KU LEUVEN

SPORT FOR DEVELOPMENT AND PEACE

The role of the International Olympic Committee

Mélodie Arts
Dries Lesage
Hans Bruyninckx
Jeroen Scheerder

2013

In cooperation with

GIIS — Ghent Institute for International Studies

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Sport Policy & Management (SPM)

SPM Report 16

Sport for Development and Peace
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This is the sixteenth number in the series of Sport Policy & Management Reports (SPM).

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No. 5

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No. 12

Seghers, J., Scheerder, J., Boen, F., Thibaut, E., & Meganck, J. (2012). *Medisch en ethisch verantwoord sporten. Het promoten van fysiek, psychisch en sociaal welbevinden van jongeren in Vlaamse jeugdsportclubs [Medical and ethical issues in sport. The promotion of physical, psychological and social well-being of youngsters in Flemish youth sport clubs]* (Beleid & Management in Sport 12). Leuven: KU Leuven/Departement Bewegingswetenschappen.

No. 13

Seghers, J., Scheerder, J., Boen, F., Thibaut, E., & Meganck, J. (2012). *Medisch en ethisch verantwoord sporten. Praktijkvoorbeelden in Vlaamse Jeugdsportclubs [Medical and ethical issues in sport. Good practices in Flemish youth sport clubs]* (Beleid & Management in Sport 13). Leuven: KU Leuven/Departement Bewegingswetenschappen.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABBREVIATIONS

BOCOG: Beijing Organising Committee for the Olympic Games

BRICs: Brazil, Russia, India and China

CAS: Court of Arbitration for Sport

CBO: Community-Based Organisation

CIOA: Committee for International Olympic Aid

CSR: Corporate Social Responsibility

DIC: Department of International Cooperation

EC: European Commission

FIFA: Fédération Internationale de Football Association

GANEFO: Games of the New Emerging Forces

GDP: Gross Domestic Product

HDI: Human Development Index

ICRC: International Committee of the Red Cross

IF: International Sports Federation

IGO: Inter-Governmental Organisation

ILO: International Labour Organisation

IMF: International Monetary Fund

IOC: International Olympic Committee

IOFD: International Olympic Forum for Development

IOTF: International Olympic Truce Foundation

IPSD: International Platform on Sport and Development

ISDPA: International Sport for Development and Peace Association

IYSPE: International Year on Sport and Physical Education

LOC: Local Organising Committee

MDGs: Millennium Development Goals

MINEPS: International Conference of Ministers and Senior Officials Responsible for Physical Education and Sport

MNO: Multinational Organisation

MYSA: Mathare Youth Sport Association

NOC: National Olympic Committee

NGO: Non-Governmental Organisation

NGSO: Non-Governmental Sport's Organisations

OCOG: Organising Committee of the Olympic Games

ODA: Official Development Assistance

OECD: Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development

OGKM: Olympic Games Knowledge Management

PRC: People's Republic of China

PRSP: Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers

SAD: Swiss Agency for Development and Cooperation

SDP IWG: Sport for Development and Peace International Working Group

TNC: Transnational Corporation

UN: United Nations

UNAIDS: Joint United Nations Programme on HIV/AIDS

UNDP: United Nations Development Programme

UNEP: United Nations Environmental Programme

UNESCO: United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation

UNHCR: United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees

UNO: United Nations Organisation

UNOSDP: United Nations Office on Sport for Development and Peace

USOC: United States Olympic Committee

WADA: World Anti-Doping Agency

WB: World Bank

PREFACE

This report is an updated version of a master's thesis entitled "The growing importance of non-governmental organisations (NGOs) and intergovernmental organisations (IGOs) in the Sport for Development and Peace context" (Arts, 2012). Apart from the known effects of sport in terms of physical and mental health, it is increasingly recognised as a tool for development and peace, which is embraced by the Sport for Development and Peace movement.

The **first objective** is twofold. In a descriptive part, this study aims to provide a general overview of the SDP movement, while maintaining an awareness of its full complexity. What are the historical underpinnings and dynamics of the movement? Who are the main actors? A subsequent analytical part will follow. Why is the cooperation with the traditional development cooperation sector mired by great difficulty and distrust? What are the main challenges faced by SDP projects?

The **second objective** is to illustrate the increasing importance of NGOs such as the International Olympic Committee (IOC) in international relations in the SDP context, and to focus on the power of the IOC. Why has the IOC received such a prominent place to sport on the UN agenda? Why are the IOC and the UN such strong advocates of the movement, and is this motivated by a sincere sense of responsibility or does self-interest factor into the equation? Can sporting mega-events, organised by the IOC or IFs, be reconciled with the aims and principles of SDP?

Data was obtained during two separate visits to the IOC headquarter in Lausanne. This report draws upon a combination of different qualitative techniques. Several interviews were conducted with (former) IOC and UN officials. IOC historical archives relevant to the SDP movement were consulted at the Olympic Study Centre. The historical archives comprised pieces of correspondence, reports and minutes of meetings in English, French and Spanish. Given the lack of scholarly work concerning SDP, a bottom-up approach was used and an inductive categorisation of the data was provided.

As a point of departure this study looks more closely at the SDP movement, its historical underpinnings, the difficult balance between sport *for* development and development *of* sport as well as the key challenges confronting the movement. It attempts to identify the trends and milestones in the development of the SDP approach. The rationale behind the study, as well as the methodology, which is characterised by a combination of different qualitative techniques, are outlined in the second chapter. The third chapter carves out a conceptual framework, by situating it in the context of global civil society, transnationalism and global citizenship. The collaboration

between the IOC and the UN, two important proponents of the SDP movement, is dealt with in the fourth chapter. The main focus is on the IOC as the most powerful NGO in the SDP sector. The Committee's quest for legitimacy over time is explored in more detail. As a result of the recent expansion in the number of developing countries hosting sporting mega-events, aiming to achieve social and economic development objectives by this means, the fifth chapter examines a potential link between these events and SDP. It seeks to answer the following three key questions: Why are developing and emerging cities competing to host such mega-events? How do these events influence local development policy? Who actually benefits from large sporting events? With the Beijing Olympics in 2008, the World Cup 2010 in South Africa, and future World Cup and Olympics in Brazil, a legacy component for the developing world has become the new norm for large sporting events. Conclusions are drawn in the final chapter.

CHAPTER 1

'SPORT FOR DEVELOPMENT AND PEACE': REVIEW ON THE LITERATURE

1. Description

Recently, an increasing number of initiatives using sport as a means for development have been implemented in the Global South and received a lot of support and recognition from the international community (Brunelli & Parisi, 2011). In February 2012, there were 143 projects and 367 organisations listed on the International Platform on Sport and Development[1]. Donnelly et al. (2011) argue that the analysis of the scope of SDP, must extend far beyond organisations enumerated on the International Platform, since it is dominated by European and North American, secular, corporate and English speaking initiatives.

The SDP movement is principally driven by the Global North and implemented in the Global South. Nation-states, non-governmental organisations (NGOs) and intergovernmental organisations (IGOs), international sports federations (IFs), transnational corporations (TNCs) and grassroots community based organisations (CBOs) are the main actors within the SDP sector (Giulianotti, 2011a). Sport is not an alternative vehicle for development, it is merely a potential component of the development assistance process (Levermore, 2008a). Although Beacom and Levermore (2008) call the movement 'sport-in-development', the IOC refers to 'development through sport' and the International Platform uses the concept 'Sport & Development'. This study will use the term Sport, Development and Peace (SDP), as used and defined by Giulianotti. Giulianotti (2011a) distinguishes SDP as a particular social policy 'sector'. Firstly, the term encompasses many institutions and their work, for example the United Nations Office on Sport for Development and Peace (UNOSDP). The UNOSDP is located in

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[1] "*The platform, created by the Swiss Academy of Development, is a website dedicated entirely to the movement of Sport & Development*" and provides "*a hub for sharing knowledge, building good practice, facilitating coordination and fostering partnerships between and within different stakeholders in SDP*."
(http://www.sportanddev.org/en/about_this_platform/vision_mission_goals22/)

Geneva and is supported by a Liaison Office in New York. The Office provides assistance to the Special Adviser to the UN Secretary-General on SDP in his global undertaking to harness the power of sport for development and peace. The Office does not conduct any projects itself, but is mainly concerned with advocacy and support for governments. The sensitisation of national governments and the UN community for sport as a means for the realisation of the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), is its primary responsibility (http://www.un.org/wcm/content/site/sport/home-/unplayers/unoffice).

Secondly, the SDP agencies seek increased coordination, reflection and communication among the different stakeholders. Apart from the International Sport for Development and Peace Association (ISDPA)[2], the International Platform is also dedicated to pooling knowledge within the SDP sector. Darnell (2012) also prefers this term since it underscores the mobilisation of sport as a tool for development and peace. Secondly, he is in favour of this term since it distinguishes peace from development. Although peace is linked with international development, it is not reducible to international development. Kidd (2008) perceives SDP as a new social movement in itself. But this was contradicted by Darnell (2012). The latter argued SDP is not a 'movement' since it aims to achieve international development and peace without challenging the current structures of inequality.

The SDP sector is not an entirely new phenomenon, as sport has long been viewed as a means for inciting social change. However, the recent boost in using sport as a tool for development is the specific result of the acknowledgment that the traditional vehicles of development, such as trade and investment, are insufficient to fulfill their goals (Beacom & Levermore, 2008). The orthodox vehicles were unsuccessful because they focused on economic aspects to the neglect of social aspects. Accordingly, a call for new strategies, methods and institutions/actors emerged. Moreover, sport is perceived as a non-political tool, which can act in a value-neutral way and, therefore, reach communities alienated from traditional development initiatives (Levermore, 2010).

Another reason for the fast expansion of SDP programmes was the acknowledgement that sport positively influenced the fight against the HIV/AIDS pandemic (Coalter, 2008). Koss and Alexandrova (2005) demonstrated that the rationale behind the use of sport in HIV prevention programmes is based on claims that sport can offer an approachable platform to distribute information concerning health and HIV, and that it can facilitate the development of life skills that are necessary to translate

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[2] *"The International Sport for Development and Peace Association is a professional organisation dedicated to advancing knowledge and enhancing practice within the field of SDP*." (http://isdpaonline.ning.com/)

knowledge, attitudes and behavioural intentions into actual behaviour. The Mathare Youth Sport Association (MYSA) is a renowned organisation in grassroots HIV prevention for vulnerable young people. Research on the effectiveness of the MYSA HIV/AIDS Prevention and Awareness Project registered some positive effects on condom use, but this is unlikely to result in a large reduction in the amount of HIV cases among the youth in the Mathare slum of Nairobi (Delva et al, 2010). More research needs to be carried out to fully understand the effects of sport on reducing the number of HIV cases.

The UN served to legitimise the SDP sector across global civil society, encouraging participation by mainstream NGOs, CBOs and TNCs (Giulianotti, 2011a). In 2001, Adolf Ogi was appointed as the first Special Adviser to the UN Secretary-General on Sport for Development and Peace. On his advice, the UN Secretary-General authorised an Inter-Agency Task Force to report on the achievements in the SDP context (Kidd, 2011). This report led to a greater UN involvement in the expanding SDP movement. Annually since 2003 and bi-annually since 2008, UN Member States have unanimously adopted a series of resolutions all entitled *"Sport as a means to promote education, health, development and peace, recognising the potential of sport to contribute to the achievement of the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) and noting the potential that sport has to contribute to the well-being of societies."*. In 2004, the Sport for Development and Peace International Working Group (SDP IWG) emerged from the work of the UN Inter-Agency Task force on SDP (http://www.un.org/wcm/content/site/sport/home). The aim of this intergovernmental policy initiative is to promote the integration of SDP policy recommendations into the national and international assistance strategies of national governments. The SDP IWG consists of Member State representatives and observers (UN system representatives, academics, civil society, private sector, sports organisations and NGOs). A milestone in SDP was the proclamation of 2005 as the "International Year of Sport and Physical Education" (IYSPE). The General Assembly invited governments to take appropriate steps and to look for the assistance of sports personalities in this regard (UN, General Assembly, 2003). In 2008, the General Assembly asked the Secretary-General to present an action plan, a three-year road map which would formulate SDP policies, implement programmes and projects by both Member States and the UN system (UN, Secretary-General, 2010). The objective was to encourage the UN and its partners to move from awareness to greater implementation and action. In the same year, the integration of the Secretariat of the Sport for Development and Peace International Working Group (SDP IWG) into the Office on Sport for Development and Peace (UNOSDP), under the leadership of the Special Adviser was accomplished (UN, General Assembly, 2008).

