to them at home and abroad), and its foreign policies (when they are seen as legitimate and having moral authority)[8].

Of course, soft power alone cannot produce effective foreign policy, which is why it is important to combine hard and soft power, or 'smart power', a term developed by Nye in 2003.[9] This paper suggests that Brazil's smart power, or its effective combination of economic power and high-profile diplomatic skills and insight, will confirm the country's rising role as a leader in world affairs. The hosting of mega sporting events, like the World Cup and the Olympic Games, symbolize Brazil's rise and is an important part of the strategy to advance Brazil's global status.

Brazil's rise in world politics, the struggle for soft power and sports diplomacy

Brazil's global rise during President Luis Inácio Lula da Silva's two terms (2003-2010) was due to 'sustained economic growth, financial stability, social inclusion and the full exercise of democracy'.[10] As South America's largest country and one of the rising economic powers – together with Russia, India, China and South Africa, known as BRICS nations – Brazil is in one of the best periods of the nation's life, with the creation of millions of jobs, a growth rate that has more than doubled, release from its external debt and end to its dependence on the International Monetary Fund[11] Brazil is no longer the 'country of the future', but the 'country of the present'. Indeed, Brazil has a large population of nearly 200 million people (the fourth largest country in the world), massive natural resources, is the sixth largest economy in the world,[12] has deterrent military power[13], is one of the world's largest oil producers, one of the world's largest aid donors[14], and has 'no real enemies, no battles on [its] borders, no great historical or contemporary rivals among the ranks of the other important powers … and long-standing ties with many of the world's emerging and developed nations'.[15] All of these factors combined have contributed to Brazil's political capital and ability to press for global governance reforms, particularly of the mechanisms of global economic governance and institutional reform of the United Nations Security Council,[16] that reflect the geopolitical realities of the 21st century.

Increasing hard power through faster economic growth is not enough. Exerting influence and promoting soft power has been an important goal of Brazil's foreign policy in order to strengthen its regional and global influence. This has remained the case in post-Lula Brazil as shown by current Brazil's President Dilma Rousseff's inaugural speech to the Congress:

I am here, above all, to carry on the greatest process of affirmation that this country has experienced in recent times (…) the way forward for a developed nation is not only in the economic field, pure and simple. It involves social progress and valuing cultural diversity. Their culture is the soul of any people, the essence of their identity. We are going to invest in culture, increasing nationwide the production and consumption of our cultural assets and expanding the exportation of our music, cinema and literature, living emblems of our presence in the world[17].

This 'investment in culture' is the recognition that cultural exchange and particularly sports exchanges can supplement traditional diplomacy.[18] Indeed, sports are an instrument for peace, economic development and poverty reduction, solidarity and social cohesion. There are four main roles for sports as a component of cultural diplomacy: 'Sports as a tool for development; sports as a tool

for soft power; sports as an instrument to promote closer dialogue and integration in multicultural societies; sports as a tool to promote peaceful relations at the international level'.[19] In this analysis I will favour the dimension of 'sports as a tool for soft power'.

Another term that is gaining more and more relevance although yet still a bit controversial[20] is 'sports diplomacy'. The Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs (ECA) of the U.S. Department of State, has a division, SportsUnited, devoted to sports diplomacy:

Sports Diplomacy has emerged as an integral part of efforts to build ever-strengthening relations between the United States and other nations. Sports diplomacy uses the universal passion for sports as a way to transcend linguistic and sociocultural differences and bring people together[21].

SportsUnited links 'sports diplomacy' with cultural awareness and relations between nations as a cultural diplomacy dimension that seeks to 'increase dialogue and cultural understanding between people around the world'.[22] This goal of promoting mutual understanding between people is accomplished not only through sports and cultural exchanges, but also through academic and professional exchanges[23]. Building upon this, I identify 'sports diplomacy' as the use of sports as an instrument for furthering foreign policy goals, causes or interests and most important as a significant and rising source of soft power. In addition, I can say that 'sports diplomacy' is part of the 'new diplomacy' agenda, which, since the end of the Cold War, covers new issues, new actors and processes.

The 'investment in culture' and 'sports diplomacy' under the Dilma administration has been articulated around the hosting of several mega sporting events, confirming that cultural diplomacy and the use of sports and football is a clear priority of Brazil's foreign policy. Thus, I suggest that sports and football are used as an important cultural diplomacy tools to achieve specific targeted goals — in Brazil's case, domestic, regional and international goals. Sports and football must be seen as elements of ambitious cultural and public diplomacy strategies and efforts to further Brazilian foreign diplomacy goals, such as establishing and promoting a positive national image, and enhancing Brazil's prestige, visibility and credibility.

There are many official instruments of soft power like public diplomacy, development assistance, disaster relief and military-to-military contact.[24] We can identify many of these instruments in Brazil's strategies: the 'Poverty Alleviation Fund', created by the IBSA forum,[25] which brings together India, Brazil and South Africa and finances projects in Haiti, Guinea Bissau, Cape Verde, Palestine, Cambodia, Burundi, Laos and Sierra Leone; initiatives of regional integration that foster peace and prosperity like the Union of South American Nations (UNASUR);[26] Brazil's AIDS and ethanol policies; Brazil's humanitarian assistance[27] and cooperation policy towards poorer countries, helping the African continent, characterized by the transfer of ideas, technical expertise and scientific knowledge;[28] Brazil's role as a non-permanent member of the UN Security Council for the period 2010-2011;[29] Brazil's participation in United Nations peacekeeping operations;[30] Brazil's contribution to peace and the promotion of human rights; Brazil's pursuance of multilateral cooperation at all levels, with qualified interventions in multilateral forums; Brazil's leading example in clean energy; Brazil's pursuit of diversified partnerships and promotion of political and economic links with a plurality of actors, confirmed by having diplomatic relations with all UN members and one of the largest diplomatic network;[31] Brazil's sport exchange and cooperation.[32]

SPORTS AND FOOTBALL ARE USED AS AN IMPORTANT CULTURAL DIPLOMACY TOOLS TO ACHIEVE SPECIFIC TARGETED GOALS — IN BRAZIL'S CASE, DOMESTIC, REGIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL GOALS.

All these examples confirm Brazil's quest for enhancing its soft power influence on the world stage and can be understood as products of an effective foreign policy to advance Brazil's global status. Brazil is pursuing a 'humanist foreign policy, without losing sight of the national interest…independent, free of any sort of submission and respectful of Brazil's neighbors and partners'[33], 'driven by a sense of solidarity'[34], an 'arrogant and active foreign policy'[35], as well as 'a multi-polar but co-operative approach to world affairs'[36], and is working for global image and leveraging its soft power:

Brazil will neither shy away from defending its immediate and specific national interests nor will it fail to affirm its identity in terms of the overarching goals associated with the values that define us as a society. We will continue to favour dialogue and diplomacy as the solution for disputes and controversies; support and uphold international law and the principles of non-intervention and multilateralism. We will continue to fight for a world that is free from nuclear weapons; to combat discrimination, preconceived ideas, and arbitrary actions; and to reject

the use of force when it is not based on the commitments that bring us together as an international community.[37]

That said, I now look at Brazil's interest and strategy behind and beyond hosting big sporting events. It is important to note that the importance given to sports diplomacy appears to be rising especially among emerging economies, as all have used or are using sports diplomacy to achieve specific foreign policy goals. Indeed, China hosted the 2008 Olympics in Beijing,[38] South Africa hosted the 2010 FIFA World Cup,[39] India hosted the 2010 Commonwealth Games (Delhi),[40] Brazil will host the 2014 FIFA World Cup and 2016 Olympics, and Russia will host the 2014 Winter Olympic Games (in Sochi)[41] and the 2018 FIFA World Cup.[42] This also tells us much about the changing nature of the emerging world order, as before only developed countries were given the chance to host big sporting events.

Why it is in Brazil's interest to host big sporting events: 2014 FIFA World Cup and 2016 Olympic Games as an important part of the strategy to advance Brazil's global status

All states make huge investments to host mega sporting events in order to obtain certain benefits and opportunities, investments that begin long before the official decision to give the rights to host the event is made. Indeed, states compete to win bids for the events and candidates fight for every vote to be elected, built on strategies of pure soft power (and hard work). The 'Candidate File for Rio de Janeiro to Host the 2016 Olympic and Paralympic Games', submitted to the International Olympics Committee, detailed in length the goals and plans for the 2016 Games.[43] Brazil won several races against other candidates, confirming a successful strategy. Brazil's soft power was already being demonstrated simply by winning the IOC bidding process.

In addition, the Rio 2016 bid was endorsed by the three levels of the government: the Government of Brazil (President Lula), the State of Rio de Janeiro (the Governor) and the City of Rio de Janeiro (the Mayor), together with the Brazilian Olympic Committee and João Havelange, a well-known Brazilian that is a former FIFA President and a Dean Member of the International Olympic Committee.[44] With this, I want to highlight the importance of a cohesive and integrated strategy as well as close involvement of high levels of government in the bidding process and of bringing to it high diplomatic skills.

Funded and fully underwritten by the three levels of government (Federal, state and City), the Rio 2016 games will help continue the ongoing growth of the Brazilian economy. They will bring a new level of global recognition of Brazil. Superb Games and stunning broadcast imagery will provide a long-term boost to tourism and Brazil's growing reputation as an exciting and rewarding place to live, do business and visit.[45]

The influence of hosting the Olympic Games and other major sporting events is underscored by the potential number of worldwide television viewers as well as the media attention garnered:[46] Brazil will be in the spotlight and will be the center of the world's attention for weeks. Therefore, it is a unique opportunity to showcase all that Brazil has to offer to the world. Although these mega sporting events are only one month or two weeks long, the benefits should be felt in the long-term.

Ultimately, it is all about the legacy that these events will create: legacy for sports and the long-lasting benefits the sporting events will bring to the host country, its continent and the world; legacy in infrastructure (new stadiums, hotels, roads, rail and bus systems, ports, airports), urban and social opportunities; legacy in creation of jobs and income; promotion of the country's image on a global scale (potential to develop as a destination for business, trade and tourism). As 'The Candidate File' mentions:

We are committed to building a Games legacy with the IOC and IPC which transcends Brazil and will extend across the globe. The opportunity presented by an inaugural Olympic and Paralympic Games in South America is truly historic and unique.[47]

Now that Brazil the right to host the upcoming events, another phase of the process has begun — preparation and organization. Huge investments have been made in order to guarantee that the hosting country is able to support all the requirements. These choices are never without protest. Many wonder if they are worth as they imply huge costs.

In this respect, it is important to underline that foreign policies involve choices and priorities, or giving some issues more attention, resources and action than others. Cultural and sport diplomacy is part of a long-term strategy, whose success, benefits and effects are difficult to measure.[48] It is also important to add that all foreign policies tend to reflect or incorporate expectations and ambitions. Brazil is no exception:

The investments expected for the World Cup and the Olympics will be made in such a way as to achieve permanent gains in quality of life for those in all the regions involved.[49]

As we have seen above, Brazil has recognized that in a globalizing world it is not enough to have or to be an economic power. On the contrary, it is very important to 'win hearts and minds', explaining why it seeks to leverage soft power. Although it is difficult to measure and quantify the importance of soft power, it must never be undervalued. The rising importance of soft power and engagement in sports diplomacy confirm this. Behind it is the intention to increase status and prestige, respect and admiration, reputation, trust, in order to be an example for others, to be leaders, to be recognized for their competence. Brazil wants to attract others to obtain its goals, through values, culture, and example, without force or coercion,[50] and also through sports:

All this is consistent with our long-term major events strategy which will drive inward investment, tourism and promotion of Brazil to global markets. Brazil is committed to major events and sport and will continue to develop its partnership with international sport through the Games and beyond.[51]

Therefore, there is no doubt that sports diplomacy is a strategy created by Brazilian policy-makers in order to enhance its soft power, prestige and popularity. Sports and football are and will remain important tools to achieve Brazil's foreign policy's goals. Recognizing the complementarity of both hard (military and economic might) and soft power in the emerging world order, and especially by making huge investments in its soft power, Brazil will unquestionably be a major player in world affairs. According to Monocle magazine's third annual 'Soft Power Survey',[52] Brazil jumped from rank 21 to 17 indicating that it is on the move in its projection of influence around the world ahead of the 2014 World Cup and 2016 Olympic Games. This paper argues that Brazil's long-term engagement will help the country reinforce its soft power position and leadership in the world. Brazilian political leaders already recognize this, as foreign minister António Patriota says: 'We need to be prepared for greater demand for Brazil to participate in every issue on the international front'.[53]

'We are a nation, my dear Blatter,
that has passion for sport and passion for football,
because we are a nation that has passion for life
and we believe that, although life is marvelous, it can always be better,
if, of course, we fight for it and not conform ourselves or remain silent in the face of injustice.
We believe in the power of sport to unite men and women,
above differences,
and also to break down prejudice'

Lula da Silva[54].