Table 1.1   *Sport for Development and Peace Timeline*

Year	SDP milestones
1978	Sport and Physical Education is recognised as a fundamental human right
1979	Right of women and girls to participate in sport is affirmed
1989	Every child's right to play becomes a human right
1991	The unique role of sport in eliminating poverty and promoting development is acknowledged by the Commonwealth Heads of Government
1993	UN General Assembly revives the tradition of the Olympic Truce
1994	UN proclaims International Year of Sport and the Olympic Ideal
1997	Heads of State and Government of the European Commission (EC) focus special attention on sport during the Amsterdam treaty negotiations, during which it was stated that "the Conference emphasises the social significance of sport, in particular its role in forging identity and bringing people together"
2001	UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan appoints Mr. Adolf Ogi as the first Special Adviser on SDP to enhance the network of relations between UN organisations and the sports sector
2002	The UN Secretary-General convenes the UN Inter-Agency Task Force on SDP to review activities that involve sport within the UN system
2003	First Magglingen International Conference on SDP brings together policy makers affirming their commitment to SDP First Next Step conference 'International Expert Meeting on Development in and through Sport' brings together SDP experts and practitioners (Amsterdam, The Netherlands)
2004	Roundtable forum during the 2004 Olympics in Athens "Harnessing the Power of SDP" brings together political leaders and experts in development to discuss the potential of sport in achieving development goals. The forum laid the cornerstones for establishing SDP IWG creating a policy framework for the use of SDP EC launches European Year of Education through Sport
2005	UN proclaims International Year of Sport and Physical Education SDP IWG is formed, with representatives from Ministers of Sport, Youth and Development from 15 countries, directors of UN agencies, and NGOs in the field of SDP UN General Assembly resolution 59/10 is adopted, "Sport as a means to promote education, health, development and peace" Second Magglingen Conference on Sport & Development Second Next Step conference, Livingstone, Zambia EU recognises the role of sport to attain the MDGs World Summit expresses its support to SDP
2006	UN Secretary-General sets out the UN Action Plan on SDP SDP IWG launches its preliminary report SDP: From practice to policy
2007	EC White Paper on Sport acknowledges the increasing social and economic role of sport Third conference 'The Next Step', Windhoek, Namibia First African Convention recognises the power of sport to contribute to education
2008	UN Secretary-General Ban Ki-Moon appoints Mr. Wilfried Lemke as the new Special Adviser on SDP Convention on the rights of persons with disabilities enters into force, reinforcing the right of people with disabilities to participate on an equal basis SDP IWG releases its final report: Harnessing the power of SDP: Recommendations to governments IOC and the UN agree on an expanded framework for action to use sport to reach the goals of the UN
2009	First UN-IOC Forum on SDP held in Lausanne, Switzerland
2011	Second UN-IOC Forum on SDP held in Geneva, Switzerland Fourth conference 'The Next Step' held in Trinidad & Tobago Second Plenary Session of the SDP IWG held in Geneva, Switzerland

Source: Arts (2012) based on SDP IWG (2008) and
http://www.sportanddev.org/en/learnmore/history_of_sport_and_development/timeline/)

The timeline in Table 1.1 highlights the key SDP milestones from the post-World War II period to the present. Due to the adoption of the MDGs by the UN General Assembly in 2000, SDP gained greater recognition from the international community.

Yet, much more needs to be done to maximise the capacity of SDP, and to bring about its effective integration with other forms of development (Kidd, 2011). The contribution of various actors is necessary in this respect. The commitment and actions of governments remain crucial, since they are key players in mainstreaming sport into development policies. The UN Action Plan on Sport for Development and Peace from UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan underscores that the responsibility for the achievement of the MDGs and maintaining peace rests first and foremost with Member States themselves (UN, Secretary-General, 2006). So far, however, few national governments have adopted the role of sport in development and peace in their national legislation and policies. At a time of uncertainty, with financial markets beset by increasing risks and comprehensive public programmes coming under continuous neo-liberal attacks, the race for obtaining public funding will remain difficult (Kidd, 2011). The UN is mainly involved in providing coordination and expertise, whilst the sports sector is also involved through its global network and sport-specific knowledge. Finally, the contribution of NGOs and civil society at large should not be underestimated, given their ability to reach communities all over the world (Rogge keynote speech 2nd International Forum on SDP, 2011).

2. Historical context

Giulianotti (2011a) discerns three particular stages in the context of sport and global society. In the first stage, '**Sport, Colonization and Civilisation**', sport played a considerable role in civilising the indigenous non-European communities. This period converges with the European colonisation from the late eighteenth to the mid-twentieth century. The next historical phase, '**Sport, Nationalism, Post-Colonialism and Development**', took place between the Second World War and the 1990s. Colonised communities used sport as a tool to resist the occupier. After independence, many of its new elite groups joined the global governance bodies of sports, which embodied the development *of* sport (cf. infra). The third stage, '**Sport, Development and Peace**', ensued after the implosion of the Soviet Union and is still going on today. However, the colonial, postcolonial, and development of sport subjects have remained in the background, the sport *for* development movement is now the central theme/axis. Giulianotti (2011a) argues that this phase can be subdivided into two main periods. The first period is featured in the expansive rise of short-term SDP initiatives in the

aftermath of the Cold War and the dedication of the UN to sport. The second period was marked by greater attention in the SDP sector to sustainability, international coordination and monitoring, and evaluation in comparison with the first period. It is also characterised by the claim of the SDP IWG that sport has the capacity to assist in the realisation of all MDGs.

Table 1.2 illustrates the possible contributions of sport to achieving the MDGs. Although sport in particular cannot compel mankind to achieve the MDGs, it can make valuable contributions because of its comprehensive approach to addressing the MDGs. The urgent call to meet the MDGs encouraged governments in developing countries to integrate SDP into their national development frameworks and strategies, and persuaded governments in developed countries to integrate sport into their global development assistance strategies (SDP IWG, 2008).

Table 1.2 *Contribution of sport to the MDGs*

MILLENNIUM DEVELOPMENT GOAL	CONTRIBUTION OF SPORT
1. Eradicate extreme poverty and hunger	• Participants, volunteers and coaches acquire transferable life skills which increase their employability • Vulnerable individuals are connected to community services and supports through sport-based outreach programs • Sport programs and sport equipment production provide jobs and skills development • Sport can help prevent diseases that impede people from working and impose health care costs on individuals and communities • Sport can help reduce stigma and increase self-esteem, self-confidence and social skills, leading to increased employability
2. Achieve universal primary education	• School sport programs motivate children to enroll in and attend school and can help improve academic achievement • Sport-based community education programs provide alternative education opportunities for children who cannot attend school • Sport can help erode stigma preventing children with disabilities from attending school
3. Promote gender equality and empower women	• Sport helps improve female physical and mental health and offers opportunities for social interaction and friendship • Sport participation leads to increased self-esteem, self-confidence, and enhanced sense of control over one's body • Girls and women access leadership opportunities and experience • Sport can cause positive shifts in gender norms that afford girls and women greater safety and control over their lives • Women and girls with disabilities are empowered by sport-based opportunities to acquire health information, skills, social networks, and leadership experience

4. Reduce child mortality	• Sport can be used to educate and deliver health information to young mothers, resulting in healthier children • Increased physical fitness improves children's resistance to some diseases • Sport can help reduce the rate of higher-risk adolescent pregnancies • Sport-based vaccination and prevention campaigns help reduce child deaths and disability from measles, malaria and polio • Inclusive sport programs help lower the likelihood of infanticide by promoting greater acceptance of children with disabilities
5. Improve maternal health	• Sport for health programs offer girls and women greater access to reproductive health information and services • Increased fitness levels help speed post-natal recovery
6. Combat HIV and AIDS, malaria, and other diseases	• Sport programs can be used to reduce stigma and increase social and economic integration of people living with HIV and AIDS • Sport programs are associated with lower rates of health risk behaviour that contributes to HIV infection • Programs providing HIV prevention education and empowerment can further reduce HIV infection rates • Sport can be used to increase measles, polio and other vaccination rates • Involvement of celebrity athletes and use of mass sport events can increase reach and impact of malaria, tuberculosis and other education and prevention campaigns
7. Ensure environmental sustainability	• Sport-based public education campaigns can raise awareness of importance of environmental protection and sustainability • Sport-based social mobilization initiatives can enhance participation in community action to improve local environment
8. Develop a global partnership for development	• Sport for Development and Peace efforts catalyze global partnerships and increase networking among governments, donors, NGOs and sport organizations worldwide

Source: SDP IWG (2008: 11)

3. Development *of* sport versus sport *for* development

In recent times, the distinction between development *of* sport and sport *for* development has been widely discussed by academics. Development *of* sport refers to an activity designed to enhance participation and performance in sport as an end in itself, whereas sport *for* development[3] refers to an activity designed to use sport as a vehicle to achieve a range of other social, economic and

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[3] Recently, the term development *through* sport has been replaced by sport *for* development, which is now much more commonly used (Levermore, 2011a).

political objectives. Even though there are major differences between these aspects of 'sport' and 'development', they sometimes overlap. Sport development initiatives aimed at the development of sport performance may simultaneously contribute to overall development goals through sport. As illustrated in Figure 1.1, activities designed as sport *for* development may also conduce to social development (Beacom, 2007). For example, Fédération Internationale de Football Association's (FIFA) GOAL programme is in the first place a development *of* sport initiative due to its main focus on strengthening the football infrastructure in all of its member states (Levermore, 2011b). Yet, the GOAL programme's promotion of health benefits through sports participation and the infrastructural benefits for the immediate community, contribute to sport *for* development.

Figure 1.1 *Integrating development through and development of sport*
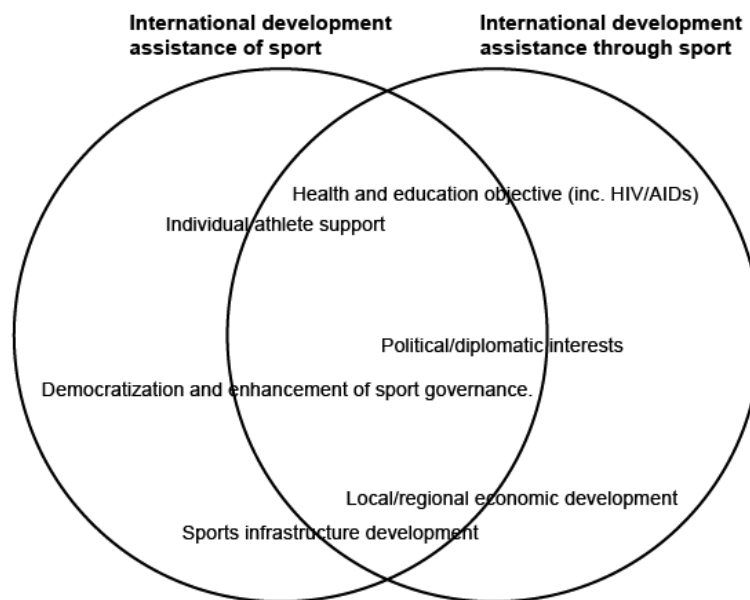
Source: Beacom (2007: 84)

The UN states that the purpose of UN programmes involving sport is not the introduction of new sporting champions and the development *of* sport, but rather the use of sport in extensive development and peacemaking initiatives. They admit that such activities may lead to the development *of* sport, although the main aim is to contribute to broader development goals through sport-related projects (UN, Inter-Agency Task Force on SDP, 2003). The Second Plenary Session of SDP IWG emphasised that there is an ongoing focus on elite sports, rather than on Sport for All (UN, UN-NGLS, 2011). A shift is needed to provide the opportunity for all groups to participate, particularly those with special needs, like women, children and the disabled.

Coalter (2007) distinguishes between two different rationales for engagement with the SDP sector: *sport plus* initiatives where sport is the core objective and development is a secondary priority (sport plus education, sport plus peace-building), and *plus sport* where development is the core objective. This allows all SDP agencies to be measured on a bipolar scale which stresses either the sport or the development aspect of their programmes (Engelhardt, 2010). In both cases, sport serves as a segment of a planned strategy to achieve positive developmental outcomes (Coakley cited in Schinke & Hanrahan, 2009). An ex-UN official (written communication, 2012, April 20) stressed the need for quality sports programmes to be in place before a SDP agency is able to introduce the development perspective. Only a few NGOs that use games (e.g. Right To Play) focus more on the development aspect than they do on the sport. Meulders (2010) points to a difference between organisations who consider sports programmes as their core business, called Non-Governmental Sport's Organisations (NGSO), and more traditional development actors who consider sport an effective tool, but not a priority.

4. Key challenges of SDP projects

In recent times, nation-states, NGOs and IGOs, IFs, TNCs and grassroots CBOs[4], established projects based on using sport in promoting development and peace. Giulianotti (2011c) identified three general types of weaknesses within SDP projects.

First of all, **technical weaknesses** may arise during project effectuation. A concern with the recent increase of SDP initiatives is the sustainability of these programmes and projects (Boyle, 2010). Boyle (2010) defines sustainability as, '*the ability of a program to survive, or for changes to remain once the initial catalyst (in this case the SDP initiative) is removed.*' Up to this day, there has been no large-scale evaluation of the sustainability of SDP organisations. Sustainability needs to be ensured by the state, since SDP programmes encompass educational and health aspects, which are usually conducted under the auspices of the state. Boyle has developed a sustainability rubric which consists of three evaluative levels assessing seven criteria (evaluation, funding, goals, social integration, volunteers, volunteer preparation, and exit strategies). She conducted a pilot study to test this sustainability rubric and to determine its abilities to assess a group of SDP agencies, randomly selected from the International Platform on Sport and Development (IPSD, n.d.). Boyle (2010) demonstrated that many SDP agencies do not live up to their claim of sustainability. Coalter (2009)

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[4] The term "*Community Based Organisation*" refers to an organisation which implements SDP projects in grassroots settings (Giulianotti, 2011c).

defined two criteria, a fluid monitoring and evaluation (M&E) process and an outsider exit strategy, essential for a long-term sustainable SDP project. The first criterion includes a dynamic M&E process which is able to adapt to changing circumstances. It needs to move away from accountability and to focus more on sustainability by ceasing to pander to donors. A combination of qualitative and quantitative approaches to M&E is increasingly recognised as having the potential to obtain a broader set of outcomes, and as the provider of a more complete picture of the effects of the intervention (IPSD, n.d.). However, methodological problems arise, as it is difficult to determine outcomes such as 'empowerment' and 'social cohesion' and define how they are to be measured in a research study. Therefore, donors should pay attention not only to quantifiable outcomes, but also to processes that are taking place. The second criterion involves an exit strategy for any form of interference from the Developed World. Currently, too many SDP programmes are characterised by excessive dependency and full reliance on Northern donors. Subsequent cessation of programmes after the loss of external funding could be counteracted by implementing a strategic funding plan that minimises external financial support and maximises local financial input. This would heighten the sense of ownership and credibility of SDP programmes.