References and Notes

1. At http://www.world-masters-athletics.org/news/177-porto-alegre-receives-world-masters-athletics-in-2013 (accessed 25 November 2012).

2. At http://www.fifa.com/confederationscup/index.html (accessed 25 November 2012).

3. At http://www.copa2014.gov.br/en and http://www.fifa.com/worldcup/index.html (both accessed 25 November 2012).

4. At http://rio2016.com/en (accessed 25 November 2012).

5. At http://www.americasparalympic.org/apc/opencms/en/Parapan_Games/Rio_2007_Parapan_American_Games/ (accessed 24 November 2012).

6. At http://www.cism-milsport.org/eng/005_WORLD_GAMES/2011_rio/2011_rio.asp (accessed 24 November 2012).

7. Joseph S. Nye, *Soft Power: the Means to Success in World Politics,* (New York: PublicAffairs, 2004), p. 5.

8. Joseph S. Nye, 'Think Again: Soft Power', *Foreign Policy*, 23 February 2006, at http://www.foreignpolicy.com/articles/2006/02/22/think_again_soft_power (accessed 28 November 2012).

9. Joseph S. Nye, 'Get Smart: Combining Hard and Soft Power', *Foreign Affairs*, July/August 2009, at http://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/65163/joseph-s-nye-jr/get-smart?page=show (accessed 28 November 2012).

10. Celso Amorim, *Statement at the Opening of the General Debate of the 65th Session of the United Nations General Assembly,* New York, 23 September 2010, p. 1, at http://www.itamaraty.gov.br/sala-de-imprensa/discursos-artigos-entrevistas-e-outras-comunicacoes/ministro-estado-relacoes-exteriores/discurso-do-embaixador-celso-amorim-na-cerimonia-de-transmissao-do-cargo-de-ministro-de-estado-das-relacoes-exteriores (accessed 7 December 2012).

11. Dilma Vana Rousseff, *Inaugural Speech to Congress,* English version, 1 January 2011, p. 2, at http://www.itamaraty.

gov.br/sala-de-imprensa/discursos-artigos-entrevistas-e-outras-comunicacoes/presidente-da-republica-federativa-do-brasil/address-of-dilma-vana-rousseff-president-of-the-republic-inaugural-speech-to-congress-english-version (accessed 7 December 2012).

12. 'Brazilian economy overtakes UK's, says CEBR', BBC News, 26 December 2011, at http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/business-16332115 (accessed 5 December 2012).

13. Celso Amorim, 'The Soft-Power Power', interview by Susan Glasser, *Foreign Policy*, 29 November 2010, at http://www.foreignpolicy.com/articles/2010/11/29/the_soft_power_power (accessed 7 December 2012).

14. 'Brazil is among the world's largest food donors', Portal Brasil, 21 August 2012, at http://www.brasil.gov.br/news/history/2012/08/21/brazil-is-among-the-worlds-largest-food-donors/newsitem_view?set_language=en (accessed 5 December 2012).

15. Cited by David Rothkopf, 'Brazil's New Swagger', *Foreign Policy*, 28 February 2012, at http://www.foreignpolicy.com/articles/2012/02/28/brazil_s_new_swagger (accessed 5 December 2012).

16. Dilma Rousseff, *Statement at the opening of the general debate of the 67th session of the United Nations General Assembly,* New York, 25 September 2012, at http://www.itamaraty.gov.br/sala-de-imprensa/discursos-artigos-entrevistas-e-outras-comunicacoes/presidente-da-republica-federativa-do-brasil/statement-by-h.-e.-dilma-rousseff-president-of-the-federative-republic-of-brazil-at-the-opening-of-the-general-debate-of-the-67th-session-of-the-united-nations-general-assembly-new-york-25-september-2012 (accessed 5 December 2012).

17. Dilma Vana Rousseff, *Inaugural Speech to Congress,* pp. 1 and 8. (The italic is ours).

18. Institute for Cultural Diplomacy, 'Sport as Cultural Diplomacy', p. 3, in Cultural Diplomacy Outlook Report 2011, at http://www.culturaldiplomacy.org/culturaldiplomacynews/content/pdf/Cultural_Diplomacy_Outlook_Report_2011_-_08-03.pdf (accessed 19 November 2012).

19. Institute for Cultural Diplomacy, 'Sport as Cultural Diplomacy', p. 5.

20. Stuart Murray, 'Sports-Diplomacy: a hybrid of two halves', paper presented at the International Symposium on Cultural Diplomacy 2011, Berlin, at http://www.culturaldiplomacy.org/academy/content/pdf/participant-papers/2011-symposium/Sports-Diplomacy-a-hybrid-of-two-halves--Dr-Stuart-Murray.pdf (accessed 1 December 2012).

21. At http://eca.state.gov/programs-initiatives/sports-diplomacy (accessed 1 December 2012).

22. At http://eca.state.gov/programs-initiatives/sports-diplomacy (accessed 1 December 2012).

23. At http://eca.state.gov/programs-initiatives (accessed 1 December 2012).

24. Joseph S. Nye, 'Get Smart: Combining Hard and Soft Power'.

25. At http://www.ibsa-trilateral.org/ (accessed 28 November 2012).

26. At http://www.unasursg.org/ (accessed 30 November 2012).

27. During 2003-2010 Brazil's humanitarian aid programme assisted more than 50 countries affected by all types of catastrophes (*Balanço de Política Externa 2003/2010: Assistência Humanitária,* p. 3, at http://www.itamaraty.gov.br/temas/balanco-de-politica-externa-2003-2010/7.1.10-assistencia-humanitaria/view, accessed 7 December 2012).

28. This South-South technical cooperation is based on solidarity, free of conditionalities and demand driven (*Cooperação Técnica* at http://www.itamaraty.gov.br/temas/cooperacao-tecnica, accessed 8 December 2012).

29. This is the tenth time that Brazil is elected, making it, like Japan, the member that has been more times in the Council as a non-permanent member (*Balanço de Política Externa 2003/2010: Temas Multilaterais – Operações de Paz*, p. 1, at http://www.itamaraty.gov.br/temas/balanco-de-politica-externa-2003-2010/3.2.17-temas-multilaterais-operacoes-de-paz/view, accessed 7 December 2012).

30. Brazil was in September 2010 the 12th biggest troop contributor, compared with January 2003 where it was the 47th (*Balanço de Política Externa 2003/2010: Temas Multilaterais – Operações de Paz*, p. 3.

31. Antonio de Aguiar Patriota, *Discurso na cerimônia do Dia do Diplomata – formatura da turma de alunos do Instituto Rio Branco - Brasília, Brasília,* 20 April 2012, at http://www.itamaraty.gov.br/sala-de-imprensa/discursos-artigos-entrevistas-e-outras-comunicacoes/ministro-estado-relacoes-exteriores/discurso-na-cerimonia-do-dia-do-diplomata-2013-formatura-da-turma-de-alunos-do-instituto-rio-branco-brasilia-20-de-abril-de-2012 (accessed 7 December 2012).

32. Sport cooperation was during 2003-2010 an important element of Brazil's foreign policy (B*alanço de Política Externa*

2003/2010: Cooperação Internacional – Cooperação Esportiva, at http://www.itamaraty.gov.br/temas/balanco-de-politica-externa-2003-2010/7.1.5-cooperacao-internacional-cooperacao-esportiva/view, accessed 7 December 2012).

33. Celso Amorim, *Statement at the Opening of the General Debate of the 65th Session of the United Nations General Assembly,* pp. 1 and 6.

34. Celso Amorim, *Statement at the Opening of the General Debate of the 65th Session of the United Nations General Assembly*, p. 1.

35. Celso Amorim, *Discurso do Embaixador na cerimônia de transmissão do cargo de Ministro de Estado das Relações Exteriores, Brasília,* 2 January 2011, p. 1, at http://www.itamaraty.gov.br/sala-de-imprensa/discursos-artigos-entrevistas-e-outras-comunicacoes/ministro-estado-relacoes-exteriores/discurso-do-embaixador-celso-amorim-na-cerimonia-de-transmissao-do-cargo-de-ministro-de-estado-das-relacoes-exteriores (accessed 7 December 2012).

36. Antonio de Aguiar Patriota, 'Governing Brazil', interview to *Brazil Confidential*, 6-18 January 2012, at http://www.itamaraty.gov.br/sala-de-imprensa/discursos-artigos-entrevistas-e-outras-comunicacoes/ministro-estado-relacoes-exteriores/governing-brazil (accessed 7 December 2012).

37. Antonio de Aguiar Patriota, *Remarks by the new Foreign Minister during the Power Transfer Ceremony for the Office of Brazilian Ministry of External Relation, Brasília,* 2 January 2011, p. 4, at http://www.itamaraty.gov.br/sala-de-imprensa/discursos-artigos-entrevistas-e-outras-comunicacoes/ministro-estado-relacoes-exteriores/remarks-by-minister-antonio-de-aguiar-patriota-during-the-power-transfer-ceremony-for-the-office-of-brazilian-ministry-of-external-relation (accessed 7 December 2012).

38. At www.china.org.cn/olympic/node_1114380.htm (accessed 6 November 2012).

39. At http://www.fifa.com/worldcup/archive/southafrica2010/index.html (accessed 6 November 2012).

40. At http://d2010.thecgf.com/ (accessed 6 November 2012).

41. At http://www.sochi2014.com/en/games/ (accessed 6 November 2012).

42. At www.fifa.com/worldcup/russia2018/index.html (accessed 6 November 2012).

43. *Candidature File for Rio de Janeiro to host the 2016 Olympic and Paralympic Games*, at http://rio2016.com/sites/default/files/parceiros/candidature_file_v1.pdf (accessed 24 November 2012).

44. *Candidature File for Rio de Janeiro to host the 2016 Olympic and Paralympic Games*, pp. 12-13.

45. *Candidature File for Rio de Janeiro to host the 2016 Olympic and Paralympic Games*, p. 19.

46. Torin Douglas, 'Olympics: Media's biggest ever event?', *BBC News*, 26 July 2012, at http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/entertainment-arts-18984628 (accessed 5 November 2012).

47. *Candidature File for Rio de Janeiro to host the 2016 Olympic and Paralympic Games,* p. 13.

48. Advisory Committee on Cultural Diplomacy, *Cultural Diplomacy: the Linchpin of Public Diplomacy,* (Washington DC: US Department of State, 2005), pp. 14-15, at http://www.state.gov/documents/organization/54374.pdf (accessed 25 November 2012).

49. Dilma Vana Rousseff, *Inaugural Speech to Congress,* p. 5.

50. Joseph S. Nye, 'Soft Power and Beijing Olympics', *Real Clear World*, 24 August 2008, at http://www.realclearworld.com/articles/2008/08/soft_power_and_beijing_olympic.html (accessed 28 November 2012).

51. *Candidature File for Rio de Janeiro to host the 2016 Olympic and Paralympic Games*, p. 13.

52. 'Soft Power Survey', *Monocle,* November 2012, at http://www.monocle.com/sections/affairs/Web-Articles/Soft-Power-Survey---2012/ (accessed 5 December 2012).

53. Antonio de Aguiar Patriota, *Remarks by the new Foreign Minister during the Power Transfer Ceremony for the Office of Brazilian Ministry of External Relation*, p. 3.

54. Lula da Silva, *Discurso durante cerimônia de início da jornada para a Copa do Mundo da Fifa Brasil 2014,* Joanesburgo, 8 July 2010, p. 3, at http://www.itamaraty.gov.br/sala-de-imprensa/discursos-artigos-entrevistas-e-outras-comunicacoes/presidente-da-republica-federativa-do-brasil/discurso-durante-cerimonia-de-inicio-da-jornada-para-a-copa-do-mundo-da-fifa-brasil-2014 (accessed 9 December 2012).