Secondly, **intersubjective or practical shortcomings** refer to poor communication between donors and recipients (Giulianotti, 2011c). Often SDP projects have been introduced to communities without any form of consultation (Donnelly et al., 2011). Sometimes, service providers are not familiar with the local conditions and customs, or they are isolated and have little involvement with client groups and other development programmes that are not related to sport. Furthermore, relationships with peers in similar agencies are characterised by fragmentation, in terms of dialogue, knowledge transfer and complementary partnership. NGOs competing for legitimacy, funds and participants results in an organisational disunity which is extremely divisive and counter-productive for the Developing World (Kidd, 2011).

In terms of gender, a difficult balance exists between the transnational development objectives of gender equality and full female participation, and respect for local cultural values (Giulianotti, 2011c). Many gender-based interventions resulted from assumptions, made by service providers from the developed and more gender-equitable nations, that female empowerment through sport is good, and that all women desire to be treated more equally (Donnelly et al, 2011). This might be seen as neocolonialist if programmes are launched without community consultation or attention to the current status of gender relations. In some nations it is essential to keep sport away from the public to provide a safe environment for girls and women to do sports. Another vital aspect is that gender is about relationships between sexes, and that, therefore, female empowerment through sport that endeavors to change women without also attempting to change men, is likely to fail. MYSA (cf. infra)

is one of the providers of good SDP programmes which include both sexes in the process (Donnelly et al., 2011).

Thirdly, **political or critical weaknesses** emphasise how SDP initiatives reflect imperialistic and neocolonial relationships between the Global North and South (Giulianotti, 2011c). The methodology preferred in the execution of these initiatives is defined as an attempt to help the Third World 'catch up' as it were, to Western standards (Peacock, 2006). The Accra Call for Action on SDP (SDP IWG, 2007) indicated that SDP initiatives can aggravate North-South inequalities through the predominant use of Northern sports rather than indigenous sports. For example, FIFA only uses football in its SDP programmes. In a country such as South Africa, where football is mainly practiced by Black people and rugby is mostly performed by white men, football can aggravate social tensions rather than alleviating them. Moreover, the majority of SDP initiatives is implemented in urban areas, since they are perceived as important centers where development will take place more easily and 'trickle down' to rural areas. Many children in urban slums have multiple encounters with different SDP agencies, while there is no sign of NGOs in rural areas. The ongoing SDP initiatives are largely driven by neoliberal perspectives on development and ignore Southern alternative approaches. In addition to this, the SDP IWG called for a complete integration of all disadvantaged social groups, both urban and rural, as well as for the use of traditional and non-traditional sports in SDP initiatives (Levermore, 2010).

CHAPTER 2

RESEARCH FRAMEWORK

1. Research rationale

Research on the recognition of sport as a potential proponent of development is still in its infancy. Giulianotti (2011b) notes the existence of a research gap due to many single case-studies and calls for a comprehensive approach that situates the SDP effort within its transnational context. Although many scholars and organisations (WB, 2006) focus on the lack of a 'strong cumulative body of research evidence' of SDP, this study does not want to demonstrate the intrinsic development and peace advantages of sport. Hayhurst's (2009) starting point is not whether SDP works, but how it works. Darnell's reasoning is been followed here.

> *"Given the different meanings of sport, the situated politics of development and the social complexities of sport and development, respectively, the idea that practitioners, scholars or activists will ever know with certainty whether, where or how sport is positive or effective for meeting development goals is unrealistic and unreasonable." (Darnell, 2012)*

The recent increase of SDP initiatives is accompanied by an increasing demand to provide a general overview of the SDP sector, while maintaining an awareness of its full complexity. This study indicates the historical underpinnings and dynamics of the SDP sector and its main actors. Besides anticipating on this descriptive lack, the gap between the traditional development sector and the SDP sector is analysed. Few scholars point out why the cooperation of the SDP sector with the traditional development cooperation sector is mired by great difficulty and distrust.

Since the increasing importance of NGOs and IGOs in international relations in the SDP context has slipped the attention of many scholars, this study focuses on the power of NGOs such as the IOC, and IGOs such as the UN in terms of SDP. Answers were sought on particular questions: What or who has encouraged the UN to give such a prominent place to sport in its global agenda? Why are the IOC and the UN such strong advocates of SDP, and is this motivated by a sincere sense of responsibility or does self-interest factor into the equation? Can sporting mega-events, organised by the IOC or IFs, be reconciled with the aims and principles of SDP?

The rationale behind this study can also be found in the unwillingness of the majority of scholars to assume the notion of sport being a fundamental human activity and being integral to political, economic and social evolution, and therefore worthy of study as such (Beacom, 2000, p.17). Especially important absentees in the SDP literature are the political scientists, since they are unwilling to assume precisely the aforementioned notion of sport as a fundamental human activity and as integral to political, economic and social evolution and therefore worthy of study as such (Bruyninckx, 2010). Political scientists have some catching up to do in recognizing this new situation of mutuality between the international state system and powerful NGOs such as the IOC (MacAloon, 1997). This study aims to examine the SDP effort from a political science viewpoint with due caution and a critical eye.

2. Methodology

Data was obtained during two separate visits to the IOC headquarter in Lausanne. This report draws upon a combination of different qualitative techniques. Several open individual **interviews** were conducted with (former) IOC and UN officials. These in-depth interviews provided many insights of experienced officials dealing with SDP. In some cases an interview was impossible, but written answers were obtained to the questions. An overview of interviews and written communication is provided at the references (see supra).

Document analysis was also used as a qualitative research method. On the one hand, IOC historical archives relevant to the SDP movement were consulted at the Olympic Study Centre in Lausanne. The historical archives comprised pieces of correspondence, reports and minutes of meetings in English, French, German and Spanish. The selection of consulted archives was based on the relationship of the IOC with relevant international organisations for this study. Archives of the International Labour Organisation (ILO) from 1921 to 1988, the United Nations Organisation (UNO) between 1926 and 1993 and UNESCO from 1955 to 1988 were consulted. Furthermore archives on the Olympic Solidarity Commission from 1961 to 1989 and Olympic Solidarity department from 1971 to 1988 were also consulted. A list of all analysed documents for this study can be found at the references (see supra). On the other hand, current sources on SDP, like the website of the UNOSDP and the IOC, UN General Assembly resolutions and the International Platform on Sport and Development (IPSD), were consulted. Given the lack of scholarly work concerning SDP, a bottom-up approach was used and an inductive categorisation of the data was provided.

CHAPTER 3

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

This chapter provides a conceptual framework for this study. First of all, it is demonstrated that sport and politics often go hand in hand. Second, concepts relevant to SDP that will be addressed in this study are presented: global civil society, transnationalism and global citizenship. Global civil society is defined and different types of SDP institution within global civil society are explained. The concept of transnationalism encompasses the transnational dimensions of the SDP effort and is also helpful to further elaborate on the idea of global civil society. The global citizenship or global cosmopolitanism discourse is employed by SDP to create a positive image.

1. Politics and sport

The promotion of Aryan superiority during the 1936 Olympics, the Soccer War between Honduras and El Salvador during the qualifications for the 1970 FIFA World Cup, the ping pong diplomacy between the United States and the People's Republic of China in the 1970s, protests leading up to the Beijing Olympics in 2008, etc.: these examples reveal a political dimension to sport (Bruyninckx & Scheerder, 2010; Houlihan, 2000, p. 213). The aforementioned episodes demonstrate that the relationship between politics and sport can be very diverse. Sport can be used as a tool for diplomacy, protest, propaganda, government policy, etc. In recent times, a shift has occurred from the traditional state and government-centered policy to multi-level governance (Scholte, 2010, p. 383). On the one hand, a transfer is noticeable in the type and number of actors involved in decision making. A wide array of non-state actors, known as the civil society, play an influential role in the decision making process. This differs from the past in the sense that nowadays there are more and more diverse non-state actors who influence policy making. Today's society has too many dynamics that escape the traditional idea of territorial sovereignty. Examples include climate change, pandemics, migration, international trade, etc. Civil society has played increasingly important roles in transnational problem solving and governance. On the other hand, an increasing interdependence between various policy levels can be observed. Over the past decades multilateral, supranational, regional and local policy levels have gained importance, as a result of the realisation that global problems cannot be solved at a domestic level (Bruyninckx & Scheerder, 2010). The organisation of

the Olympic Games is a good example of the shift from government to governance (Bell & Hindmoor, 2009). The IOC, a private body, relies upon the involvement of a range of non-state actors. The responsibility for the planning and development of the Games rests with the Organising Committee of the Olympic Games (OCOG), but they also co-operate with National Olympic Committees (NOCs), states and market players. Rules and norms resulting from these collaborations are the governance arrangement of the Olympics (Bruyninckx, 2010, p. 129). The multi-actor character of the governance arrangement, for example, is borne out in the involvement of private actors in ensuring the security of the Games. The participation of a wide range of organisations and institutions operating on levels ranging from local to international further demonstrates this multi-level character.

Power is a crucial component of politics (Devos, 2006). In recent times, non-state actors have gained an ever larger share in the exercise of that power. The focus of this study will be on the power of NGOs such as the IOC, and IGOs such as the UN. Bruyninckx and Scheerder (2010) distinguish between three different forms of power concerning sports. The first, economic power, refers to the use of economic capabilities to exercise power in the context of sports. Indeed, as sport nowadays has become associated with increasingly large sums of money, many consequently assume that power relations must exist within the sporting world. In this sense, multinational organisations (MNOs) often have the power to influence and even change the rules of sport. Secondly, sport actors possess normative power in that they act according to certain norms and are able to influence others. Norms and values which are intrinsically embedded in the practice of sport, such as fair-play, conversely, can be a form of normative power, since they have the potential to change the behaviour of others. The third form of power, political power, indicates the close connection between sport and the political elite. Many politicians, such as Obama and Putin, like to be associated with a popular sports team in the hope that this may benefit them electorally. Political power can also be used to attain certain goals in the context of sport, such as the construction of new sports infrastructure.

2. Global civil society

Like so many aspects of society, sport has crossed national boundaries and evolved tremendously on a global scale (Maguire, 1999). Giulianotti (2011a) situates 'Sport for Development and Peace' within the emerging global civil society. Like Kaldor (2003) he defines global civil society as a complex and politically contested field, marked by conflicts, partnerships and interactions between different stakeholders that shape global development. This contested field may be understood as a competitive network, established by various institutional and political actors, including nation-states,

IGOs, NGOs and TNCs (Giulianotti, 2011c). Giulianotti divides SDP into four ideal-types: corporate social responsibility, nongovernmental and community-based initiatives, government programmes, and critical social justice activities (see Figure 2.1). However, these domains are not hermetically sealed off. Instead, individuals and institutions may oscillate between them, depending on financial support and their influence in shaping the SDP sector.

Figure 2.1 Types of SDP institution within global civil society (Giulianotti, 2011b)

Transnational corporations, corporate social responsibility	Governmental and intergovernmental organizations
Neo-liberal	Governance/developmentalist
e.g. Nike, Coca-Cola	e.g. UN, UNESCO, UNICEF
Nongovernmental organizations/community-based organizations	New social movements and radical nongovernmental organizations
Programme implementation	Social justice
e.g. Right to Play	e.g. Clean Clothes Campaign

Source: Giulianotti (2011b)

2.1. Corporate/neoliberalism

Since the 1970s, a remarkable global change in attitude towards neoliberalism occurred, a theory of political economic practices that proposes that human well-being can best be advanced by liberating individual entrepreneurial freedoms and skills within an institutional framework characterised by strong private property rights, free markets and free trade (Harvey, 2005). Neoliberalism is the predominant approach to development in the SDP context. Indeed, the SDP field and the neoliberal approach have a lot in common (Burgess, 2011). Firstly, the main actors – international institutions and private actors – are similar. They are viewed as key proponents of social and economic change through sport. Secondly, they both provide aid to the Global South through partnerships and private funding, whilst maintaining a focus on neoliberal principles such as the enlargement of the private sector, open markets and the need for rapid economic growth in order to encourage development. However, Kidd (2008) warns for a negative impact on social development, since it provokes competition among stakeholders and relies primarily on individual self-esteem rather than on community-based goals. In a similar vein, Darnell (2010) points out that the SDP sector is not always

about Sport for All since sport is often challenged by the hegemony of neo-liberal development. He argues that the link between sport and development "continues to be constructed in and through the political economy of global competitive sport itself and therefore aligns with traditional top-down notions of development, despite the fact that sport is often positioned as a way to approach international development differently"(Darnell, 2010). For this reason, careful consideration of the social politics of sport and development within the SDP sector is of the utmost importance. In addition to this, Akindes and Kirwin (2009) note the domination of the Global North's values in the SDP agenda as another aspect of the neoliberal focus of SDP.