Andreia Soares e Castro has a PhD in International Relations and is Assistant Professor of International Relations and Political Science at the School of Social and Political Sciences, Technical University of Lisbon (ISCSP-UTL), Portugal.

THE "AMBASSADOR OF SKATEBOARDING AND CULTURAL DIPLOMACY"

An interview with Joe Maloof on the "Maloof Money Cup Skate Contest"

By Neftalie Williams

1st place qualifier Luan Olivera switch 360 flip / **credit:** Neftalie Williams

Joe Maloof is no stranger to the title, "Ambassador of Good Times." Maloof is well known as a member of a leading family in the business, sports, and entertainment worlds. As the President and co-owner of the NBA's Sacramento Kings, the Palms Resort and Casino in Las Vegas, and the Maloof Money Cup Skateboarding Contest, the Maloof hand has painted masterstrokes across the memories of generations.

Now, Joe Maloof has transformed his title from "Ambassador of Good Times" to "Ambassador of Skateboarding and Cultural Diplomacy" by taking his skateboarding contest series, the Maloof Money Cup, international. His contest recently closed out its second successful year in Kimberley, South Africa, awarding 21-year old Brazilian born Luan Olivera USD$100,000 for first place.

The contest energized the city and audiences worldwide, with a broadcast seen in 120 countries. After the contest, Joe Maloof and the Northern Cape delegation, re-signed their cooperative deal to bring the Maloof Cup back to Kimberley, South Africa, until 2015.

I recently spoke with Joe Maloof about how it feels to act as an ambassador for cultural and sports diplomacy on a global scale.

How did you first get involved with South Africa and the Northern Cape Delegation?

In the beginning, the delegation reached out to us, and then visited us out in Vegas at the Palms. It turned out they were looking at skateboarding for some time; we were honored they expressed interest in working with us. The delegation felt our contest was tremendous and the most prestigious contest in skateboarding. In their opinion, we had a bit of everything: all the best skaters, a fun environment for everyone and a bit of glamour as well, because we have a lot of celebrities at our contest as well. We had the elements they wanted to bring to South Africa.

Did you sign with them immediately?

No, all good relationships take time. You have to make sure you are a great fit. They came to all of the Maloof Contests; Orange County, NY and DC. We spent a lot of time together. They wanted to really understand how the Maloof family worked, and we learned how things worked in their country as well. It was so interesting learning about their culture, and I really believe they are the greatest and nicest people. They were thinking about what's best for the children in their country, and their legacy, just like we do. They spent a great amount of time familiarizing themselves with skateboarding and the skate community. We have had a great time together since the beginning, and they loved visiting New York and DC. Just spending time working with them and meeting the skaters was a huge cultural exchange.

In New York, the African American pro skaters Theotis Beasley and Chris Pastras met with the delegation and I heard both sides say they were honored to meet one another. One of the best things though was that every ethnicity skating in the contest was excited, to be in the presence of the motherland. I interviewed so many skaters afterwards and they were just in awe that the eyes of South Africa were on them.

That's a testament to skateboarding. They are all a family, and include everyone no matter where they come from. It's one of the reasons I love working with them. I know the South Africans felt the same way. I remember introducing skaters to them and saying hopefully we will be bringing you all to South Africa. There was excitement on all sides. We knew if we were successful, it would be historical, which I believe it has been.

Did you know the Maloof Money Cup Skate Contest would be so well received in South Africa? Did it seem daunting to break new ground with a sport on such a grand scale?

You know this is the thing; skateboarding is global. There are skateboarders everywhere, and anyone can do it: boys and girls of every age, without regard to race and ethnicity. The Maloof organization and the Northern Cape delegates knew; plant the seeds, and people would come. Skateboarding is so relatable everywhere, but we were definitely breaking new ground in South Africa. We built a huge vert ramp, and had the world's best skaters, like Pierre Luc Gagnon and Bob Burnquist, which audiences loved, and the Mini-Mega Ramp, as well. People in the States don't often get to see that, and in South Africa on their soil, it was even more grandiose and important. It was such an honor to be able to show people what could be done in skateboarding.

On that note, in Public Diplomacy circles, we discuss Joseph Nye's concept of "smart power", which is using elements of hard and soft power to see change. It seems the Maloof Organization and the Northern Cape delegation use a multi-pronged approach to exciting people about skateboarding.

Both the Maloofs and the Northern Cape believe if we really care about skateboarding, you have to operate strongly on all levels. We didn't want to just show skateboarding; we left a skatepark. However, you can't just leave a skatepark, you need to leave direction, too. We recognize skateboarding is new to the country, so our program director Chinner leads skateboarding programs at the park and does tours and demonstrations in South Africa. You want to have an effect on the community all the time, not just when it's time for the contest. We try to stay in response to skaters there all the time, and run contests online on MaloofMoneyCup.com and on the sites of our partners, like World Industries Skateboards, Monster Energy, Anglo-American-Kumba Iron Ore, Boogalos, and CCS.

SKATEBOARDING IS POWERFUL BECAUSE EVERYONE BEGINS THE SAME. IF YOU'RE A GIRL OR BOY FROM ANYWHERE, YOU EVENTUALLY LEARN TO SPEAK THE INTERNATIONAL LANGUAGE OF SKATE.

During the pro contest this year, you also had a local aspect as well - can you describe that?

We did. Again that's a way to act in a diplomatic manner for skateboarding, but also a way to empower the youth in South Africa. It was a ten-city tour, and it brought together skaters who represented cities from all over South Africa like Johannesburg, Cape Town, and Durban. The skaters submitted their skate footage to our site, and were whittled down to the best representatives of each city.

This gave the locals a huge amount of exposure on the international stage then?

Definitely. They were able to skate a world class facility alongside the best in the world. The local and international media were astounded about the level of great skateboarding already present in South Africa. It's tremendous honor for us to show the talent in our host country. It allows people to know we aren't just coming in to show American skaters; we are giving light to their skaters as well. It's one of our favorite aspects of the Maloof Money Cup.

I thought it was historic how a South African-born skater almost won the contest the first year! Tommy Fynn lives in America now, but he was born in Durban, South Africa. It was amazing to see the crowds light up for him during the finals.

It was incredible! The South Africans cheered on one of their own; the applause was deafening; such a great people with so much pride, you can't ask for a better story. To bring the contest to South Africa for the first time, then have a native son almost win the whole thing; tremendous. It shows you how amazing skateboarding is culturally. It provides a new way for young South Africans to think about themselves on the world stage.

Even thinking globally, skateboarding is powerful because everyone begins the same. If you're a girl or boy from anywhere, you eventually learn to speak the international language of skate. Look at this year's winner, Luan Olivera. He's Brazilian-born, living in the U.S. and now winning a championship skateboarding contest in South Africa. That's absolutely amazing, and what's even more incredible is that he did it without a team. Skateboarding is an individual sport, so he made it to the top on his own. He didn't have to rely on how his teammates played. It was all on him and he rose to the top. That kind of drive is worth celebrating and goes beyond borders. In skateboarding the sky is the limit - it doesn't matter where you come from or your background, just do what you love. As long as kids know to do what they love, then they will find success. I think that's universal no matter where you are from.

Skateboarding is spreading in South Africa, because it's fun and there can be a future in it. Just seeing the huge increase in South African skaters at the park the second year showed both the Northern Cape delegation and the Maloof Organization that we are doing the right thing. Both of our groups want to inspire kids internationally. Show them, if they work hard, not only can they have fun, but they can make money, as well. It's the reason we pay the highest purse in skateboarding, $100,000 for first place.

The Maloof Money Cup paying $100,000 for first prize was groundbreaking. It set the bar and changed the way other contests paid skaters forever. I would say that's hard power because you spent real capital. Yet it had a soft power approach, on the way skaters felt about themselves and the way the world looked at skateboarders overall. You effectively changed everyone's mindset about what skateboarding was worth. Did you know you would effectively become an ambassador to skateboarding in the mainstream sports/media world and the effect it would have on skateboarding?

At the Maloof Cup we recognize skaters are athletes, and they

should be paid properly for their work and dedication. We own the Sacramento Kings, a professional NBA franchise, so we know how to recognize athletic ability. These skaters work incredibly hard and make it look so easy. It's inspiring. Our mantra was and still is, if we are involved in the sport, it's going to be 100%. We are proud to build the best skateparks in the world and to leave them behind for future skaters.

Our New York skatepark is at the base of the World's fair, and our DC skatepark is right next RFK stadium. Symbolically, it's important for the parks to be close to places of historical import to skateboarding and important to mainstream culture. It also shows our changing values; the youth are our future and if skateboarding is important to them, it's important to us. Everyone knows someone who skateboards now, and in a way we really are affecting a whole new populace. Building quality, free skateparks is good for the sport of skateboarding over all.

To your second point, why shouldn't skaters make as much money as other sports stars? Think about it, the majority of them learn their craft in the streets. They aren't sanctioned. Skaters become experts on their own, with limited fanfare, and we felt it was time to promote greater recognition. I think we are successful in that manner, because look at who came to all of our contests. We have had Kobe Bryant, Snoop Dogg, the Jets QB Mark Sanchez, Susan Sarandon, the NY Yankees, Ludacris, and a host of others.

On the subject of South Africa again, has your acting as a proponent for global skateboarding had an impact on the city itself?

It has, and I cannot stress the importance of the vision of Northern Cape delegation as well, including John Block, MEC of Finance, Economic Development and Tourism for the Northern Cape, and Premier Hazel Jenkins. They loved our work in the U.S. and knew bringing the Maloof Money Cup to Kimberley, South Africa would help it become a worldwide hub of skateboarding. All of our combined work has contributed to the success of the contest and the skatepark. People like to know results, and the Maloof Money Cup in Kimberley has been a huge success. It permeated every aspect of the economy: food, lodging, travel, tourism of the other areas. Kimberly is famous for their diamond mines, the Big Hole and their safaris. It helped improve the economy overall. We had a capacity crowd both years, and viewership of the Maloof Money Cup reached 120 countries. The finals of the contest were even available to watch in U.S. theatres through our partnerships here. Next year it will be even better.

With the success of the Maloof Cup in working with the Northern Cape, what do you see as the future role of sport diplomacy?

I think what we accomplished in South Africa is the first of many great things to come. We created a wonderful partnership between the government and private business and that's really the best road to travel down. We provided them a great contest and global exposure and an opportunity to remove the specter of apartheid. In their role promoting tourism and acting as diplomats for South Africa, their mission is to show modernity in the Northern Cape and provide a great future for their youth. Skateboarding brings about all these things.

WHAT WE ACCOMPLISHED IN SOUTH AFRICA IS THE FIRST OF MANY GREAT THINGS TO COME.

Pro skaters in the states didn't know they could have such a great time in South Africa. They didn't know there could be one of the best skateparks on earth there, either. The population in South Africa meeting with skaters was a great act of diplomacy. It increased everyone's understanding of each other and the world around them. There were lines for ever each day at the skateparks, and cars parked miles away to see the contest. Everyone involved was an ambassador! The pro skaters were great with the kids and Kimberly was a gracious host. This is what brings people together, and that's the role of sports diplomacy.

There are millions of skateboarders now and the numbers continue to grow. It's a youth movement, and it's not something that costs a lot of money to do, and everyone can get involved. It's also not just an activity, kids become skateboarders, and if they stick to it, they become pro skateboarders. For the Maloofs, promoting skateboarding globally is great because skateboarding teaches them to be independent, and it helps them find common ground with people worldwide. Why wouldn't you want to promote that type of thing?

Where will you be taking the contest next?

Right now we are in talks with China, Mexico, Italy, France, Isreal, the Middle East and Lebanon. We also plan on returning back to New York and DC next year as well. We are having an amazing time promoting skateboarding and are dedicated to watching it grow.

Joseph Maloof is President of the Maloof Companies. Joe's business expertise and leadership qualities have helped enhance and diversify the corporation's growth since his father's death in 1980. Joe manages the Maloof Companies' nearly 3,500 employees with an open door policy, much like his father did more than 30 years ago. He also believes in treating customers in a first-class manner and with the utmost respect, and is often seen talking and listening to the fans and customers of the various family businesses. "My father's business philosophy of taking care of our customers and employees was successful long ago, and all of us in the family have chosen to manage with that same style," states Joe. His extensive expertise in management, sales, and marketing has been invaluable during the company's expansion into banking, hotels, sports marketing, and gaming over the past 30 years. In May of 1999, he was appointed to the NBA Board of Governors by Commissioner David Stern after the Maloof family was unanimously approved by the Board to assume controlling interest of the Kings. Like all of his family, Joe's charitable efforts are an important aspect of his personal and professional life. He has assisted countless community service groups through the years, including the Boys Club, the University of New Mexico, the American GI Forum, the Airport Little League, and the League of Latin American Citizens, to name just a few. He has a passion for competition, stemming from his days as a prep and collegiate athlete. He was MVP of his high school basketball team at Lawrenceville Prep School (Lawrenceville, N.J.), and was a two-time letterwinner as a defensive back at the University of New Mexico, where he graduated in 1979 with a degree in business. Joe resides in Sacramento less than two miles from Power Balance Pavilion. He enjoys working out and hanging out with his dogs.

Neftalie Williams is an East Coast transplant from Boston, who has lived in New York City, San Diego, Tampa, and the Netherlands, who currently resides in Los Angeles. He has a degree in photography and is a Communication Major with an emphasis in Action Sports at the Annenberg School at the University of Southern California. Neftalie is the head photographer for the Maloof Entertainment Groups, Maloof Money Cup and is the personal photographer for Joe Maloof. His work is featured domestically and internationally. Some of the outlets include the Guinness Book of World Records, the LATimes.com, ESPN, Yahoo! Sports, Time Out Chicago, Transworld Skateboarding, Vapors Magazine, Color Magazine, YRB, Line-Up and FTK Magazines, and Vapors Street Couture.

A STUDY ON CHINESE NATIONAL IMAGE UNDER THE BACKGROUND OF BEIJING OLYMPIC GAMES

By Guo Qing, Wang Hong-jiang, Yu Ting-ting, Tang Xiao-ru, Chen Rui, Li Ping-ping

This is a translated excerpt of an article that appeared in China Sport Science Vol. 29.8, 2009.

Translated by Amy Yu Zheng

Background

National image is an essential part of a country's soft power. It is also a comprehensive reflection of the public's impression, attitude and evaluation of a certain country. A good national image is an impressive ticket for a country to enter the international stage. Historically, Olympic host cities have been able to convey to the world information that is far beyond the scope of sports competitions. Enhancing China's national image by integrating the power of culture, publicizing the achievements of China's reform and opening up policy, and spreading Chinese traditional culture was the original intention of China's hosting the 2008 Olympic Games. However, under the cloud of prejudice and misreading from Western countries toward China, could the Beijing Olympic Games achieve its goal to remodel and improve the image of China? This research project is trying to answer this question by studying China's national image in foreign media coverage during the 2008 Beijing Olympic Games.

Research Design

Based on agenda setting theory and cultivation theory, the image of a sovereign state is formed in the international news flow. By shaping the information environment, the mass media becomes the channel for the public to get information from the outside world. Therefore, mass media is the main channel for a country's national image to enter the international society.

This research uses content analysis to look at coverage about China in The New York Times and The Times of London from January 2007 to December 2008 to understand how the two newspapers portray China's national image within the context of the Beijing Olympic Games. By using the composite week sample, we get the random samples of coverage from 46 days within the period. The sample includes 134 stories from The New York Times and 142 stories from The Times of London. Four coders participated in the project and underwent three rounds of training, resulting in inter-coder reliability of 0.984. All the statistics were completed using SPSS software.

Results

New York Times

Key Stories: Economics, Politics, Diplomacy, Beijing Olympics and Social Issues

Among the 134 stories about China, 34 economic stories accounted for 25.4% of the sample followed by 20 stories about politics, which made up 14.8%. Stories about social issues, the Beijing Olympics and Chinese culture accounted for 9.8%, 9.6%, and 9% of the sample, respectively. In a study of New York Times coverage about China in 2006, there were 9% of stories on environmental issues. In this study, the number of environmental stories was 12, which is about 9% of the sample. Thus, within the context of the Beijing Olympic Games, China's environmental issues were still one of the key issues for The New York Times.

Tone of coverage

Reporters often express biases and emotions consciously or unconsciously while writing stories. Western journalists rarely express their personal views directly when they cover China in their reporting. Instead, they use indirect description and metaphors to show their emotions. Therefore, we employed textual analysis to examine how China was portrayed in The New York Times. We categorized stories into three groups: stories with words such as "cooperative", "friendly" and "positive" were qualified as positive stories; stories with words like "repression", "secrecy" and "persecution" were coded as negative stories; and stories that covered facts without using emotional words were counted as neutral stories. Our results suggested that among the samples, 11.2% stories were positive stories, 36.5% were negative stories and 52.3% were neutral stories. The New York Times held an objective attitude while covering China, but negative

criticism was far more prevalent than positive praise.

Qualitative analysis reveals trends

In addition to quantitative analysis, we also chose a few sample stories from August 2nd, 2008 to August 25th, 2008 to analyze what language issues The New York Times focuses on in its coverage of China. Our results suggest the following trend:

- Media censorship and human rights issues are the primary focus of The New York Times' coverage about China during the Beijing Olympics.
- Criticism of environmental issues in Beijing was prevalent in the coverage.
- Coverage of Liu Xiang's drop out of the Games showed tender feelings.
- Other stories about the Beijing Olympics tended to be negative in tone.

The Times of London

Stories about China were long and detailed:

Lenght	Number	Frequency	Cumulative frequency
Under 399 words	66	46.5%	46.5%
400 to 799 words	53	37.3%	83.8%
800 to 1199 words	15	10.6%	94.4%
Over 1200 words	8	5.6%	100%

The majority of stories about China were in the Economics, Feature and World News sections. Over one third of stories in the Feature section were about China, which indicates that China was a key topic for The Times.

Key topics include: Economics, the Beijing Olympic Games and Chinese culture

Among our samples, 35 stories were about economic issues, of which one third focused on China's overall economic situation. Other topics discussed frequently were the Beijing Olympic Games with 21 stories, and cultural topics with 21 stories. The fourth topic was politics and diplomacy, with 15 stories covering ethnic minority and human rights issues.

Objective coverage with a negative tone

Tone	Number	Percentage
Praise	5	3.5
Criticism, Satire	49	34.5
Neutral	60	41.5
Pessimistic	6	4.2
Constructive	1	0.7
No attitude	22	15.5
Summary	142	100

If we combine the numbers for "praise" and "constructive" as positive coverage, the numbers for "neutral" and "no attitude" as neutral and the rest as a negative tone, the ratio for positive, neutral and negative tone for The Times' coverage about China is 1:14:9. Similar to The New York Times, The Times of London took an objective perspective with negative tone while covering China for the majority of the time.

Qualitative Analysis

Qualitative analysis of The Times of London's coverage of China during the Beijing Olympics revealed the following trends:

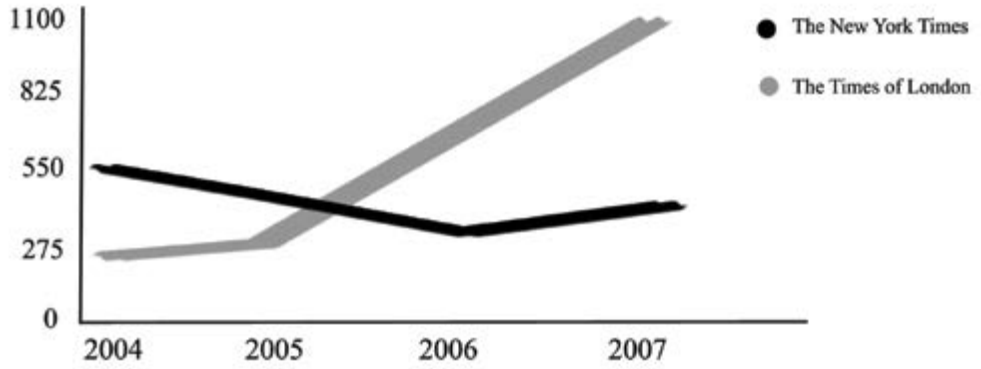
- Coverage about the torch relay focused on human rights issues.
- Criticism about China's environmental issues was widespread.
- Coverage of the Opening Ceremony tended to focus on fraud.

Differences in coverage about China in The New York Times and The Times of London

Both newspapers saw a spike in coverage about China during the Beijing Olympics, as displayed in the following graphicWe believe two possible reasons for the increase are:

a) The enhancement of the national comprehensive ability of China, increase in China's diplomatic events, economic development and the high frequency of massive social events in China.

b) The Beijing Olympic Games provided an opportunity for China to attract international attention.



Note: Data for The Times of London was not available for the year 2006

The New York Times showed an increase in positive coverage about China, while The Times of London showed a trend of depoliticization in coverage about China

In a study of New York Times coverage of China from 1993 to 1998, 55% of coverage was negative and 44% of coverage was neutral, while only 1% of coverage was positive.[1] Our study showed that even though negative stories about China in The New York Times during the Olympic Games cycle reached 37%, there was a decrease of negative coverage from previous years overall, and over 50% of coverage was neutral. The representation of China in The New York Times was relatively objective.

A comparison between The Times of London's coverage about China in 2002 to 2003 and 2007 to 2008 showed that there is a tendency of depoliticization. However, in coverage about human rights and democracy, The Times still viewed China through colored lenses and ignored the efforts of Chinese government to address those two issues.

Topics	2002-2003 (%)	2007-2008 (%)
Economics, Diplomacy	24	10.5
Politics	23.8	24.7
Law	9.7	2.8
Health, Food	3.5	4.2
Culture, Arts, Education	3.3	14.8
Military	2.7	0
Sports	8.4	3.5
Technology	2.4	0
People	6.9	7.7
Environment	0.8	6.3
Beijing Olympics	0	14.8
Social issue	3.7	5.6
Other	10.9	4.9

Topics mentioned in China coverage in The Times of London, comparison between 2002-2003 and 2007-2008 (%).

Discussion

Within the context of Beijing Olympics, China's negative image in the Western media was partially improved, but biases still exist.

Our analysis of *The New York Times* and *The Times of London* showed an increase in coverage about China in both publications during the Beijing Olympic Games. Even though the percentage of negative coverage about China is still high, there was a decrease from previous years. At the same time, over 50% of reports were objective. Coverage about China's economy is mostly objective. Coverage about China in *The Times of London* also increased during this period. It focused on changes in Chinese society from an objective perspective and held a neutral attitude towards China's economy. While *The Times of London* reaffirmed the status of China's economy in the world economic order, it also showed concerns about China's rise.

The Chinese government and media's objective to improve China's national image faces difficulties in countering the stereotypes of Western media.

The comparison between the national image created by the Chinese government and media and China's image in Western media showed that China's efforts in economic development, diplomatic events, and cultural events earned recognition from the Western media, but biases and misunderstandings still exist in topics like political democracy, environmental issues and urban construction issues. During the Beijing Olympic Games, the overseas editions of China Daily and People's Daily improved their strategy in reporting China's stories, but the effect of their work has yet to be examined. The Western media still showed biases when covering politics, human rights and democracy issues in China.

National interests and media interests play an important role in global media events.

Although *The New York Times* and *The Times of London's* coverage about China reflected similar attitudes and reporting styles, they focused on different topics. Their coverage about China depended on two elements: a) the opinion and feeling about China formed though the interaction between America and China, and the UK and China: this curing identity of China influences the two newspapers' coverage about China to a great extent; b) the news values held by the two newspapers: for both newspapers, the Chinese government and Chinese people were not the main source of interest. In a competitive news environment, "bad news" attracted far more attention than "good news".

Conclusion

The results of this project demonstrated that the number of China-related reports in the newspapers above increased significantly, and while their stories are objective, the material used in the reports is subjective. Both papers acknowledged that China is a country with rapid economic development, but without transparent politics and with significant social issues. *The NewYork Times'* attitude toward China changed in a positive direction, but *The Times of London* has a trend of depoliticization on China-related reports. In this study, the extreme image of China has been tempered in Western media in the context of the Beijing Olympics, but prejudices still exist. Nation branding actions undertaken by the Chinese government faced challenges in countering the stereotypes held by Western media. Thus, we argue that the production of global media events are deeply affected by national and media interests.