Giulianotti (2011a) identifies neo-liberal social policies within the SDP sector, embodied by transnational corporations and forms of corporate social responsibility. Marsden and Andriof (1998) defined Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) as the satisfaction of the expectations of all societal stakeholders to enhance the company's positive impact on its social and physical environment, while providing a competitive return to its financial stakeholders. As recently as fifteen years ago, hardly any professional sports organisation was concerned with its CSR status. Now, however, they all increasingly participate in socially responsible programmes and even have a community affairs department, which determines the organisation's image and legitimacy (Babiak &Wolfe, 2006).

Giulianotti (2011a) identified three forms of CSR within the SDP sector: TNCs own social responsibility programmes, ties between TNCs and NGOs, and ties between TNCS and (I)GOs to boost the social image of TNCs. Firstly, major publicly traded sportswear and equipment suppliers such as Nike and Adidas faced criticism by radical NGOs (cf. infra) and grassroots organisations, as well as academics and journalists, for relying on child labour and degrading working conditions in their factories in the Global South (commonly known as sweatshops). In response to this, the corporations started monitoring the working conditions in these factories and launched social responsibility programmes.

Secondly, during the last decade a rising number of partnerships between TNCs and NGOs can be noted. For example, Samsung is the main partner of Generations For Peace – an NGO which brings together youth leaders who are influential in their communities and gives them the skills to provide organised peace-through-sport activities (http://www.generationsforpeace.org/). This can be regarded as an example of corporate philanthropy as this is a CSR initiative which is quite far-removed from the ingrained business practices of a company (Levermore, 2010). But what about sponsors of the Olympic Games like Coca Cola and McDonald's? Are they not selling products which have a clearly adverse effect on health? Many TNCs engaged in CSR initiatives for SDP are food, soft drinks and tobacco companies, which have been criticised for supporting initiatives whilst

simultaneously promoting unhealthy products. TNCs attempt to focus the public's attention on their social responsibility through their contributions to the SDP sector by, for example, handing out substantial amounts of sporting material in communities in the Global South (Babiak & Wolfe, 2006). But the corporations are not the only ones concerned with this issue. The IOC is also working on its CSR through its project 'Giving is winning', and FIFA has similar aims with its *Goal* Program. Through this initiative, NOCs, IFs, sponsors, sports organisations, athletes, members and supporters of the Olympic Movement have donated sports and casual clothes for distribution by the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) to several refugee camps worldwide (IOC, 2010).

Finally, a close collaboration exists between TNCs and (inter)governmental organisations within the SDP sector. Corporations such as Nike and Reebok joined the 'UN Global Compact[5]', an initiative of the UN to legitimise CSR, and were criticised for being examples of bluewashing. Since there are no screening methods to guarantee that the TNCs act in compliance with the accepted principles, some suggest that these UN partnerships are merely designed to improve corporations' reputations.

2.2. Mainstream NGOs and CBOs/developmental interventionism

By striving to establish international standards, promoting the creation of new international organisations, lobbying in intergovernmental forums, transforming international law, and fostering treaties, NGOs have exerted a profound influence on today's politics (Charnovitz, 2006). As a result of the increasing geographic range and sophistication of the NGO sector, they have a key role to play in global decision making from international security to human rights and environmental issues. Unlike IGOs, whose mandates are agreed and delineated by states, NGOs gain influence through the commitment of its volunteers to the NGO's cause (Charnovitz, 2006). As a result, NGOs claim to have greater legitimacy than governments (Willets, 2002, p. 1). Sometimes NGOs and CBOs are referred to as the traditional third sector agencies (Giulianotti, 2011a). The UN and the developed world have been promoting a tripartite structure between governments, civil society and the private sector, the interaction of which will constitute future global governance. Often NGOs are perceived as being the main actors within global civil society (Lechner, 2009). Although there is no generally accepted definition of an NGO, Willets (2002) identifies three key features: (i) value-driven, (ii) independent from governmental control, and (iii) non-profit-making.

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[5] "*The UN Global Compact is a strategic policy initiative for businesses that are committed to aligning their operations and strategies with ten universally accepted principles in the areas of human rights, labour, environment and anti-corruption.*" (http://www.unglobalcompact.org/)

The term mainstream NGO refers to an NGO that concentrates on the pragmatic implementation of SDP projects. In general, it remains aloof from political practices, such as social injustice, and focuses, in contrast to the radical NGOs (cf. infra), on the implementation of SDP initiatives. This apolitical and neutral approach can be useful in many SDP projects to create confidence among the actors in peace building projects.

CBOs, which implement SDP projects in grassroots settings, and mainstream NGOs are associated with developmental interventionist social policies. It is the only domain within the field of SDP where the SDP organisation itself carries out sport-related interventions. In general, mainstream NGOs and CBOs that use sport as a tool for intervention receive support from powerful external institutions. SDP mainstream NGOs and CBOs are distinguished by scale, power, methods, objectives and relations with their donors. Small organisations do not usually hold strong political and financial ties with their donors, but a number of large NGOs and CBOs do have a close relationship with their donors. For example, a link exists between Streetfootballworld – a worldwide network of organisations that use football as a means of empowering disadvantaged young people by engaging private and public partners to incite social change (http://www.streetfootballworld.org) - and FIFA - the international governing body of football (Kaldor, 2003). For SDP organisations it remains a tough balance to strike between maintaining autonomy, commitments to initial objectives and close relations with recipients on the one hand, and benefitting from financial support from large IGOs or TNCs in return for participation in policies of the SDP organisation on the other. It often results in the failure of sport NGSOs to address the needs of the recipients (Levermore, 2011b).

The international community has progressively recognised the potential of sport for the promotion of peace and development. This has caused the development cooperation sector to shift towards a more sport-related approach. However, Beacom (2007) remarks that sports organisations engaged in SDP projects are necessarily also pursuing their own agendas. These relate variously to internationalisation of new sporting forms, enhancement of international competition, product development, enhanced international profiling and securing additional resources. Officials with extensive experience in the development context have insisted on a certain degree of caution in relation to SDP practices, such as the appointment of high-profile athletes as campaign ambassadors or collaboration with TNCs that are primarily interested in salvaging their reputation with the general public. Although settled at rapid pace within the NGO sector, the SDP sector still lacks the programmatic and methodological sophistication of the older development cooperation industry (Cornelissen, 2011). The reticence of the development cooperation sector is mainly based on the ethical consideration that basic needs should have priority over leisure and pleasure. Another reason for the significant alienation of sport by 'developmentalists', may be the long-established malaise by

which sport is perceived to be male-dominated, exclusive, greedy and corrupt because of its ties with large-scale popular culture. Still, greed and corruption are mainly associated with elite sport, whilst they will not often appear in terms of grassroots sports (Levermore, 2011b). Many core development agencies, such as the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank (WB), as well as mainstream development agencies, have been ignoring the link between development and sport (Levermore, 2008b). Levermore (2008a) points out that the principal institutions promoting SDP are either derived from the sports sector (such as governing bodies/ federations and clubs) or NGOs that establish sports programmes. Often development remains of secondary interest to setting up a sports infrastructure. In this respect, the UN has called for an intensification of the collaboration with core development agencies (UN, General Assembly, 2006).

2.3. National and intergovernmental organisations/strategic developmentalism

National and intergovernmental organisations integrated the SDP sector into the mainstream global development field. Guilianotti (2011a) refers in this case to strategic developmentalist policies. He distincts three different categories, namely national, international governmental organisations and international sports federation (IFs). Interactions between the different categories exist, an example of which could be the strategic collaboration between the UN and FIFA since 1999. Each of these categories employs sport in a strategic way. Top-down management and universalising knowledge on the SDP field, are the main characters of strategic developmentalism. National and intergovernmental organisations try to span the SDP sector and the wider global civil society, but it remains difficult to ascertain the extent to which their social policies are.

National, international governmental organisations and IFs tend to emulate strategic developmentalist policies within the SDP sector on two levels. Firstly, SDP agencies often share and pursue the universal targets formulated by IGOs, such as the MDGs (UN, Inter-Agency Task Force on SDP, 2003). Moreover, some national and intergovernmental organisations have proclaimed sport as a human right. Article 1 of the Charter of Physical Education and Sport adopted by United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO) in 1978 states: "*The practice of physical education and sport is a fundamental human right for all.*" It emphasises that everyone is entitled to participate in sport, including and especially women, young people, the elderly and the disabled. In addition to this, the IOC has also proclaimed sport as human right (IOC, 2011). Secondly, strategic developmentalism is used by national governmental and intergovernmental SDP initiatives to facilitate the establishment of institutional networks and the spread of knowledge. A number of conferences have served to provide continuity, and to advance advocacy and coordination of the SDP sector. For example, the first International Conference on Sport & Development in Magglingen in

2003 was organised by the Special Advisor to the UN Secretary-General on SDP (cf. supra), the Swiss Agency for Development and Cooperation (SAD) and Federal Office of Sport Magglingen (Coalter, 2008). During this conference many IGOs, NGOs and governments signed the Magglingen declaration, expressing their commitment to SDP. Another example is the International Forum on Sport, Peace and Development, a biennial event jointly organised by the IOC and the UNOSDP. The aim of this forum is to assess the use of sport as a means for development and peace and to pave the way for the future of SDP. The first edition of this forum was held in May 2009 in the Olympic Museum in Lausanne with the aim of debating the contribution of sport to peace and development. Peacock (2011) describes this as '*a typically lavish affair with global elites from the worlds of sport, business, politics and nobility*'. A final example is the Peace and Sport annual forums, held since 2007, that provide a platform for stakeholders to meet and exchange ideas. Peace and Sport is a neutral organisation based in Monaco under the auspices of Prince Albert II of Monaco.

2.4. New social movements and radical NGOs/social justice

The final category is something of a misfit since the social justice field is not entirely defined by formal institutions, but also comprises political activists, critical reporters and academics. In recent years, they have developed an increasingly loud voice in international politics and have become champions in using mass media to promote their causes. TNCs, IFs and government bodies are under increasing pressure to act in a 'socially responsible' way (Brownell, 2012). New social movements, such as the 'Clean Clothes Campaign', aim to improve working conditions in the global clothing manufacture industry, and radical NGOs advocate social rights and even conduct campaigns against TNCs, IFs and government bodies. In this respect, one could recall how, when the IOC announced that Beijing would be the host city of the 2008 Olympic Games, Amnesty International and Human Rights Watch campaigned against the People's Republic of China (PRC) and the IOC (Pomfret, 2008, July 28). Radical NGOs keep on pressuring the IOC to establish human rights standards and benchmarks for bid cities (Brownell, 2012). Another example is the recent call of Human Rights Watch to the IOC to take appropriate steps against Saudi Arabia, which systematically discriminates against women in sports by imposing an "effective ban" on women competing at a national level (Clarey, 2012, February 15). These demands place the IOC uncomfortably between 'universal human rights' on the one hand, and 'respect for multicultural integrity' on the other. One can argue that Human Rights Watch and Amnesty International are 'regular/mainstream' NGOs, but Giulianotti (2011a) classifies them under the category of radical NGOs since they focus their efforts in the area of social justice. According to Giulianotti, the difference between mainstream NGOs and radical NGOs is that the former do not interfere with politics, whereas the latter do.

During the last decades, transnational endeavors towards social justice featured public protests at top meetings of the world's political and economic elite. New social movements and radical NGOs oppose neoliberal globalisation and can, therefore, be categorised as 'anti-systemic' (Wallerstein, 2003). These movements aim to sustain those who are hit hardest by the failure of TNCs, nation-states and IGOs to eliminate their negative effects on human value and social justices. Some of these movements have tackled the abuse of young athletes within developing nations, as well as the corruption and human rights violations within IFs (Marcano and Fidler, 2002). Notably, many new social movements and radical NGOs located in the SDP sector concentrate on issues relating to the developed world, such as protests against expensive bids by cities to host big sporting events, bribes, hooliganism, homophobia and racism (Lenskyj, 2008). Identifying connections between these movements and those that focus on issues relating to the Global South, remains something of a challenge.

Giulianotti (2011a) stresses these movements' ability to reflect critically both on the role of sport in achieving specific social policy objectives and on sport's social side-effects, such as exploitative and oppressive practices in factories of TNCs that produce sport's material. He discerns two weaknesses of social justice agencies in the SDP sector: firstly, they lack effective internal integration and coordination; secondly, they remain weakly positioned within the widespread global civil society.

3. Transnationalism

The term "transnational" refers to any transboundary relationship, in which at least one of the actors is not a government (Willetts, 2002, p. 3). Its adoption acknowledged that international relations consist of more than simply intergovernmental relations. Formerly small-scale movements, like ecology and feminism, have transformed into transnational movements that are still rooted in civil society, but are now capable of mobilising and influencing national governments and IGOs, such as the UN (MacAloon, 1997). The concept of transnationalism serves as a theoretical framework which encompasses the transnational dimensions of the SDP effort and is also helpful to further elaborate on the idea of global civil society. This concept includes processes through which individuals and social groups become interconnected across different borders (Giulianotti, 2011c). Modern sports underwent a swift transnationalisation in the way of sharing cultures, religions and languages, as European workers and settlers introduced the rules and set up competitions among indigenous peoples (Giulianotti & Robertson, 2007b). Furthermore, the transnational dimension of sport has expanded enormously through intensified migration and advanced mediatisation. Nowadays, it is

reflected in the (financial) outcomes and political conflicts induced by large sporting events together with their organising and controlling bodies (Giulianotti & Robertson, 2007b). Consider in this respect the transnational status of the Olympic Games. The IOC marketing report showed that an estimated potential TV audience of 4.3 billion viewers worldwide tuned in to some of the televised coverage of the 2008 Beijing Olympics (IOC, 2008). In **financial** terms, the Olympic Games are a major transnational industry, the worth of which was totaled by Beijing Organising Committee for the Olympic Games (BOCOG) at $3 billion (Pennay, 2009, June 16). In **political** terms, membership of the Olympic Movement is more representative of the world's nation states than membership of the UN (Henri & Al-Tauqi, 2008). Olympism has a global reach with 204 National Olympic Committees (NOC) linked to the IOC. Except for South Sudan, all UN-members have NOCs, as do 12 other territories, giving the IOC more national members than the UN. Newly independent states attach great political importance to the recognition of their membership of the Olympic Movement. In **social** terms, the IOC has proclaimed sport as a human right (IOC, 2011) and as a tool for development and peace.