References and Notes

1. Zhigao Pan "Analysis of The New York Time's coverage of China 1993-1998" *Journal of Guizhou Normal University(Social Science)*,3 (2003):52-55

Guo Qing, Sports Journalism Department of Chengdu Sport University, Chengdu, 610041, China

Wang Hong-jiang, Journal of Chengdu Sport University, Chengdu, 610041, China

Yu Ting-ting, Sports Journalism Department of Chengdu Sport University, Chengdu, 610041, China

Tang Xiao-ru, Physical Education Department of Chengdu Sport University, Chengdu, 610041, China

Chen Ru, Graduate Departments of Chengdu Sport University, Chengdu, 610041, China

Li Ping-ping, Students Management Department of Guiyang College, Guiyang, 550005, China

FOOTBALL AND PUBLIC DIPLOMACY IN NORTHERN IRELAND

By Chris Lyttle

There are many definitions of public diplomacy, but a broad understanding that it is communication designed to inform, influence and exchange.

The recent story of football in Northern Ireland affords a valuable insight into the innovative use of public diplomacy for community empowerment and organisational change.

Sports are a powerful force and it is up to us with what values they are infused. For many years Northern Ireland was a society in conflict, and sports were not immune from the mistrust, intimidation, exclusion and division this created. With innovative leadership and communication, however, respect for diversity and inclusion are increasingly at the heart of our society and sports, contributing to improved performance, sustainability and a more united community.

In 2001, I was at a match at which Northern Ireland international footballer Neil Lennon was booed by a section of home fans at Windsor Park, Belfast in an international friendly against Norway.

Northern Ireland were convincingly beaten 4-0 by Norway and Lennon left the stadium at half time as a result of this sectarian abuse. I was twenty years old and attending the game with my father and younger sister. It was no atmosphere for a family and one that would ultimately contribute to the early retirement of Neil Lennon from the Northern Ireland international football team.

SPORTS ARE A POWERFUL FORCE AND IT IS UP TO US WITH WHAT VALUES THEY ARE INFUSED.

Its understood that Lennon was subjected to this sectarian harassment as a result of his signing for Glasgow Celtic Football Club, supporters of which would traditionally, though in no way exclusively, come from an Irish Nationalist and Catholic background in Northern Ireland.

This was a watershed moment for football in Northern Ireland and its governing body, the Irish Football Association (IFA). But the leadership of Head of Community Relations, Michael Boyd, would deliver a campaign of grassroots empowerment and communications to tackle such sectarianism and establish what is now the core mission of the organisation, Football for All.

The IFA increasingly understood that campaigning for an inclusive atmosphere at Windsor Park and positive community relations throughout football in Northern Ireland was not only the standard expected by the Good Friday Peace Agreement, but absolutely critical for the sustainability and development of the sport in the region.

Key to the success of the Football for All strategy was a campaign of grassroots supporter empowerment. With the use of the European Union Peace and Reconciliation Programme funding, the IFA worked in partnership with the Amalgamation of the Official Northern Ireland Supporters Club to facilitate anti-sectarianism and racism awareness and agreed self-regulating measures to ensure positive crowd behaviour and a fundamentally transformed atmosphere at Windsor Park.

This highly effective community empowerment approach included the "Sea of Green" campaign that united Northern Ireland supporters regardless of background around the public understanding that green and white would be the colour of choice at international matches.

As a result of the success of this approach, Football for All has been increasingly mainstreamed across the work of the IFA in coach development, domestic licensing, women's football, disability football, referee training and marketing. The IFA has developed partnerships with key stakeholders such as Sport NI, the Community Relations Council, the Northern Ireland Council for Ethnic Minorities, supporters, government and academics who help guide this work as part of the Football for All Advisory Panel.

Crucially, Northern Ireland international football players, from rival club teams Glasgow Celtic and Glasgow Rangers Football Clubs, have volunteered to act as IFA Football for All Ambassadors. Niall McGinn, formerly of Celtic Football Club said, "real progress is being made to eradicate racism and sectarianism from the game at all levels through Football for All". Glasgow Rangers player, Andrew Little has said that "Football for All has strengthened football and promoted respect for diversity in Northern Ireland".

Johannes Hahn, the European Commissioner for Re-

Credit: PressEye / Irish Football Association

gional Policy, has praised the impact of the programme on community relations in Northern Ireland and said, "not only has Football for All made a meaningful difference locally, but it is also a model to which other countries around Europe can aspire".

This approach has also included the use of drama to facilitate safe spaces for difficult conversations about the past, and in doing so is leading the way on an issue with which wider society in Northern Ireland continues to struggle. As part of this innovative community relations work the IFA partnered with the Belfast Celtic Society to facilitate a performance of the Padraig Coyle play Lish and Gerry at the Shrine at the Northern Ireland Assembly, Parliament Buildings, Belfast.

The play relives the day in 1948 when a sectarian riot at Windsor Park in an Irish League match between Linfield Football Club and the predominantly Catholic football club, Belfast Celtic, left Jimmy Jones, a Belfast Celtic player attracting the attention of clubs including Manchester United, with a broken leg. Belfast Celtic eventually withdrew from football as a result but Coyle's play illuminates the intertwined histories of a divided community that gives hope for a more shared future.

The play centers on the characters of Gerry Morgan, the Catholic trainer of Linfield Football Club, and Elisha Scott, the Protestant manager of Belfast Celtic, who had made almost 500 appearances as goalkeeper for Liverpool Football Club. The lives of the two men demonstrate the more mixed nature of the community before the serious violence of the so-called Troubles. Healing through remembering facilitated open and reflective discussions after the performance, which allowed people to express emotions and address issues that I believe would never have been risked without the dramatic context in which this exchange was set.

Although a line has been drawn under the violence in Northern Ireland, difficulties remain with regards to establishing what happened in the past. The danger is that stories are told in black and white in separate communities and divisions are maintained rather than addressed.

I was proud to co-sponsor this public event with Ulster Unionist Party MLA Danny Kennedy and SDLP MLA Conall McDevitt on behalf of the Irish Football Association and Belfast Celtic Society. I believe this event demonstrates a model by which we can help each other visit a divisive but nuanced past in order to build a shared and better future. Indeed, the Irish Football Association and Belfast Celtic Society are demonstrating leadership and public diplomacy on a level not yet achieved by many elected representatives in Northern Ireland in this regard.

The next phase of this approach will provide Irish League club teams free Community Relations audits and support to develop Community Relations strategies of their own in order to partner with the Irish Football Association vision of Football for All.

In particular, IFA Head of Community Relations, Michael Boyd, is committed to the mainstreaming of Football for All throughout Irish football and has said that "ultimately the aim is to support staff, volunteers and fans to promote Football for All at every level of the game to reflect a new, more confident, diverse and inclusive Northern Ireland both locally and globally".

There is a long way to go to realize this vision but the Irish Football Association is building partnerships with innovative public diplomacy and effective communication to progress this sport and make a significant contribution to the peace and wellbeing of all people in Northern Ireland.

For more information on the Irish Football Association Football for All contact ffa@irishfa.com or visit www.irishfa.com/the-ifa/community-relations/football-for-all/ As recent headlines and sports reporters have well documented, 2012 has been a banner year for women in sports: the 40th Anniversary of Title IX; monumental successes at the London Olympic Games; and, finally, women as members of Augusta National Golf Club.

Chris Lyttle MLA is an Elected Member of the Northern Ireland Assembly for East Belfast. He is also a UEFA licenced football coach and a member of the Irish Football Association Football for All Advisory Panel.

SMART POWER: USING SPORTS DIPLOMACY TO BUILD A GLOBAL NETWORK TO EMPOWER WOMEN AND GIRLS

By Lee Satterfield

As recent headlines and sports reporters have well documented, 2012 has been a banner year for women in sports: the 40th Anniversary of Title IX; monumental successes at the London Olympic Games; and, finally, women as members of Augusta National Golf Club.

While we have much more work to do to ensure equality in sports in this country, the United States leads the world in providing women and girls the opportunity to pursue their potential.

The United States – as a government and as a people – believes in the power of sports. Not only do we see the transformative change that occurs within individuals, we see the way sports can transform cultures, communities, and countries for the better.

Now, why is the State Department engaging people through sports? Two words: smart power.

When Secretary Clinton began her tenure as America's top diplomat, she brought with her a new approach for leading the United States' diplomatic efforts. Through "smart power," the United States is mobilizing every tool at its disposal – and creating new ones – to strengthen our relationships with countries and people worldwide.

In the 21st Century, we cannot rely on traditional forms of diplomacy alone. Under Secretary Clinton's vision, we work to build stronger relationships globally through people-to-people diplomacy – outside the halls of government and in communities worldwide.

While our efforts to strategically use sports to empower women and girls have taken on a larger role this year, the United States has long supported and used sports diplomacy to engage audiences and governments. Beginning in 1972 with the re-establishment of relations with China through ping-pong diplomacy, the nature of our work has transformed over time. In 2002, the Department created a home for its global sports diplomacy efforts called SportsUnited, an office where we implement a host of global programs through international sports exchanges and sports grants. Through sports diplomacy, we work to engage, empower, and inspire a new generation of global citizens to come together for greater understanding.

Sports are an effective and strategic way in which we can implement Secretary Clinton's vision of "smart power" and pair it with her life-long commitment to empowering women and girls.

Yet so often, worldwide, women and girls are not valued; they are considered second-class citizens. They suffer from what Secretary Clinton calls the "opportunity gap." These women and girls have the drive, the talent, and the commitment to pursue their potential. What they don't have is the opportunity.

As Secretary Clinton has said, empowering women and girls isn't just the right thing to do, it's the smart thing to do. When women and girls are able to fully participate in and contribute to society, whether in sports, school or the workplace, it creates stronger economies and more stable communities.

WHEN WOMEN AND GIRLS ARE ABLE TO FULLY PARTICIPATE IN AND CONTRIBUTE TO SOCIETY, WHETHER IN SPORTS, SCHOOL OR THE WORKPLACE, IT CREATES STRONGER ECONOMIES AND MORE STABLE COMMUNITIES.

That's why under her leadership we have spearheaded a global effort to increase the number of women and girls who participate in all aspects of sports. The Empowering Women and Girls Through Sports Initiative is comprised of three pillars:

1. *Sports Envoys*, in which we send American athletes and coaches overseas to engage underserved youth;

2. *Sports Visitors*, in which we bring underserved youth and coaches to the United States for a short-term exchange; and,

3. *U.S. Department of State and espnW Global Sports Mentoring Program*, the cornerstone of the initiative, which pairs emerging women leaders in sports from around the world with leading American women in sports.

Throughout the history of our sports diplomacy engagement, the Department has built strong relationships

and partnerships with the private sector to boost our sports envoy and sports visitors programs. From non-governmental organizations, to professional leagues and associations, to world-class athletes, coaches, and administrators who devote their time and expertise, the Department is proud and grateful to our outstanding sports diplomats that support these endeavors.

Earlier this year, as we launched the first-ever Global Sports Mentoring Program, we turned to a new partner – espnW – to join our global efforts to use sports as a means to empower women and girls worldwide. The idea is quite simple: to bring international emerging leaders to the United States for a short-term mentoring program with leading American women representing all aspects of sports. Together, with espnW and the countless supporters of the program, we have opened up new opportunities for women and girls worldwide. Already, we are gearing up for the 2013 program.

Thanks to this collective effort, we hosted 17 emerging leaders from Australia, Brazil, China, Colombia, Egypt, India, Indonesia, Jamaica, Kenya, Macedonia, Nigeria, the Philippines, Russia, Rwanda, Tajikistan, Zambia and Zimbabwe as part of the first-ever Global Sports Mentoring Program.

These emerging leaders were paired with leading American women in all aspects of sports, including sports marketing, sports journalism, sports administration, and non-governmental organizations. American mentors hailed from Burton, Colavita, ESPN, Gatorade, LPGA Foundation, NCAA, Procter & Gamble, Saatchi & Saatchi, Stanton & Company, Under Armour, the University of Oregon, USA Gymnastics, the United States Olympic Committee, Women in Cable Telecommunications, and the Women's Sports Foundation.

Today, this first class of women from the U.S. Department of State and the espnW Global Sports Mentoring Program have fanned out across the world, taking with them the lessons they've learned, the new partnerships they have formed, and the guidance and insights of their mentors with a goal to increase women and girls' participation in all aspects of sports. As we celebrate the successes of 2012 on all levels, we continue to work together to ensure that through diplomacy, we can indeed engage and inspire a new generation of women and girls through sports.

Lee Satterfield is the Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Cultural and Professional Exchanges. She leads the Department of State's sports diplomacy efforts worldwide. For more information, go online to: https://exchanges.state.gov/womeninsports.

SHATTERING TABOOS

By James M. Dorsey

Controversy ranks high in Sahar al-Hawari's job description. Perseverance and the subtlety of a diplomat are her trademarks. A trailblazer for women's right to play soccer and only one of a handful of female trainers in the Middle East, Al-Hawari operates in a conservative man's world in which women's soccer is at best controversial and at worst blasphemous.

The outspoken daughter of an international soccer referee, Al Hawari set out in the early 1990s to build the Arab world's first association women's football team and then a regional women's soccer championship. Initially, she trained her players secretly in her parents' villa in Cairo.

Al-Hawari recalls that she "kept going for five years in my house. No one accepted us, no club, no nothing. I sponsored the whole thing alone because no one believed in us. Everyone said it's a crazy idea. When I started to show my girls in festivals, every city had a national feast. My late father had good contacts...he was well known all over the country and in the Arab region, so I took this reputation, and I worked with it."

Defying criticism that she was violating Islamic dress codes for women and tricking them into playing a man's game, she badgered the Egyptian Football Association until it recognized her team.

Al Hawari canvassed rural Egypt, where women suffer fewer social restrictions than in the country's major cities, for players. She cajoled and pleaded with conservative family and friends to allow her 25 athletes aged 15 to 22 to join her in Cairo. She countered fears that men would be ogling the girls at games by arguing that spectators would focus on their skills, not their bodies. She sold her belongings to pay for her team to stay at her home.

Her battle resembles the culture clash in the 2002 comedy film 'Bend It Like Beckham', which portrays a Sikh daughter's rebellion against her parents 'refusal to allow her to pursue soccer. However, there is one difference: in the Middle East, this culture clash is a fact of daily life that challenges multiple divides, including that between secularism and religion and the gender roles of men and women. Nonetheless, it positioned the stadium as a venue for women to defy role expectations. Members of Al Hawari's team bucked the trend in more ways than one. As Iranian and conservative European female players demanded the right to cover their heads during matches, Al Hawari's girls shed their headscarves once they arrived in Cairo.

To take her dream beyond Egypt, Al Hawari persuaded FIFA to threaten Arab football associations that do not have a women's team with sanctions. FIFA left the Egyptian association no choice but to back Al Hawari's push for an Arab Women's Football Championship. Al Hawari lobbied the United Arab Emirates and Bahrain to allow women to create their own soccer team. Members of the UAE team initially kept secret what they were doing in their spare time from their families, and often cancelled training when they were unable to sneak away.

THE STRUGGLE FOR THE RIGHT OF WOMEN TO PLAY SOCCER IN THE MIDDLE EAST AND NORTH AFRICA IS NOT NECESSARILY A BATTLE FOR A WESTERN INTERPRETATION OF WESTERN RIGHTS.

Several fought bitterly the conservative attitudes of their families in order to win the right to play. Nayla Ibrahim, a 25-year old goalkeeper and police officer, was forced to quit the team after her parents were inundated by complaints from friends and relatives. Her parents finally reneged, but refused to attend games for fear they would be seen as publicly supporting her. Nada Yousef al-Hashimi, a vivacious Ministry of Economy official who took up swimming and track in school, chaperones the team when she is not luring foreign investment into the country. She engages critics on the team's Facebook page, which includes a lively discussion page about the merits of women's soccer, dozens of team photos and links to YouTube videos.

The experience of Al Hawari's team is not an isolated one; across the Middle East, women's teams are fighting a continuous battle for their existence. Kuwait recently lifted its ban on a women's team, although Islamist lawmakers denounced it in parliament when the team returned from its first international appearance in the 2010 West Asian Football Federation championship.

Women's dress codes are at the heart of the controversy over women's soccer in a conservative world in which national, ethnic, religious and social conflict fuelled by repressive, authoritarian regimes breeds puritan social mores and interpretations of Islam. FIFA fought the Iranian Football Association for five years before agreeing to allow the Islamic republic's women's national team to wear caps that cover players' hair in international competitions rather than the hijab, an Islamic headdress that covers the hair, ears and neck and is banned by FIFA for safety and health reasons.

The dispute over the hijab in June 2011 led to the disqualification of the Iranian women's national team after they appeared on the pitch in the Jordanian capital Amman for a 2012 London Olympics qualifier against Jordan. The players wore the hijab in violation of the agreement reached in Singapore in 2010 between FIFA and the Iranian Football Federation (IFF), under which the Iranians agreed to the wearing of a cap that covered hair but not the neck. Three Jordanian players who wore the hijab were also barred.

The problem of the Jordanian players and of a large number of observant Muslim women whose opportunities to play professional soccer were curtailed by the FIFA ban or who refrained from pursuing a soccer career because of the issue of a headdress were resolved in March 2012. A campaign spearheaded by FIFA Vice President Prince Ali Bin Al Hussein that portrayed the hijab as a cultural rather than a religious requirement persuaded FIFA as well as the International Football Association Board (IFAB), a secretive body that governs the rules of professional soccer, to entertain commercially produced headdresses that would conform to Muslim norms as well as safety and security standards.

The decision constituted a victory for a majority of observant Muslim players. It also complicated affairs for Iranian national teams, who are not only obliged by the Iranian Football Federation (IFF) to wear a headdress in violation of the principle of free choice, but also force women's teams visiting the Islamic republic to do so. Berlin's predominantly Turkish BSV Al Dersimspor, the first foreign women's team to play in Iran after the lifting of a ban on women's soccer in 1998, had to have headscarves, long-sleeved jerseys and full-length pants specially made for the 2006 game as documented in the 2008 award-winning documentary Football Under Cover.

To be sure, the struggle for the right of women to play soccer in the Middle East and North Africa is not necessarily a battle for a Western interpretation of Western rights. Activists like Al-Hawari or Faezeh Hashemi, a former member of parliament and daughter of former president Ali Akbar Hashemi Rafsanjani, have ensured that their demands remain within the realm of Islamic law. Hashemi advocates clothing that covers everything but the face and hands of female athletes who compete outdoors. She criticizes the "nudity" of women who compete in brief uniforms at international tournaments and does not believe women should attend soccer matches until the "moral behavior" of men at the stadiums can be improved.

Yet despite the challenges they face, Muslim female athletes fight on: in Saudi Arabia, female athletes confronted tough obstacles to compete in the London Olympics. Physical education classes are banned in state-run Saudi girl's schools, and women's games and marathons are often cancelled when the clergy gets wind of them. Clerics condemn women's sports as corrupting and satanic and charge that it spreads decadence. They warn that running and jumping can damage a woman's hymen and ruin her chances of getting married. Yet in defiance, women have quietly been establishing soccer and other sports teams with the backing of more liberal members of the ruling Al Saud family as extensions of hospitals and health clubs. At the 2012 Games, Saudi Arabia fielded its first ever women athletes under threat of suspension by the International Olympic Committee at a mixed gender international tournament at the 2012 London Olympics. Bit by bit, they are succeeding in their fight to play on.

James M. Dorsey is a senior fellow at the S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies at Nanyang Technological University in Singapore and the author of the blog, The Turbulent World of Middle East Soccer.

TRANSNATIONAL SPORT : GENDER, MEDIA, AND GLOBAL KOREA
AUTHOR: RACHAEL MIYUNG JOO

Reviewed by Syuzanna Petrosyan

Rachael Miyung Joo's book, *Transnational Sport: Gender, Media, and Global Korea*, explores the ways in which transnational sports have become a powerful tool in the making of global Koreanness. Through extensive field research in Seoul and Los Angeles, Joo discusses how big sporting events, such as the 2002 World Cup hosted by South Korea, had an immense social and political impact that left a lasting effect on communities in Korea and the United States.

The author believes that mediated sports can act as a valuable portrayal of how Koreanness and Americanness are shaped in relation to each other, especially when articulating the relationship between homeland and diaspora. Joo focuses on popular sporting events and the athletes that have emerged as a product of South Korean segyehwa (globalization). She shows how mediated sports, an accumulation of institutions, images, and people, brings about a sense of global Koreanness lived and experienced by Koreans in both Seoul and Los Angeles. Mass media is the primary means by which sports have been understood and consumed by most Koreans; the mass-mediated image of the Korean athlete, operating within the context of nationalism, attracts travelers, students, workers, residents, and citizens who reside in South Korea as well as the Korean diaspora.

Joo takes her readers on a journey through Seoul and Los Angeles, focusing on the significance of Koreatown as a transnational space. She argues that the 2002 World Cup demonstrated the power of media to generate a sense of national influence and belonging for the Korean American community, as the group was shown as a representation of the diverse American national public in the mainstream media outlets. Nonetheless, she does not ignore the fact that the event did not automatically instill a sense of nationalism in all participants, and those who did not develop a sense of nationalism towards South Korea were not given a voice within mainstream media outlets. Through analyzing the 2002 World Cup in Koreatown, she demonstrates the significant impact the event had on Korean diaspora communities, including Los Angeles.

For readers seeking a political purpose in these mass-mediated sporting events, Joo explores how mediated sports can be a catalyst for progressive social change. She suggests that mediated sports can instigate political action by presenting people with the powerful experience of participating in collective action with a shared purpose. The author believes that the experience of "the mass crowds and the physical memories of participating during the 2002 World Cup event" helped inspire a type of emotional memory that reemerged during large-scale protests in 2002 and 2008. By making the reader understand the significance of a shared experience by a collective public, such as a popular sporting event, Joo portrays the various ways in which they can provide spaces for political action.

From gender, generations and politics, to the struggle of defining Koreatown, the book explores the complex but powerful role of sports in forming both Korean nationalism and Korean-American transnationalism at the beginning of the twenty-first century.

Syuzanna Petrosyan is a first year graduate student at Annenberg's Program in Public Diplomacy. Her previous degrees from University of California, Irvine include Economics, International Studies, and Conflict Resolution. As part of her conflict studies, Syuzanna has been involved with the Olive Tree Initiative (OTI), which is a university-based organization which promotes conflict analysis and resolution through experiential education and travel to the regions. She has served as a student board member of OTI Israel/Palestine and is a co-founder of OTI Armenia/Turkey. Syuzanna has previously interned at the Superior Court of Orange County as a mediator. Currently, she is an intern at USC's Shoah Foundation and works as a written translator for an Armenian-American online publication called Hetq.am.

SKATEISTAN: THE TALE OF SKATEBOARDING IN AFGHANISTAN

EDITED BY: JIM FITZPATRICK

Reviewed by Lauren Madow

Professional skateboarders are natural public diplomats. Because globetrotting is a major part of the job description (in order to film tricks in new places, or to participate in contests and demos), skaters interact with foreign publics—fans, fellow skaters, onlookers, pedestrians—and, consciously or not, represent their home countries and cultures. Lifelong skater and entrepreneur Oliver Percovich, raised in Australia and Papua New Guinea and a resident of Afghanistan since 2007, says, "skateboarding is something that gave me an identity as a youth, and it was something that connected me with people all around the world…I've been to lots and lots of places where I've made instant connections with people through skateboarding, and I wanted to give that gift to Afghan kids". That gift took the form of Skateistan, Percovich's NGO, which offers both skateboarding lessons and educational workshops to Kabul youth aged 5-18. In a city wracked by conflict and poverty, where a huge percentage of children spent their days "street-working" in order to contribute to their household income, fun and learning can be rare luxuries.

Skateistan: The Tale of Skateboarding in Afghanistan beautifully documents Percovich's unique approach to development. Divided into three sections—past, present and future—Skateistan features photo essays, interviews, an academic essay outlining the "liberating power of skateboarding", and several "factsheets" about Afghan history, culture and demographics.