4. Global citizenship

Tiessen (2011) defines global citizenship 'as a way of understanding the world in which an individual's attitudes and behaviours reflect a compassion and concern for the marginalised and/or poor and for the relationship between poverty and wealth – within and between communities, countries and regions'. Alongside the term global citizenship, other terms are used such as global cosmopolitanism or cosmopolitan governance. An aspect of global cosmopolitanism is the growing solidarity among individuals in the world through the internationalisation of social life (Carey, 2003). It is the result of a cognisance to the fact that the entire world has been discovered, and that time and space have become increasingly compressed (Robertson, 1992). Global sport encourages more than a cosmopolitan consciousness, and also fosters feelings of ethnic identity (Maguire, 1999). NGOs can be considered large contributors to the development of a cosmopolitan world system because of their transnational competence and their moral legitimacy. Transnational competence refers to a solid capability to operate in a global environment. This competence is expanded by international membership, encouraging the exchange of knowledge and expertise in policy areas where diplomats and politicians have difficulties operating (Coolsaet, 1998). The high level of attention given by the international community to the Olympic Movement is due to its display of a world of multicultural co-existence, which encourages cultural biases to fade, and to use the perspective of a world citizen to look for common ground despite differences (Hua, 2009).

Tiessen (2011) observes that SDP NGOs have employed a global citizenship discourse in their projects as a strategy for creating a positive NGO image. Most SDP agencies refer to inclusion, citizenship and universal language. Nevertheless, this global citizenship discourse is dominated by a charity-centred approach of the Global North rather than an approach characterised by solidarity, sympathy and knowledge exchange. For example, SDP initiatives tend to be portrayed as well-off white people playing sports with poor black children. In an attempt to provide similar opportunities to children of the developing world, real local needs and dreams are forgotten. SDP agencies are particularly interested in the adoption of the global citizenship discourse because of its widespread reach, including youngsters, who constitute a group which is particularly to reach. Hence, image creation comprises an analysis of 'othering', neocolonialism, paternalism and inequality in the discourse of SDP initiatives. Maguire (2006) notes that the global flow of talented African athletes and the holding of global sporting events, did not necessarily develop more cosmopolitan feelings within and between societies, and sometimes even encourages decivilising counter thrusts.

CHAPTER 4

THE COLLABORATION BETWEEN THE IOC AND THE UN

IN TERMS OF SDP

1. Historical perspectives

The International Olympic Committee was established by Pierre de Coubertin in 1894. Ten years later, he moved the IOC, which he called the "little older brother", from Paris to Lausanne to be closer to its "big younger sister" or the League of Nations in Geneva (Chappelet, 1997). He believed there was a unique relationship between these two organisations. A declaration of 1926 in which the League outlines its position towards sport in its international relations reads as follows: "*Le développement du sport a de plus en plus eu pour effet d'attirer la jeunesse de tous les pays dans une collaboration internationale. La Société des Nations reconnaît que ce mouvement international renferme des possibilités de la plus grande valeur pour le développement de la bonne entente entre les nations. La Société des Nations désire contribuer au développement de ce mouvement et empêcher que certaines influences et tendances en diminuent l'importance internationale.*" (IOC Archives, Lausanne). However, a note by Secretary-General of the League of Nations, Drummond, reveals that he was not at all in favour of a resolution concerning the League's attitude to sport (IOC Archives, Lausanne). He wondered if it would be worthwhile for the League to pass a resolution on this subject if it did not call for action by governments.

De Coubertin, who was also a member of the Greek delegation to the League, maintained good relations with the first President of the League of Nations, the Belgian Paul Hymans (Peacock, 2010), and promoted the same values of universalism as the precursor to the UN. As early as 1920, he wrote to Paul Hymans about the importance of the Olympic idea in fostering peace (IOC Archives, Lausanne). De Coubertin was aware that there was no way forward without the support of political powers. Many years later, Lord Killanin, president of the IOC from 1972 until 1980, also kept in very close touch with Kurt Waldheim, UN Secretary-General at that time. However, Killanin wrote in a personal letter to Samaranch, the next president of the IOC, that he was rather skeptical about the UN as a body (IOC Archives, Lausanne). Samaranch answered "*I shall of course proceed carefully with*

the UN. If we can succeed with this resolution, it will be of great assistance to the IOC, NOCs and IFs." (IOC Archives, Lausanne). At that time, Samaranch attempted to obtain a resolution by the General Assembly for the protection of the Olympic Games (IOC/DIC, 2002). A lot of correspondence took place between Samaranch and the UN Secretary-General, Javier Pérez de Cuellar. However, the resolution was not adopted and the Committee was dismantled. Nevertheless, Samaranch did not give up and continued to promote the Olympic Movement across the world.

As early as 1922, a first milestone was reached with the establishment of an institutional cooperation between the ILO and IOC in the mutual signing of a Memorandum of Understanding (IOC, 2010). The ILO was interested in the question of utilising workers' leisure, which had become more important with the reduction in hours of labour. The Secretary-General of the French Olympic Committee, M. Frantz-Reichel, asked the Director of ILO, Albert Thomas, if sport could not be subsumed in the programme of the League of Nations (IOC Archives, Lausanne). His letter expressed the belief that "*le rôle du sport dans l'ordre social tend à prendre une place prépondérante, puisque les industriels, les commerçants, les grandes compagnies n'hésitent pas à favoriser et à provoquer, même parmi leur personnel, l'organisation de groupements d'éducation physique et sportive. Les organisations ouvrières ont créé elles-mêmes des groupements particuliers, dont l'ampleur pour ne pas atteindre celle des associations sans tendance, n'en est pas moins significative".* This was the beginning of a series of partnerships between the IOC and UN system partners. In 1991, the UN Security Council established a Sanctions Committee against Yugoslavia, which was to prevent its athletes from taking part in the 1992 Barcelona Olympics (IOC/DIC, 2002). In 1992, the UN Security Council adopted a resolution in which sport was acknowledged as a component of the imposed sanctions. After negotiations between the IOC and the UN, the Security Council approved the IOC's call to allow Yugoslavia's athletes to take part as individuals (IOC/DIC, 2002). In 1994, the IOC was assisted by UNHCR in facilitating the evacuation of the NOC leaders and athletes of Bosnia-Herzegovina from Sarajevo so that they could participate at the Lillehammer Olympics (Beacom, 2000). Subsequently, prior to each edition of the Summer and Winter Olympic Games, a resolution has been adopted, entitled *"Building a peaceful and better world through sport and the Olympic ideal"*. From then on the UN General Assembly urges Member States to observe the Olympic Truce or cessation of all hostilities around the world throughout the duration of the Olympic Games. It is a reminder that the Games have always been a platform to support the pacifist cause. As a symbolic gesture, the UN flag has been flown at all competition sites of the Olympic Games since the 1998 Nagano Olympic Winter Games. The General Assembly has affirmed its belief that international sporting contacts based on the Olympic principles can play a positive role in promoting peace and in the development of friendly relations among nations. The General Assembly named the year 1994 the "*International Year of Sport*

and the Olympic Ideal", following a UN General Assembly Resolution (48/10) adopted in 1993 which acknowledged the role of the Olympic Movement as building a peaceful and better world by educating the youth of the world through sport and culture (UN, General Assembly, 1993). In 1996, the IOC and the WB decided to unite their efforts and to cooperate in development projects throughout the world by signing a cooperation agreement (IOC/DIC, 1999). The WB also supports the Olympafrica development project through its West Africa office. This project aims to create sports infrastructure in a way which involves the contribution of the local authorities and communities in rural areas of big cities in Africa, as well as collaboration of the Olympic Movement, IGOs, NGOs and the private sector. Moreover, it is a member of the International Olympic Forum for Development (IOFD), a new body established by the IOC in 1996 aimed at strengthening collaboration and coordination between sports organisations and nations which provide technical assistance in the field of sport at an international level.

The UN General Assembly sealed this longstanding partnership by granting the IOC Observer Status on 19 October 2009. According to current IOC President Jacques Rogge "*This is a huge recognition of the role sport can play in contributing to a better and more peaceful world. The Olympic values clearly match the UN's philosophy. The decision further strengthens the partnership between the IOC and the UN system. The IOC already works with a wide array of UN specialised agencies and organisations around the world to benefit young people and communities.*"(IOC, 2009, October 19)*. The observer status provides the IOC with the opportunity to increase its political and sports network, and to defend its interests worldwide (IOC, 2010). It has strengthened the level of partnership between sports organisations around the world as a whole, and has brought the political leadership of nations to a position where more resources are provided for sport by governments and by sport in order to deliver on development commitments (IOC, 2010). Permanent observers have permission to address the UN General Assembly without prior invitation and to sponsor draft resolutions, but they cannot vote on substantial matters (Peacock, 2011). So far, it is the only fully NGO to have obtained such a status apart from the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC), whose Geneva Conventions make up international humanitarian law.

At the time, some IOC members supported this, but many were opposed to an advisory status within the UN, feeling that the IOC had little to gain from collaboration with the UN. He Zhenliang, Honorary President of the Chinese Olympic Committee, stated that "*the IOC felt that it certainly had to maintain good relations with the UN but that it should pursue its own policy of autonomy from governmental institutions.*" (Zhenliang, 2009, p. 33). A former IOC member was also against this observer status (personal communication, 2012, May 9). He argued that by simply becoming a part of a political structure, the IOC gives up a part of its room for manoeuvre. In his view, the collaboration

between the IOC and the UN is a necessary one, but forming part of the UN is just a step too far. Still the decision of Rogge to accept this status is understandable since it is underpinned by path dependency. He could not go back on decisions made by his predecessors and Committee members. An IOC official (personal communication, 2011, October 24) underscored that the status is only a symbolic gesture. The autonomy of sport is of the utmost importance for the IOC. The IOC is not a political organisation nor does it defend political interests, even though it is influenced by politics. However, the observer status does give the IOC the opportunity to defend its interests and strengthen its future. Another IOC official (personal communication, 2012, May 3) agrees and notes that this observer status enhances the seriousness of the two organisations as well as their collaboration.

The IOC used strategic developmentalism (see infra.) by adopting the MDGs and collaborating with a wide array of UN specialised agencies and organisations in the fields of youth, gender equality, education, health, environmental sustainability and the combating of HIV/AIDS. For example, the IOC and Joint United Nations Programme on HIV/AIDS (UNAIDS) have published the first Toolkit for HIV & AIDS prevention through sport (IOC, 2010). For the time being, fifteen UN system organisations have established agreements with the IOC. In May 2010 the first UN-IOC forum, entitled "The importance of Partnerships", was held in Lausanne and was co-organised by the IOC and the UNOSDP. It consolidated the IOC's commitment to the development aspects of the Olympics, and to Olympism in general. It resulted in the publication of 19 recommendations "*on how to maximise the impact of various activities in the field of development through sport*" (IOC, 2010). One year later, a follow-up meeting took place at the UN headquarters in Geneva. The forum is intended to become a recurring event in order to sustain the collaboration between the UN and the IOC.

2. The IOC: a powerful NGO in the SDP field

2.1 An atypical NGO

The IOC represents only a part of the larger Olympic Movement. The Olympic Movement consists of the International Olympic Committee (IOC), international sports federations (IFs), National Olympic Committees (NOCs), Organising Committees for the Olympic Games (OCOGs), national associations and sport clubs, sporting officials, coaches and administrators, and athletes (IOC, 2011). The IOC governs the Olympic Movement, owns the rights to the Olympics and is the supreme authority of the Olympic Movement (IOC, 2011). The IOC defines itself as an international non-governmental not-for-profit organisation (IOC, 2011). Nevertheless, it is very different from traditional international NGOs

such as SOS Children's Villages and Oxfam. Taking into account three key features of an NGO defined by Willets (2002), notably (i) value-driven, (ii) independent from governmental control, and (iii) non-profit-making, Bruyninckx (2010) asserts that the IOC is a value-driven organisation, since it is established around the fundamental principles of Olympism written down in the Olympic Charter. "*The goal of Olympism is to place sport at the service of the harmonious development of humankind, with a view to promoting a peaceful society concerned with the preservation of human dignity*"(IOC, 2011). The IOC conforms to the second characteristic since the Olympic Charter allows the IOC to assert independence from political and governmental control (IOC, 2011). The third characteristic is somewhat more sensitive. Although the IOC identifies itself as a not-for-profit organisation, the committee entered the global market to sell its symbols to the highest bidder and the Olympic Charter explicitly refers to economic and financial affairs. *"All rights to any and all Olympic properties, as well as all rights to the use thereof, belong exclusively to the IOC, including but not limited to the use for any profit-making, commercial or advertising purposes. The IOC may license all or part of its rights on terms and conditions set forth by the IOC Executive Board"* (IOC, 2011). Peacock (2011) indicates that the IOC is a not-for-profit organisation since the profits do not come into the possession of investors or shareholders, but instead go towards the maintenance of the Olympic Movement. Even in the past, the massive profits gained have already caused major problems. While the Olympic Games grew and higher profits were made, its organisational structure did not keep up with the pace of change. After the big bribery scandal of the Salt Lake City Olympic Bid Committee in 1998, the IOC decided to implement fundamental structural changes to increase its accountability and financial transparency in order to ensure that these types of problems should never occur again (Mallon, 2000). The IOC made its financial revenues and expenses public, conducted audits, and even made efforts to have the IOC designated by the Organisation of Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) as a public international organisation. When the OECD refused, the IOC adopted the authorised international accounting practices for MNOs to restore its credibility (Peacock, 2011).