One section of photographs taken by young Skateistan participants of themselves at home, in the streets, skating, and hanging out with friends is particularly compelling in its illustration of the empowering, listening-based nature of Skateistan's approach. After living in Afghanistan for a time and observing firsthand several failed attempts at international aid, Percovich opted to focus his efforts on children, believing that they possessed a certain mental and emotional resilience and capacity for change that older Afghans—and by older, he is referring to those over 18—had largely lost due to prolonged exposure to conflict. He began to interact with Kabul youth. He brought his own friends to the Mekroyan fountain, a relic of the Soviet presence in Afghanistan, and started skating there. Children and teenagers were naturally drawn to the spot, watching the skaters and soon asking to join in. Skateistan's mission statement explains that skating, as it builds self-confidence and community, serves as a "hook" to involve children in Skateistan's educational workshops, which range in scope from creative arts to literacy to math. Maximizing female participation is a particularly high priority for Skateistan. Although girls are usually forbidden to participate in sports, Afghan parents are inclined to consider skating more of a novelty pastime than an actual sport and so many allow their daughters to take part. Skateistan hires local teenagers, male and female, to instruct younger children in skateboarding, offering them a chance to experience responsibility and a sense of competency in their skills.

Skateistan has grown rapidly to include sites in Islamabad, Phnom Penh, and Mazar-e-Sharif in Northern Afghanistan The book's interviews and essays suggest several reasons why Skateistan has had remarkable success in a region where development efforts remain a perennial challenge: according to Percovich, he saw a need for a program which "had total buy-in from aid recipients". Skateboarding, not exactly a tough sell to children, made this easy. In addition, it appears that skating has a special way of organically fostering community wherever it is practiced—as Shams Razi, Skateistan's Kabul-raised Afghan Country Manager puts it, "we're doing something for Afghan kids, we're bringing the poor kids all together, the rich kids all together". Skating with peers, cheering each other on, and discovering a new way to relate to the public spaces they inhabit tends to build ties to one's city and one's fellow skaters regardless of socio-economic, gender or other differences.

Though at times self-congratulatory, *Skateistan: The Tale of Skateboarding in Afghanistan* contains valuable lessons on listening, creativity and advocacy for the public diplomacy practitioner. The rare opportunity to read about inspiring and positive developments in Afghanistan make it worth a read for anyone.

Lauren Madow is a documentary filmmaker and journalist. She was an artist-in-residence at Cité Internationale des Arts and CAMAC (Centre d'Art - Marnay Arts Center) in France. Lauren also worked with the John F. Kennedy Center for the Performing Arts, the Museum of the Moving Image, the Tribeca Film Institute, and in post-earthquake Haiti with the Haiti Medical Education Project. She is a Public Diplomacy student at USC and Executive Producer at Neon Tommy.

OUR NEXT ISSUE :

The Pacific Century

An interview with Undersecretary for Public Diplomacy and Public Affairs, Tara Sonenshine

Public Diplomacy Magazine's Summer 2013 issue will focus on the Pacific Century and the role public diplomacy has in it. The Pacific Century is not just a geographical shift; it is one that focuses a great deal on cooperation, relationship building, exchange, and soft power—all areas where public diplomacy is a vital tool.

To begin the discussion on the Pacific Century, we have devoted our endnote to an interview on the subject. This fall, three editors: Kia Hays, Sarah Myers, and Emily Schatzle sat down with Tara Sonenshine, Undersecretary for Public Diplomacy and Public Affairs, when she came to visit the Annenberg School of Communication and Journalism at USC. She discussed the role American public diplomacy currently plays in the Asia-Pacific region, and made apparent the importance public diplomacy will continue to have in the upcoming years.

Undersecretary for Public Diplomacy and Public Affairs, Tara Sonenshine. Credit : U.S Department of State.

KH: I'd like to start with asking you: what is your definition of the Pacific Century?

The Pacific Century is really an acknowledgement of a long history of cultural ties with the whole Asia Pacific. This is a recognition of both our physical place in the world, and our recognition of the strong ties that exist between us and the region. In particular I think we can't ignore the rise of countries like China, that have an important impact on the global economy and global security. So it's really a recognition of the power of this region to shape the next century.

KH: So, within that, what is the U.S. plan for public diplomacy in the pivot towards Asia?

Public diplomacy has always been focused on this region but there are certain areas that are getting renewed attention. One is that China has become interested in public diplomacy on its own, so we are involved in what's called CPE, Citizen People Exchange and the programs are expanding in terms of U.S.- China engagement, many more engagements around education, culture, art, museums, philanthropy, women, science, so an expansion of programs. The second part is focused on the U.S. and Japan, by closing the gap that has come about in terms of the number of Japanese students studying in the U.S., which has declined by 50% in the past 10 years. So we're focusing on, just, rebuilding some of that engagement. Burma, a country that has come to the fore, is part of the region and we are doing a lot of exchanges--we recently had a sport exchange with Burma, sending basketball players to Rangoon. Throughout the region we are going to use our American Spaces and our interactive engagement programs to have a more robust engagement.

SM: One of the challenges that I think we observe is that there is an interpretation out there that the pivot East is also part of military expansion. How can American PD deal with that interpretation?

From a traditional public diplomacy standpoint we have not seen a backlash necessarily to the military presence. One place where I'm aware we suddenly have a presence is Australia, and this is an area where we will be looking at ways to explain that presence and to make sure that it's not seen as threatening or undermining the relationship. But other than that, I've not noted yet that this is requiring a separate public diplomacy outreach.

ES: You spoke a bit about using social media - especially in situations where there might be firewalls that make it a little difficult, how do you think we can craft messages towards audiences that have different levels of media literacy?

The key for public diplomacy in this age of 21st Century

Statecraft is to be out there on multiple platforms, in multiple ways, in multiple languages. So, in certain countries radio is still a primary distribution, in other places television is the dominant media, or satellite television is a dominant media. In many places social media and the Internet is critical, while in some it is SMS texting. The key is to disseminate information widely across multiple platforms and to be engaged where people are engaged.

ES: As a follow up, what about countries that might have different conceptions of what free speech is?

Freedom of speech is a universal value, it is a value that the United States feels very strongly about and we have to engage with people in ways that allow freedom of speech to be understood as a universal value. And so we are aware that for many societies it is confusing and contradictory and we have to explain what we mean by it and why we are so dedicated to preserving it.

KH: The next question touches on this idea of 21st Century Statecraft. What is your vision for public diplomacy within this greater idea of 21st Century Statecraft?

My concept of public diplomacy is engagement with large audiences, across different disciplines, different regions, different platforms, and with the task of defining public diplomacy as an art and a science. So part of my mission is to make sure that people understand the value of public diplomacy, the benefits it brings to all societies and to build a constituency again for public diplomacy and to have people respect it as a trade, a profession, and to appreciate what it means to be a public diplomat. So my vision for 21st Century Statecraft is using all the tools in the toolbox, be it social media, educational exchanges, music, sports, art, culture, film, and the tools of new media for countering violent extremism. My conception of public diplomacy in the 21st Century is to be out there everyday, in every way, and defining, describing, and championing the public diplomacy field.

KH: As a follow up, do you partner with other areas within the State Department, especially the Office of Innovation to progress this idea?

I believe deeply in a whole-of-government approach to public diplomacy, so that you have to involve all of State Department, but you also have to be interacting with USAID, DoD, the Peace Corps, Commerce Department. You have to have an inter-agency approach that maximizes your leverage with economic statecraft, information architecture, foreign service, training, and all the various facets and dimensions of people-to-people interaction to create a web or network of public diplomacy practice.

SM: A quick follow up then, you mentioned in the session earlier about public diplomacy programs, and that a lot of those things, also, inevitably had to be in reaction to world events. I was wondering if you could talk a bit about the institutionalization of public diplomacy, and what you would want to institutionalize in the practice of PD at the State Department during your tenure?

There are a few areas that I would like to codify in public diplomacy. One, to have leadership principles that are defined for the field and up and available on our website that spell out the attributes and characteristics and tenets of PD leadership. Two is to have an external newsletter about public diplomacy, which we started, to let practitioners and students know what is actually taking place in public diplomacy. Third is to go and speak around the country and around the world about public diplomacy so that it is part of the fabric of how we approach the world. And lastly is to make sure, from a policy perspective, that all of the internal workings of the government take public diplomacy into account as they formulate policy and see it as a vital, critical ingredient in policymaking.

THE KEY FOR PUBLIC DIPLOMACY IN THIS AGE OF 21ST CENTURY STATECRAFT IS TO BE OUT THERE ON MULTIPLE PLATFORMS, IN MULTIPLE WAYS, IN MULTIPLE LANGUAGES

SM: Could you tell us a little bit more about that last point? Because I think, as students, we have lots of ideals now, but in terms of really being able to express the value of what we are studying, it's a challenge.

To institutionalize public diplomacy into the foreign policy machinery is first and foremost to have, as we now do, public diplomacy officers in every regional bureau. It's a very concrete way of institutionalizing public diplomacy so that every region is thinking public diplomacy. The second way you institutionalize public diplomacy into the fabric of foreign policy is to make sure you're working on the career tracking and mentoring of public diplomacy officers so they can see a career ladder in the future in their path. That's a way that you continue to have a pipeline of people coming though public diplomacy. The third way is that you write about public diplomacy and blog, and tweet, and put it on the State Department website, and use communications tools to communicate internally and externally about the value of public diplomacy.

ES: We've seen ASEAN growing as a regional influence, but it seems that one of the challenges is that the member states are very diverse and haven't interacted with each other, historically, perhaps as much as the EU member states. So my question is how do you think that American public diplomacy can help foster regional cooperation amongst the states?

Public diplomacy is a great community builder. It manages to find shared interests and shared values wherever it operates, so in the ASEAN region, when we foster educational exchanges or sports exchanges in Burma for example, we are helping bring Burma into the community of nations. When we reach out to individual members we are helping to build their connecting tissue back to the regional community, so in that way, putting entrepreneurs from different countries together in one room is, in and of itself, a building block in the regional architecture.

SM: I know you followed Chinese PD for a long time, so I was wondering if you could talk a little bit more about China, and specifically what are the diplomatic tools that can be used not only to help China soften its stance on certain issues, but also to facilitate better and more constructive engagement between the U.S. and China.

The strategic dialogue we have between the U.S. and China is a prime example of a bilateral relationship which includes public diplomacy and people-to-people ties, so that's the principle diplomatic mechanism for creating a forum in which you can talk about values and ideals and programs and engagement. There are more informal ways beyond the formal, strategic dialogue where we meet with Chinese counterparts and we basically interact over engagement programs that are ongoing irrespective of the bilateral relationship. We have, for example, the 100,000 Strong Initiative, which aims to increase the number of Americans studying and doing scholarly work in China. That effort continues all year so it's not tied to these big, strategic meetings. The exchanges around health issues and education issues, museum development, sports diplomacy, are ongoing ways to informally respond and share our ideals. The young people that come back and forth are sometimes the best ambassadors of U.S.-China relations, and they create the rubric and the texture around the relationship.

ES: On that note, we have a lot of international students at USC, especially from Asian countries. How the U.S. is working to promote more students studying abroad?

We are very eager to increase to increase the two-way traffic. What public diplomacy best does is create two-way exchanges, so we want lots of students going overseas and lots of international students coming here. A good example of promoting U.S. students going overseas is in India, where we have a Passport to India program that specifically promotes U.S. studies in India. We have a similar effort underway in Indonesia now, and the 100,000 Strong in China is another way to promote going overseas and studying in that region. Many of the Critical Language Studies scholars we have are Chinese speaking Americans, who get to utilize their skills by going to China. The Fulbright program, the YES program, the Access program, all of the main programs that encourage young people to go to China and the region are really the backbone of public diplomacy.

SM: Could you talk a bit about how the State Department is leveraging the popularity of U.S. sports abroad for engagement in ways that don't dilute the athletes' success?

Sports diplomacy is one of the most robust forms of public engagement internationally right now. Sports are an amazing means of creating a level playing field. Engaging with other nations around sports is a window onto the world for the U.S. We have recently brought Michelle Kwan, the Olympic figure skater, to help us with our sports diplomacy conference. We are actively working with ESPN and other organizations to create mentoring around sports for women and girls. We are sending coaches and PE instructors to other countries. We just had the basketball players in Burma. We have Russian hockey and volleyball players in the U.S. Ping-Pong diplomacy continues. There is almost no sport that does not lend itself to some form of public diplomacy and engagement and it's just an exciting field. Coming off the Olympics and the Paralympics, we are even more enthused about the potential of sports diplomacy to extend public diplomacy.

KH: One last question.: you've gone through so many different fields in your career. Which field do you feel really taught you the most that you've pulled into this position?