If this was not convincing enough, membership, rights and privileges, and its powerful position also differ from traditional NGOs (Bruyninckx, 2010, p. 107). In comparison with traditional NGOs, the IOC's **membership** is exclusive and undemocratic. As opposed to other organisations, it consists of a maximum of 115 self-selected 'natural persons' (IOC, 2011)[6]. Members of the IOC are

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[6] *Rule 16: 1. Composition of the IOC – Eligibility, recruitment, election, admittance and status of IOC members:*
1.1 IOC members are natural persons. The total number of IOC members may not exceed 115. The IOC is composed of: 1.1.1 a majority of members whose memberships are not linked to any specific function or office; their total number may not exceed 70; there may be no more than one such member national of any given country; 1.1.2 active athletes, the total

representatives of the Olympic Movement in their respective countries. They are not delegates to the IOC (IOC, 2011). Although membership is independent of any specific nation-state (Maguire et al., 2002), representatives from powerful states are likely to have more influence than others within the Committee. Most of its members are elite figures who hold great sway within the global sports world. However, an increasingly loud voice is calling for the Olympic Games to be determined by a democratically elected global sport meeting (Zhenliang, 2009). After all, what is the legal basis for the fact that all sport games-related issues should be determined by the IOC?

Peacock (2010) points out that the IOC, with its very public-oriented mandate and quasi-governmental form, enjoys many of the **rights and privileges** traditionally reserved for IGOs. The IOC is the only NGO to have obtained an observer status at the UN General Assembly so far. This provides the IOC with opportunities to defend its interests on a global scale (cf. infra). The IOC also enjoys a certain amount of extraterritoriality, which exempts entities operating in a foreign country from the jurisdiction of the host country. During the period of the Games, the host city will not be considered part of the host nation but serves as an extraterritorial zone, or as to a certain extent belonging to Olympia, where the IOC can impose rules in the same way as a state would do. For example, in 2008, the IOC demanded that the sovereign Chinese government should allow the Taiwanese delegation to enter the PRC under credentials not recognised by the Chinese government. Moreover, the IOC perceives itself as an a-political and neutral organisation that will not take a position on political, social and economic matters in both the host country and between participating countries (Bruyninckx, 2010, p. 125). Another privilege of the IOC is its legal status. Ettinger (1992) stated in this respect that *"the IOC cannot compel governmental compliance, however, the Olympic Charter exemplifies current international practice and has the effect of customary international law. Therefore, the authoritative force of the rules and regulations of the Olympic Charter are recognised by state and international law"*. It has been widely acknowledged that the IOC has an international personality and the Olympic Charter has been recognised as customary international law (Peacock, 2010). The Committee even played a predominant role in defining a broader framework for international sporting law. The Court of Arbitration for Sport (CAS), established in 1984 by the IOC and reformed in 1994 to make it definitively independent of the IOC, is a private international arbitral institution that is subject to Swiss law (http://www.tas-cas.org/history). One of the main reasons for its foundation was to provide a relatively simple, inexpensive and rapid procedure for

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number of whom may not exceed 15; 1.1.3 Presidents or persons holding an executive or senior leadership position within IFs, associations of IFs or other organisations recognised by the IOC, the total number of whom may not exceed 15; 1.1.4 Presidents or persons holding an executive or senior leadership position within NOCs, or world or continental associations of NOCs, the total number of whom may not exceed 15; there may be no more than one such member national of any given country within the IOC (IOC, 2011).

solving international sports disputes. Although the CAS is able to settle international sports disputes, it does not mean that national courts have lost their jurisdiction. A dispute can only be submitted to the CAS if there is an arbitration agreement between the parties which dedicates resources to the CAS. Since the CAS consists of sport law experts, who are expected to give better judgment than ordinary lawyers, there are many instances of national courts deferring to the CAS on sports-related matters (Reeb, 2006). By hosting the First World Conference on Doping in Sport in Lausanne in 1999, the IOC encouraged the establishment of a public-private international legal body to intensify the fight against doping in sport. The World Anti-Doping Agency (WADA), another rule-generating body of the Olympic Movement, was established in the same year (Peacock, 2010).

A final difference pointed out in this respect is the **powerful position** of the IOC in international politics in contrast to the position of other NGOs. Rosenau and Wang (2001) elucidated that the Committee can sometimes act and "*be treated by other political actors as a world government unto itself*". The Committee's laws and norms, written down in the Olympic Charter, are heeded more than those of other such organisations (Peacock, 2010). The aforementioned rights and privileges of the IOC treated in this section all contribute to the IOC's autonomy and power in world politics.

2.2. An underestimated power in world politics

"World politics is no more just about power and states; it also involves non-state actors, specialised in different issues, such as the IOC. Each one of these actors act as a separate group and operate and lobby on world level on behalf of their members, in the name of the ideal or interests they represent. The case of the IOC proves that when an organisation is structurally able to fit in the arena of world politics, when it can adapt to the changing international environment and when it strongly supports and promotes the ideals it represents, it may acquire its own position not only in the agenda of world interdependent politics but also, and maybe most importantly, in the hearts and minds of people." (Chatzigianni, 2006, p. 99-100).

The IOC has power in certain issue areas. Its power is nearly always bound to its power to award the Olympic Games, but often goes beyond sports and has a wider reach into the economic, environmental and security field. Bruyninckx (2010, p. 109) uses the three dimensions of power identified by Steven Lukes (1974) and applies them to the IOC. The first is the capacity to **influence decision making**. Organising the Olympics has a major impact on decision making in the host city and host country. During the selection process which determines the allocation of the Olympics, the IOC

expects the candidate host cities to take measures in terms of positive lasting legacies[7]. This does not only include sports infrastructure, but also encompasses social development. The decision making process is largely dependent on the local interpretation of the general rules and expectations of the IOC. At any time, the Committee maintains control over the organisation of the Games so as to ensure that it is proceeding as is expected by the IOC. A former IOC member (personal communication, 2012, May 9) remarks that this no mean feat for the IOC. The choice of a new host city is extremely important for the IOC and contains a number of risks. Since the last decade, the IOC's choice is largely underpinned by the promised legacies of the games and by the vision of the candidate host city on the societal role of the games. The host city contract, therefore, contains a broad range of issues that are relevant for the IOC. But once the host city is chosen there is no way back for the IOC and the host city has the overall responsibility for the execution of the host city contract. In case of non-compliance with the host city contract, a binding agreement between the NOC of the host country and the host city, the IOC can withdraw the organisation of the Games from the host city, the OCOG and the NOC (IOC, 2011). However, this punishment has never been imposed because it would also reflect badly on the reputation of the IOC.

Determining the political agenda is the second dimension of power. The IOC attempts to put items on the political agenda and prevents certain delicate affairs from getting put on the agenda. The IOC can put pressure on the decision making agendas of states and other actors by sanctioning them or even excluding them from participation in the Olympics. If the IOC estimates that an NOC is not working independently, but instead is exorbitantly interfered in by national government, the NOC risks expulsion from the Olympic Games and Movement (Peacock, 2010, p. 48). The most important item the IOC put on the sports as well as on the non-sports agenda is the fight against doping in sport (Bruyninckx, 2010).

The last dimension, **ideological power**, refers to the way in which the IOC influences other actors in determining their perceptions and preferences according to the IOC's agenda. It is reflected in the IOCs ability to have an impact on national government's decisions on certain topics. For example, for the first time in history women were represented in all participating national teams during the London Olympics of 2012, a result of the IOC's struggle for gender equality (IOC, 2012, July 12). It is difficult to imagine another platform than the Olympic Games that organises sports competitions on a global scale. It is generally accepted that the IOC is the most powerful body within the sports movement although it only serves as a representative of the Olympic sports. Its ideological power is

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[7] Legacy' in Olympic vernacular refers to the ability of sports mega-events to deliver sustainable and egalitarian social and economic changes to the host city, region and/or country (Darnell, 2010).

expressed in various ways such as changing host cities and admission requirements based on nationality rather than on athletic performance. While the Olympics could be hosted at a fixed location which is cheaper and more favourable in environmental terms, the system of changing host cities is considered normal. Logically, every four years the Games take place in another city. Since this is such an ingrained concept, it is difficult to change the IOC's hegemony. The next example illustrates international co-operation for the recognition and respect of the IOC's power to make decisions concerning the Olympics. In 1987, the Supreme Court of the US prohibited the use of the word "Olympic" when the San Francisco Arts and Athletics organisation tried to stage the "Gay Olympic Games" (Ettinger, 1992). The US Supreme Court decided that the United States Olympic Committee (USOC) owned the exclusive rights to the word "Olympic" in the US, which exemplifies the recognition by the US judiciary of the IOC and its NOCs. The US Supreme Court even referred to the IOC as "a highly visible and influential international body". Ettinger (1992) argues that the IOC's visibility and influence was enough to convince the US Supreme Court that domestic laws could be overruled by the Olympic Charter.

Power may be wielded through the use of resources of power (Bruyninckx, 2010, p. 119). As the largest regularly held gathering of citizens from different parts of the world, the Olympics are an attractive target for political expression and activity. The Olympics are not only used as a means by with the IOC can achieve its goals, but are also used as a resource of power by others. An Olympic **boycott** is a first example of such a resource of power. In protest against the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan in 1979, President Carter called for a massive boycott of the 1980 Summer Olympics in Moscow (Macintosh & Hawes, 1992). This was followed by a counter-boycott of the Soviet Union and fourteen of its allies during the 1984 Olympics in Los Angeles. So far, however, boycotting the Olympics as a whole has never succeeded. Liu (2007) argues that a boycott can displease or enrage a target country, but its effectiveness remains limited by its limited occurrence, every four years for a period of seventeen days. **Propaganda** is another resource of power. The Berlin Olympics of 1936 served as a propaganda tool for the Third Reich government (Chalkley & Essex, 1999). More recently, the Chinese government sought to use the Olympic Games as a propaganda tool to promote national cohesion and rally divided communities around a common cause (Broudehoux, 2007). The consummate organisation of the Beijing Olympics has acted as a means to distract the world's attention from the shortcomings of China's rapid economic transformation, accompanied by rampant land speculation, corruption, and uneven development. The modern Olympic Games were also frequently used as a platform for **protest**. As the world is watching, the Olympic Games can also serve as a useful platform to express dissatisfaction. Individual athletes have engineered protests, such as medalists Tommie Smith and John Carlos of the United States, who raised their glove-

covered fist in the Black Power salute during the national anthem to protest against racial segregation (Delaney & Madigan, 2009). During the Olympics in Munich in 1972, the members of the Israeli Olympic team were taken hostage and eventually killed by a Palestinian terrorist group. The Munich massacre, the most violent form of protest the Games have ever known, has drastically changed the safety aspects of the Games (Bruyninckx, 2010). In addition to boycotts, propaganda and protest, the Olympics are often considered to be a form of **symbolic power**. For example, the Seoul Olympics of 1988 were to demonstrate the ability of the Asian Tigers to integrate in the international community fully, rather than simply for their ability to produce economic growth. The Beijing Olympics of 2008 were supposed to confirm the capacity of emerging countries to organise the Games successfully. The number of medals won by a nation during an Olympiad represents another form of symbolical power. This was mainly prevalent during the Cold War between the United States and the Soviet Union. Winning Olympic medals is a source of national pride and an objective that all nations aspire to (Moosa & Smith, 2004). The core states in the world system are expected to win most of the medals in large sport competitions (Maguire et al., 2002). They are likely to have hegemonic power in the sports world too. Kuper and Sterken (2003) demonstrated that the economic status of a country is the key factor in Olympic medal winnings, followed by population size. The ranking of nations according to total medals won is not only a reflection of the existing power relations between countries, but also an illustration of the growth and loss of power over a certain period of time (Vanreusel & Meulders, 2010). At the first modern Olympiad in Athens in 1896, nine West-European countries dominated the top ten of Olympic medal totals, while at the Beijing Olympics in 2008 only four West-European countries were in the top ten. This reflects the shift in the balance of power in the world today.

2.3   IOC's quest for legitimacy

2.3.1. Three historical periods with three different social missions

The history of the IOC is characterised by continuous adjustments to its agenda to match a changing institutional environment (Peacock, 2011). Peacock (2011) sees the IOC as a legitimacy-seeking agent which acts according to rationalised structures and behaviours in order to survive. As these structures are subject to change, the IOC needs to adapt its social mission to the dominant societal discourse. Three historical periods, distinguished by Peacock, demonstrate how the social mission of the IOC has changed over time. The growing time and space compression of the world pressured the IOC into correspondence with the contemporary norms and principles that were accepted at the different times. These three different periods demonstrate that the IOC has always used SDP initiatives to enhance the international recognition and legitimacy of the Olympic Movement.

Pax Olympica

The first historical period is situated between the establishment of the IOC in 1894 and the pre-war period. Pax Olympica, the philosophical claim that sport has a unifying power that could lead humanity to a more peaceful world, underpins the Olympic Movement founded by Pierre de Coubertin. At the end of the 19th century, the majority of the honorary members of the IOC were peace activists and some of them were even Nobel Peace Prize winners. De Coubertin emphasised the involvement of these individuals in the attempt to legitimise the IOC and its social purpose. The foundational environment of the Committee was marked by democratic, progressive internationalism. De Coubertin was not a cosmopolitan but a supporter of a kind of nationalism which commended all nations for their distinctive and typical values. Although this interaction between nationalism and internationalism seems paradoxical, it was widely accepted at that time. The focus on formally equal and peacefully competing nations was the first step to 'doing good' by using sport. The importance of this primary form of 'doing good' throughout the history of the Olympic Movement can be seen in the enduring influence of its foundational legacy.

All games, all nations

In the post-war period, many IGOs and NGOs encouraged the introduction of the former colonies into the international community and disapproved of colonial and imperialist undercurrents. Newly independent nations called for 'international arenas' in which they could be recognised (Roche, 2002). Roche stated: "*They needed recognition by the Olympic Movement - particularly participation in the periodic ceremonies and sport of the Olympic Games events - almost as much as they have needed recognition by and participation in the [UN]*". This demonstrates that the young nations perceived the IOC as a legitimate power. Notwithstanding that the IOC advocated sporting independence, the IOC's position was in agreement with that of the IGOs, because of their increasing significance in world politics. The IOC recognised a nation mostly in accordance with the principles applied by IGOs. Since many polities gained political independence, the number of recognised states rose immensely and thus caused some difficulties, such as the disjunction between juridical sovereignty, based on principles of self-determination and non-interference, and empirical sovereignty, based on states having legitimacy and control over their citizens and within their territories (Barnett, 1995). To skirt around these problems, the new discourse of key actors at the time was to 'modernise' these juvenile nations so that they were able to take part in international society integrally, and defend their interests on a global scale. When Northern governments started to modernise these newly formed countries largely through large-scale, technocratic development projects, the IOC followed by assisting new NOCs and domestic sports structures. The Committee for

International Olympic Aid (CIOA) was founded in 1961 by Jean de Beaumont to support the newly independent countries in terms of sport (Henri & Al-Tauqi, 2008). During the 61st IOC Session in Baden-Baden in 1963, a full report - addressing the needs of the young countries was presented. The members, though opposed to providing subsidies to the new countries because of a lack of funds, did accept the proposal to appoint a "special ad-hoc commission" to examine the feasibility and follow-up of the actions proposed in the report. The CIOA partly emerged due to pressure from the Soviet IOC member who was advocating the provision of aid to the newly independent states (Chatziefstathiou et al., 2008). Henry and Al-Tauqi (2008) point out the activities from the CIOA cannot be separated from the 'aid diplomacy' discourse in light of the Cold War (Henry & Al-Tauqi, 2008). In the same period, the IOC felt threatened by the members of the Non-Aligned Movement who launched the Games of the New Emerging Forces (GANEFO) which served as a counter to the Olympics (Chatziefstathiou et al., 2008). In 1973, CIOA was transformed into Olympic Solidarity by Lord Killanin. He wrote in one of his letters to the NOCs *"The IOC believes that these initiatives will contribute to the development and reinforcement of its relations with the NOCs and assure a further promotion of Olympism and amateur sport in the world, and of course will be carried out with the closest cooperation with the IFs."* (IOC Archives, Lausanne). Peacock (2011) notes that this was an attempt by the IOC to unite the Olympic Movement by taking the criticism of the NOCs to heart and provide them with a greater role in the decision making process of the Olympic system. The establishment of Olympic Solidarity boosted the development of the global network of the Olympic Movement (Henri & Al-Tauqi, 2008). Nevertheless, it was underpinned by the modernisation theory, which called to help newly independent nations in functionally catching up with the industrialised nations. The founders of Olympic Solidarity believed that development and social change would 'trickle down' to even the most marginalised within these societies (Peacock, 2006, 2011). One of the main purposes of Olympic Solidarity is to ensure better representation of developing countries in the Olympic Games. The underlying idea is that distributing resources aimed at elite success will eventually reach all levels of society and that winning gold medals will stimulate grassroots development. During this period an IOC questionnaire was sent to all NOCs for the purpose of developing knowledge of the assistance requirements of the NOCs (IOC Archives, Lausanne). Following the results of this questionnaire, the action of Olympic Solidarity was to cover the following areas: assistance in the training of specialists, the elaboration and dissemination of sports documentation, and assistance in the field of sports infrastructure. A plan was launched which led to the creation of an IOC Olympic Foundation, which was to provide the funds needed for the Olympic Solidarity programme. As a result of the fast expansion of NOCs in combination with a very limited IOC budget, Olympic Solidarity consisted of ad hoc forms of support rather than a sealed and well-

funded foundation. This was all to change with the arrival of J.A. Samaranch, the new president of the Committee.

Sport for development and peace

In the early 1980's, the IOC was characterised by uncertainty concerning the survival of Olympic Solidarity, political boycotts of Olympic Games and financial difficulties following a decreasing number of cities applying to host the Games. The IOC under Samaranch adapted itself again to the changing climate in order to maintain its legitimacy. Peacock (2011) identified three trends to demonstrate this. First and foremost, the IOC has entered into **public-private partnerships** with numerous IGOs, mainly with UN bodies, in an unprecedented fashion. It reflects the IOC's commitment to engage with development, human rights and other 'good works'. The end of the Cold War also marked the end of the relative distrust with which the Committee sometimes viewed IGOs. The fall of the Berlin Wall and the implosion of the Soviet Union created optimism and a sense that anything was possible among scholars and policy makers (Mearsheimer, 1990). They believed in the relaunch of IGOs in 'good' causes which had been impeded by the Cold War. The IOC was relieved by the end of the Cold War and its disastrous impact on the Committee, and shared in this optimism with regards to IGOs by seeking public-private partnerships. Since the 1980s, IGOs collaborate increasingly with NGOs as partners in global governance (Andonova, 2006). According to Börzel and Risse (2005), this way of collaboration does not only enhance the effectiveness but also the legitimacy of transnational policy networks. The IOC's partnerships with IGOs specialised in peace and development issues increased the Committee's ability to attain its social objectives. Moreover, it contributes to having its 'good works' approved by legitimated IGOs in the development field. Since 2002 the IOC even has a Commission for International Relations. The Commission "*facilitates and promotes the relationship between the Olympic Movement, particularly the IOC and NOCs, and governments and public authorities*" (http://www.olympic.org/international-relations-commission).

Apart from partnerships, the IOC particularly seeks recognition by the UN. In the early eighties, Samaranch canvased for a draft resolution for the protection of the Olympics by influencing NOCs to instruct their UN representative to request the inclusion of 'protection of the Olympic Games' on the agenda of the next General Assembly (IOC Archives, Lausanne). Since 1994, prior to each edition of the Olympic Games, the UN General Assembly adopts a resolution calling for Member States to observe the Olympic Truce (cf. supra). Nevertheless, Samaranch persisted and sought to gain official recognition as a permanent observer within the UN, because this would acknowledge the IOC's authority in global sport and in using sport for the achievement of universal human development and peace between and among nations. Rogge's predecessor pursued the idea of the Olympic Charter

constituting a form of international sports law that would be respected by member states. His wish became reality in 2009 under the presidency of Jacques Rogge. The IOC also shares and pursues the universal targets formulated by the UN, such as the MDGs, a strategic developmentalist policy (see infra). Mario Pescante, Permanent Observer for the IOC to the UN, is confident that sport can help to achieving the MDGs. The principles of the Olympic Movement (education, sustainability, non-discrimination, universality, humanism and solidarity) are also the principles at the heart of the MDGs (IOC, 2010). The IOC often publishes press releases about its contributions to the MDGs, which have prevailed in the development discourse of the 21st century (IOC, 2010). At the MDG Summit in 2010, the IOC, by using its right to address the General Assembly, convinced the General Assembly to adopt a resolution that recognised *'sport, as a tool for education, development and peace, can promote cooperation, solidarity, tolerance, understanding, social inclusion and health at the local, national and international levels.'* (UN, General Assembly, 2010).

Secondly, the **dominant development discourse** had a major influence on the Committee's 'good works'. It assimilated buzzwords like 'empowerment' and 'grassroots' in its vocabulary and provided community-focused assistance by using sport as a means to approach the challenges of society. The IOC's website is packed with examples of projects that promote SDP 'at grassroots level' (http://www.olympic.org/grassroots-olympism). This stands in contrast to the neoliberal/modernisation theory, where materials and infrastructure of sport are provided at the national and elite level on the assumption that its benefits will trickle down to all levels of society. The IOC has abandoned its nearly exclusive focus on development *of* sport, in the hope that benefits will trickle down, and now relies on development through sport (sport *for* development). However, this point is objected to by Kidd (2011), who argues that the Olympic Movement's focus is still much more on development *of* sport than on sport *for* development. The IOC remains a supporter of development *of* sport, since the Committee believes that sport in itself contributes to a better world. Darnell (2010) stated that if the IOC and the Olympic Movement are indeed seeking to pursue sport *for* development, it faces the difficult challenge of reconciling these objectives with the traditional neoliberal approaches of development which are still supported by the dominant political and economic elite. But how can 'development as growth' ever be compatible with 'sustainable development'?

Finally, the Committee's outreach to the Global South and focus on social development is now an act of **Corporate Social Responsibility**. According to President Rogge "*Sport has a high social and educational value. We use this potential in the framework of our CSR Strategy.*"(http://www.olympic.org/news?articleid=54839). Although the IOC defines itself as a not-for-profit organisation, the huge profits it makes currently underpin the pressures to conform to the

institutions of CSR. This period is more than the two prior periods characterised by a diligent effort of the IOC not to lose its legitimacy. As the holder of the Olympic brand, the IOC is expected to use its power to play a leading role in tackling global challenges, or at least to make them discussable (Bruyninckx, 2010, p. 133). The acknowledgement of CSR in international conventions and guidelines made the IOC realise that they have responsibilities beyond organising the Olympics (Babiak & Wolfe, 2006). Merely being a sports organisation is no longer accepted as an argument for societal inaction. The Lausanne-based organisation is increasingly facing an image problem with regards to the question of social justice and ongoing efforts outside the Olympic Movement. The IOC's non-interference position in domestic affairs is now more than ever under fire. The growing criticism leveled at them during the Beijing Olympics by radical NGOs made the IOC realise that it needed more proactive communication about its efforts outside the Olympic Games (S. Brownell, written communication, 2011, November 21). Nonetheless, the core business of the IOC is to organise successful Olympic Games (IOC official, personal communication, 2011, October 24). By focusing on other targets, it is concerned about being pulled into other agendas that might distract the organisation from its main objective (S. Brownell, written communication, 2011, November 21).

2.4   The way forward: patience required

Bruyninckx (2010) recommends the IOC to regard the societal expectations for CSR as a challenge instead of a threat. If the IOC accepts the challenge, it can use its power and platform to establish itself as a socially conscious organisation and to become a global actor with a sincere responsibility in tackling transnational issues. If it does not accept the challenge, it will continuously be criticised for contributing to the maintenance of social ills by misusing or not using its power. According to Zhenliang (2009) the IOC is standing at a crossroads and has to take a decision with regards to its main responsibility. He believes that the time has come for the IOC to decide whether it will be a promoter of a social movement by distributing Olympic ideals and values, or whether it will give priority to marketing above all else and turn itself entirely into the organiser of Olympic sports performance?

A former IOC member (personal communication, 2012, 9 May) emphasises the importance of placing the SDP movement in a certain context. He distinguishes three stages in global sport's history. In the 19th century sport transformed into an organised movement. The main focus in the next century was on the promotion of sport in relation to health. In the 21st century the societal contribution of sport is underscored. Sport is promoted as a means for development, peace, environment, gender, etc. Politicians are responsible for placing sport on their national agendas. So far, he does not know of a

country that earmarked a large amount of money for SDP. But he argues that the importance of SDP is increasingly recognised. The problem at the IOC is that it is still primarily run by people of the second stage. For them, SDP is something new and it takes time for the Committee to adapt itself to this new mindset. An IOC official (personal communication, 2012, May 7) concurs by saying that it takes time for an organisation such as the IOC to adjust to this change of focus. According to a former IOC member, the IOC is an organisation of ideas rather than of practical organisation. Its influence on the NOCs and IFs is rather limited and it is increasingly dependent on others for the implementation of projects. Rogge mentioned in his opening speech at the Olympic Congress in 2009 in Copenhagen that the world had become more complex and globalised and that the IOC was now under the obligation to set up partnerships in order to contribute to finding solutions to global problems (Wassong, 2010).

Recent efforts of the IOC to enhance its CSR, are the establishment of the Olympic Youth Development Centre in Lusaka, a Sport for Hope programme that provides access to sports and offers educational programmes and health services (http://www.olympic.org/Documents/Commissions_PDFfiles/sports-for-hope-brochure.pdf). A similar project will be completed in Port-au-Prince in 2014. It remains unclear what the underlying reasons were for the IOC's choice of Zambia and Haiti for the setting up of a big sports complex. An IOC official (personal communication, 2012, May 3) named the stability of these governments as a potential explanation, but this was contradicted by another IOC official (personal communication, 2012, May 3). The latter mentioned that it was a choice by the president of the IOC.