My position is an amalgamation of many career paths and choices. The experience in broadcast journalism was a critical life skill in terms of communications and listening. The experience running a small Internet company was perfect training for the uphill climb of working on entrepreneurial ventures. My work in conflict resolution, and conflict prevention and conflict management is a key building block of public diplomacy. And my time with NGOs and civil society organizations gave me an appreciation for the hard work of building open, transparent and democratic societies and creating public diplomacy in ways that are respectful to other cultures and open to the multiplicity of voices and the diversity of views. So, each career choice has been an extension of a building block.

Tara D. Sonenshine was sworn in as Under Secretary of State for Public Diplomacy and Public Affairs on April 5, 2012. Tara was formerly Executive Vice President of the United States Institute of Peace. Prior to joining the United States Institute of Peace, she was a strategic communications adviser to many international organizations including USIP, the International Crisis Group, Internews, CARE, The American Academy of Diplomacy, and the International Women's Media Foundation. Ms. Sonenshine served in various capacities at the White House during the Clinton Administration, including Transition Director and Director of Foreign Policy Planning for the National Security Council and Special Assistant to the President and Deputy Director of Communications for the NSC. Tara has had a distinguished career in communications and government, with high-level experience in broadcast, print, and online media. She has produced news programs for network television and authored numerous articles for national print and online media. She is the recipient of 10 News Emmy Awards and other awards in journalism for broadcast programs on domestic and international issues. Tara graduated from Tufts University in 1981 Phi Beta Kappa with a B.A. in political science. She has remained active at Tufts on boards and advisory committees including the Tisch College of Citizenship and Public Service.

case studies

THE HONEYMOON IS OVER FOR THE TRANS-PACIFIC PARTNERSHIP

By Laura Dawson

Eighteen months ago, David Gordon and Sean West of the Eurasia Group called the Trans-Pacific Partnership "the most important trade deal you`ve never heard of."[1] In a relatively short time, the agreement has become the centerpiece of US. trade policy. The TPP negotiations are the club that everyone wants to join. What makes this different from other free trade agreements (FTAs), and are the likely results worthy of the hype?

Trade agreements, especially those negotiated following the WTO Uruguay Round, concluded in 1994, reduced most industrial tariffs to a relatively low level. Thus trade agreements negotiated post-Uruguay are mostly about relative positioning and relative gains, that is, expressions of geopolitical economic policy. Most modern FTAs provide little in the way of immediate reduction of trade barriers or discernible short-term benefits for business, but they are important to building cross-border business relationships, reducing transaction costs, and mitigating risk. They are also a public signal of intent, similar to the rules applied to dating and courtship. Entering into free trade negotiations says to the partners involved: I want to get to know you. I believe we can create a mutually profitable union.

ENTERING INTO FREE TRADE NEGOTIATIONS SAYS TO THE PARTNERS INVOLVED: I WANT TO GET TO KNOW YOU. I BELIEVE WE CAN CREATE A MUTUALLY PROFITABLE UNION.

The economic benefits of the Trans-Pacific Partnership for the US (and indeed Canada, Mexico, and other countries who have been actively negotiating regional and bilateral free trade agreements around the globe) are relatively minimal. The United States already has free trade agreements with six of the current eleven TPP members. Also, in trade negotiations, the smaller economies do better in terms of relative market access gains than larger ones. [2] Peter Petri estimates that US annual GDP gains from the TPP bloc[3] (not counting soon-to-be entrant Japan) would yield 0.12% of GDP annually. An expanded bloc that includes India, Japan, South Korea, the Philippines and Thailand would bring the US annual gain to 0.53% of GDP. [4] Unless and until the United States is able to negotiate a free trade agreement with China, an economy of similar size, the market access gains for the United States in Asia will not be large.

However, straight-across market access gains are not the main rationale for the US interest in the TPP. The size and dynamism of the Asian market are major inducements. The emerging economies in the TPP have growth rates that are roughly double those of the United States' traditional trading partners in Western Europe and Canada. The APEC countries - of which the TPP members are a subset - account for 44% of world trade and 55% of global GDP. [5]

International trade is no longer a matter of single producer exporting to single buyer. A significant portion of Asia-Pacific trade involves components of manufactured products, providing a large share of value-added trade. [6] Value-added trade generates jobs and FTAs that cover the major nodes of a supply chain, reduce costs of inputs for manufacturers, and increase regional competitiveness. The investment provisions of the TPP should also help to reduce the risk to investors wishing to acquire or establish businesses in new territories.

Each trade agreement a country negotiates imposes compliance costs, because each agreement has different requirements for product certification, inspection, proof of origin, etc. The TPP should reduce these costs by simplifying and consolidating dozens of smaller agreements currently in force between partners.

The TPP is important to the United States because of the locational advantages it offers and because it provides US exporters and investors with opportunities in growing markets. However, the TPP has probably been oversold in terms of its level of ambition. The 1994 North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) is the template upon which the US has based most of its subsequent trade agreements. Because NAFTA is nearly twenty years old, changes in shipping technology, electronic service delivery, globalization, and outsourcing mean that old rules need to be refined and improved. The TPP offers nego-

tiators the opportunity to craft rules that more accurately reflect the realities of the 21st century economy, but it is unlikely that these commitments will run very deep at first. We are still in the courtship stage with many of these new trading partners. Moreover, different levels of economic development and varying experience with domestic implementation of trade commitments mean that the first set of rules that everyone can agree upon will be relatively light.

For example, when Canada and the United States launched their bilateral FTA in 1989, there were significant differences in our domestic commercial rules and processes. Nearly a quarter of a century later, the integrative effects of the FTA have moved the two economies into closer alignment, where deep commitments such as regulatory harmonization and trusted trader programs are possible. Neither good will nor hard bargaining could have achieved these outcomes in 1989.

As the rounds of TPP negotiations tick by, the level of ambition is dropping precipitously. During the early rounds, negotiators and politicians touted an agreement covering substantially all trade, dealing with issues previously unaddressed in trade agreements with no exceptions or carve-outs for sensitive sectors. But the reality of finding common ground among 11 trading partners with disparate interests is forcing the parties to lower the bar.

Another reason is Japan. For more than a year, TPP partners have been holding their breath in hopes that the world's fifth largest economy would join the negotiations. Except for its membership in the WTO, Japan has been a no-show in regional and bilateral FTA forums. It has held back because of a number of domestic protectionist measures, the most important of which is protection for domestic rice farmers. The prospective value of preferential access to the Japanese market provides TPP negotiators with an excuse to lower the level of ambition and consider exclusions for sensitive sectors, at least during a ten year phase-in period.

The United States is likely to try to retain tariffs on sugar. For Canada it's dairy. Vietnam wants to keep protections for state-owned enterprises. Australia is opposing investor-state dispute settlement and New Zealand is likely to block measures that would affect its pharmaceutical pricing system.

As we approach the 17th round of negotiations, to be held in Lima in May, assurances that the talks will be complete by the end of 2013 seem mistaken. With a dozen economies now scrambling to put markers on the table for sensitive sectors while also trying to address the regulatory realities of an integrated, digitized global economy, it appears that the honeymoon is over, and the real work in the relationship has begun.

References and Notes

1. West, Sean. "The Most Important Trade Deal You Never Heard Of." *Reuters Blog.* Reuters. 15 Nov. 2011: n.pag. Web.

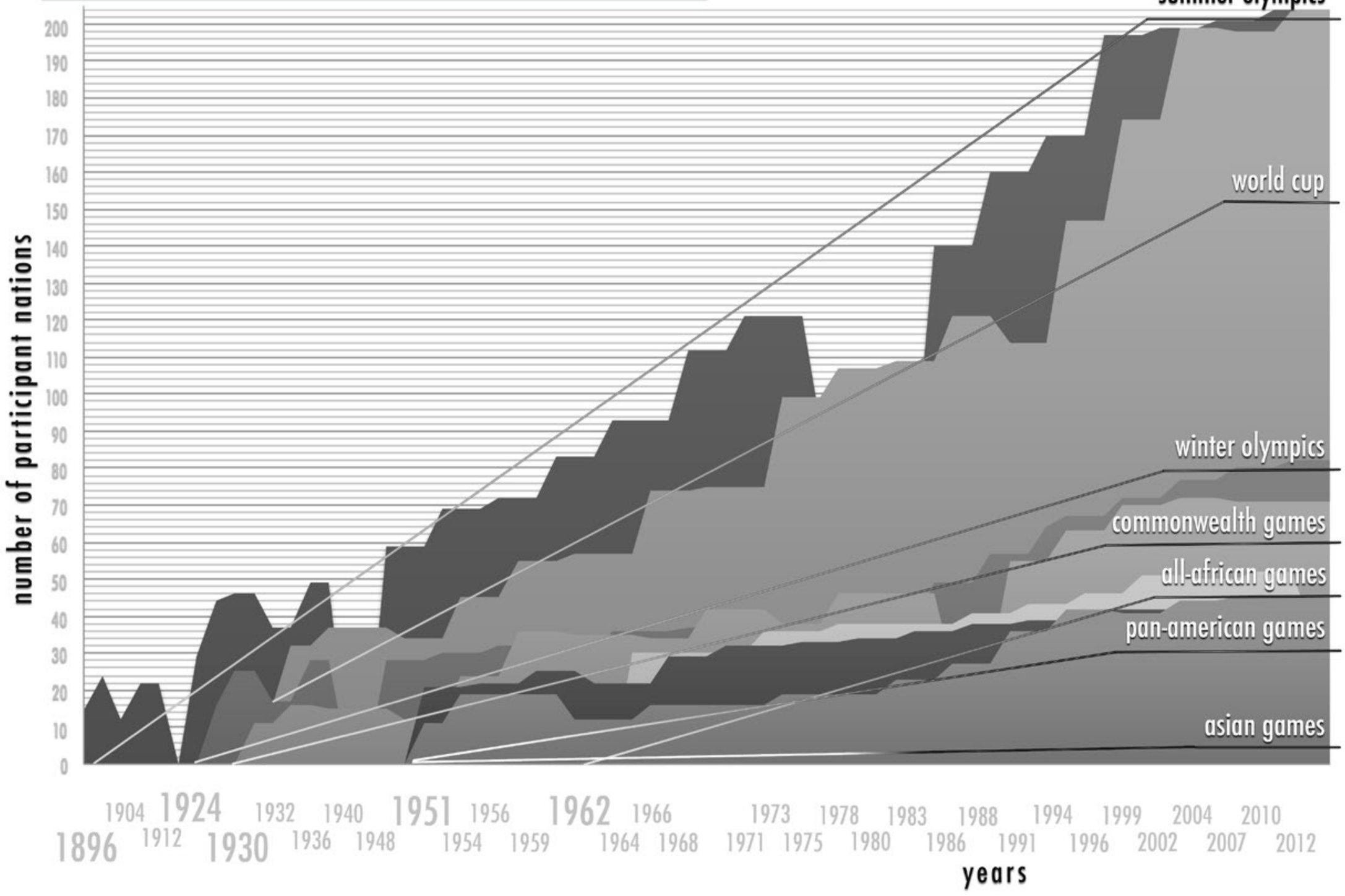
2. Imagine that one child has a super-deluxe Lego set and another child has a basic set. When told to share their blocks, the child with the smaller set will always be relatively better off than his buddy, no matter how generously he shares his own blocks.

3. Until recently, the 11 TPP negotiating parties were Australia, Brunei, Canada, Chile, Malaysia, Mexico, New Zealand, Peru, Singapore, the United States and Vietnam. On March 15, 2013 Japan announced its intention to join the talks, with the hope of completing admission requirements in time for the APEC Trade Ministers' Meeting in Indonesia in mid-April.

4. Petri, Peter. "Economics of the TPP and RCEP Negotiations." Pacific Economic Cooperation Council. 1 December 2012: 13. Web.

5. *U.S.-APEC Trade Facts*. Office of the United States Trade Representative, n.d. Web.

6. Petri, 3.

Laura Dawson is the President of Dawson Strategic and provides advice to business on cross-border trade, market access and regulatory issues. Previously, she served as senior advisor on US.- Canada economic affairs at the United States Embassy in Ottawa. As a specialist in US.- Canada economic relations, Dawson contribted to the launch of the US.-Canada Regulatory Cooperation Council, the Border Vision Strategy, and the bilateral Government Procureent Agreement. She is a Public Policy Scholar at the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars and a Senior Fellow at the Macdonald- Laurier Institute conducting research in North American competitiveness, supply chains and energy policy.

Number of participant nations in major international sports events