For grassroots projects of community development through sport, the IOC can participate at different levels, be it as a donor, a contributor or a convener of the project itself (IOC, 2010). An IOC official (personal communication, 2012, May 3) explains the differences between these participation levels. At the lowest level, where the IOC is seen as a donor, it provides financial resources, but someone else will spend this contribution. So there is no further involvement of the IOC than financial involvement. The next level, is the one where the IOC functions as a facilitator. The IOC is particularly involved in visibility, co-branding, technical influence and distribution of funds. At the highest level, where the IOC takes up the role of convener, it jointly initiates the project with other partners. The IOC acts as a mainstream NGO and uses developmental interventionist social policies (see infra), which indicates that the IOC itself carries out sport-related interventions. For example, in the Centre in Lusaka the IOC's role is more that of a convener.

Furthermore, the Olympic Movement is involved in environmental efforts, such as the recognition of the environment as the third pillar of Olympism. It is also involved in humanitarian aid efforts, such as the donation of basic goods to the victims in Darfur. Peacock (2011) regards this as an example of the IOC's shift in its outreach to the developing world and an example of philanthropy. Given its high revenues in recent times, the IOC has become aware of its social responsibility to financially support disaster relief efforts, sometimes without a specific connection to sport. The movement also makes concerted efforts to elevate the status of women in sport. The Women and Sport Commission was established in 2004 and aims to increase female access to sports; and to enhance the quota for women in sports administration and management. The most recent realisation is that Saudi Arabia will be sending its first female athletes to the London Olympics (IOC, 2012, July 12). This is a milestone in the fight for more gender equality in sport since the London Olympics will be the first games where every NOC will have been represented by women. The IOC also decided to contribute to a peaceful world through sport by reviving the concept of the Olympic Truce. In collaboration with the UN, the International Olympic Truce Foundation (IOTF) was established and promotes peaceful and diplomatic solutions worldwide. For example, the NOC of Haiti organised "Games for Peace" with its neighbor, the Dominican Republic (http://www.olympic.org).

In conclusion, SDP is the most recent externalisation of 'sport for good' launched by Pierre de Coubertin more than a century ago to place sport in the service of humanity (MacAloon, 1981; Kidd, 2011). De Coubertin was convinced that international sports competitions could make a positive contribution to the norms and values of the Olympic Movement: peace, intercultural education, and international understanding (MacAloon, 1997). Although strong similarities exist between the efforts at the end of the 19th century and today's SDP movement, SDP distinguishes itself from earlier activities by adopting a much more persistent and determined focus on widespread social development and change; and by entering into partnerships with IGOs and NGOs (Kidd, 2011). This can be seen in the light of the struggle by the IOC to justify itself as a socially responsible organisation.

2.5. Recommendations

The UN possess in-house expertise in development, but not in sports and mega-events. Contrarily, the IOC possesses in-house expertise concerning the organisation of sporting events, but is not equipped with the knowledge and expertise in terms of development. If the IOC wants to proceed in the development field, more in-house expertise on development will be necessary. An IOC official (personal communication, 2012, May 3) concurs and remarks that the departments tackling the Olympic Games have grown enormously throughout the years, as opposed to the department of

International Cooperation and Development. The goal of Olympism is to place sport at the service of the harmonious development of humankind, with a view to promoting a peaceful society concerned with the preservation of human dignity. Therefore, it is not only about the Games but also about spreading Olympism in other ways.

A former IOC member (personal communication, 2012, May 9) suggests that the IOC, as the leader of the Olympic movement, needs to take more of a leadership role. It is a limited organisation in terms of conducting projects on SDP, but it possesses much more potential to guide first of all the NOCs, but also the IFs and OCOGs in recognising and implementing SDP. For them sport is still associated with competition above all. This former IOC member is convinced that there is room for improvement for the IOC, but because of the nature of the organisation it will require time. Kidd (2011) agrees and suggests that the IOC should cooperate more intensively concerning SDP with all members of the Olympic Movement. For example, NOCs should be incentivised to establish SDP objectives, in consultation with its constituencies and other partners, so that the progress of the targets could be observed and communicated at future forums. Above all, a revision of the rules for the bid process should be conducted by the IOC. The rules need to guarantee and standardise sustainable SDP through the staging of the Olympic Games. The bid book should provide a detailed image of the commitments to sustainable legacies in terms of development and social change, so that these commitments could be evaluated and publicly discussed. In particular, urban development needs to be better integrated within event planning from the very start, beginning with the bid process. The applicant and candidate cities from the developed world should establish SDP programmes in consultation with intended developing country partners that will become subject to monitoring and evaluation in Olympic Games Impact reports. Each edition of the Olympic Games should become a lasting example of long-term SDP. Cornelissen (2011) also states that some IFs suggest that bidding cities need to assess the potential long-term socioeconomic impact of hosting an event and add this to the application file. But the problem is that the IFs and the IOC do not possess adequate evaluation mechanisms to corroborate these prognoses. She suggests SDP evaluation methods should be implemented not only in terms of the impacts of SDP projects but, above all, in terms of the generated expectations among targeted populations. The IOC should also enhance its key position in the promotion of SDP via sponsorship and the manning of the Sport and Health thematic working group in the UNOSDP (Kidd, 2011). In this way, the IOC will be able to show its commitment to using sport as a tool for peace and development, and using the power of sport to tackle global challenges.

In 2005, the IOC established an in-house database on the hosting of the Olympic Games called the Olympic Games Knowledge Management (OGKM). OGKM is an integrated platform of services and

documentation, where best practices are shared by transferring knowledge and expertise from one edition of the Games to the next (IOC, 2010, June 1). It aims to assist candidate cities and OCOGs in creating their own concept of a sustainable impact of hosting the Olympics while dealing with both the opportunities and the risks of such an event. Since the IOC has been the core organisation in regulating global sports for more than a century, it can draw on a tremendous amount of information and training (Peacock, 2010). Peacock (2010) shows that the scale and scope of its knowledge and expertise is a major aspect in preserving the continuing autonomy of the organisation. Given the perception of the Games as a catalyst for sustainable social and economic development, the OGKM should include data on expertise of urban development, community wellbeing and more equitable public access to socio-economic benefits. So far, Rio is learning nothing whatsoever from Beijing in terms of urban planning and social change.

An IOC official (personal communication, 2012, May 3) refers to numerous projects at all levels within the sports community as a result of the recognition of sport for development and its place on the agenda of the UN and the international community (IOC, 2010). Nevertheless, he underscores that much more needs to be done. Moreover, he adds that the process needs to start with a universal adoption of sport in the overall national development plans of nations. The appointment of a Special Adviser on SDP by the UN Secretary-General and the grant of a Permanent Observer status to the IOC by the UN General Assembly, indicate that nations and the international community are already acknowledging the critical role of sport in development. Few governments, however, make active use of sport on a large scale as a means for advancing their domestic and international development and peace goals (SDP IWG, 2008). *One cannot expect the sports movement to succeed where social and political movements have failed. International institutions or governments are the competent authorities in addressing mankind's socioeconomic problems. However, where sport can contribute, it shall strive to do so and will continue to work in this direction. This is and will remain at the core of the IOC mission in society. As the leader of the Olympic Movement, it will continue to act as a catalyst for collaboration, with the ultimate objective of making the world a better and more peaceful place through sport* (IOC, 2010, p. 23).

SDP initiatives should be integrated into the broader development cooperation sector to fully harness the potential of sport (SDP IWG, 2007). Moreover, the necessary national policies, investment, and capacity must be in place to permit programmes to be scaled-up on a national basis. So far, there is not really any hard evidence for a broad increase in investment by governmental actors in SDP programmes (UN, Secretary-General, 2010).

Yet, the incorporation of sport in Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers[8] (PRSP) was only undertaken in few cases. The resolution adopted at the end of the 2nd International forum on Sport for Development & Peace in 2011 encouraged governments and international organisations to include sport in Official Development Assistance (ODA) (UN, 2011). This is also one of the objectives of Olympic Solidarity. The OECD states that the promotion of sports training facilities and venues counts as ODA, whereas sponsoring concert tours or athletes' travel costs does not (OECD, 2008). The forum also recommended that the UN include access to sport and physical education as an indicator in its human development indexes (HDI) (UN, 2011). The UN HDI is a weighted mix of indices that show life expectancy, knowledge (adult literacy and education) and standard of living (Gross Domestic Product (GDP) per capita) (http://hdr.undp.org/en/statistics/). At the third International Conference of Ministers and Senior Officials Responsible for Physical Education and Sport (MINEPS III), the ministers acknowledged this need, and requested UNESCO's support in the adoption of physical education and sport as Human Development Indicators by United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) on the same level as education, health and environment (UN, UNESCO, 1999). An IOC official (personal communication, 2012, May 3) points out that SDP in the UN is quite informal and not formalised because there are no budgets for SDP. It is seldom the case that governments provide a budget for SDP. By integrating sport in the HDI it would become much more compulsory.

Due to the busy schedule of the UNOSDP, it was impossible to conduct interviews with UN officials. Nevertheless, it remains very important to gain insight into the UN's stance on the collaboration with the IOC. In this study, data has been collected through interviews with IOC officials and a former official from the UNOSDP. To truly understand the UN-IOC relationship, however, interviews with UN officials are necessary.

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[8] Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers are prepared by the IMF member countries through a participatory process involving domestic stakeholders as well as development partners, including the WB and IMF. Updated every three years with annual progress reports, PRSPs describe the country's macroeconomic, structural and social policies and programmes over a three year or longer horizon to promote broad-based growth and reduce poverty, as well as associated financing needs and major sources of financing.

http://www.imf.org/external/np/prsp/prsp.aspx

CHAPTER 5

SDP IN CONTEXT OF SPORTS MEGA-EVENTS HOSTED IN THE GLOBAL SOUTH

During the last decade, a significant increase can be observed in the number of developing and emerging countries bidding to host sports mega-events (Black & Van der Westhuizen, 2004; Borgers, Vanreusel, & Scheerder, 2013). They are keen on hosting such events since it provides them with two opportunities: first, the capability to react to foreign pressure of international competitiveness for investment capital, businesses, tourists, at the risk of increasing national inequalities, and second, a possibility to strengthen national identity, at the risk of harming international reputation if those things that do not go according to plan are disseminated by the foreign media. Large sporting events have become very attractive for developing cities seeking to create or invigorate a global image. Matheson and Baade (2004, p. 1085) point out that the main motivation for staging a mega-event is the *"promise of an economic windfall"*. Yet, this idea is criticised by many authors. Humphreys and Prokopowicz (2007, p. 496) indicate that *"mega-events may not be effective regional economic development vehicles in transition economies"*.

The UN consider the Olympic Games and the FIFA football World Cup as effectuating a long-term legacy in terms of sustainable social, economic and environmental development for the host city and country at large. As the world is watching, large sporting events provide useful opportunities for promoting SDP initiatives and their potential contribution to achieving the MDGs (UN, Inter-Agency Task Force on SDP, 2003). These events expanded the role of athletes, turning them into ambassadors, generating awareness for key issues on a global and local level. To this very day, however, the link between large sporting events and SDP remains unproven (Cornelissen, 2011). The two research domains have developed rather separately from each other, with little knowledge exchange. Cornelissen (2011) highlights the differences between SDP and mega-events. First, mega-events focus on the effective delivery of the event, a short-term target, while SDP programmes are aimed at meeting long-term objectives. Second, they both conceive of development in a different way. In terms of developmental consequences of large sporting events, the underlying idea is that investments in infrastructure will eventually reach all levels of society and that it will stimulate long-

term economic, tourism growth and employment legacies. Moreover, the 'trickle down' effect refers to a "*process by which mass sports participation is stimulated by public exposure to elite sport*" (Frawley, Veal, Cashman, & Toohey, 2009, p. 3). Thus, a widespread belief exists that medal-winning performances by athletes with the same nationality as the spectator are an inspiration for more sports participation. The relationship between mass sports participation and elite sports performance is often used to justify the large expenses of hosting a sports mega-event. Nevertheless, this presumed (cost) effectiveness remains unproven. The lack of strong evidence makes it impossible to argue that hosting a mega-sport event inspires additional sports participation (Kidd, 2010).

Research into large sporting events indicates that the benefits of hosting the event tend to be overestimated and the cost tends to be underestimated (Horne, 2010). Table 5.1 demonstrates the estimated costs of staging sports mega-events. The amounts confirm the very large scale and high costs associated with hosting an event of this nature. Matheson and Baade (2004) demonstrate that spending on infrastructure is considerably higher in developing countries. Therefore, less public money can be spent in other public areas, where it is needed the most.

Table 5.1 *BRICs hosting sports mega-events (Horne, 2010)*

Year of Event	Location (country)	Event	Host status awarded	Cost
2008	Beijing (China)	Summer Olympic & Paralympic Games	2001	$US 15-40 billion
2010	Delhi (India)	Commonwealth Games	2003	$US 6.8 billion
2014	Sochi (Russia)	Winter Olympic Games	2007	$US 14 billion
2014	Brazil	FIFA World Cup Finals	2007	$US 12 billion
2016	Rio de Janeiro (Brazil)	Summer Olympic & Paralympic Games	2009	$US 14.4 billion
2018	Russia	FIFA World Cup Finals	2010	

Source: Horne (2010)

A sports mega-event leaves a large mark on a host city. There are many ongoing discussions and controversies about the impact of large sporting events (Cashman, 2002). The first one is the decision to bid for the large sporting event. Although a bid needs to be made on behalf of all residents of a city, the majority is only indirectly consulted. In general, it is formulated in terms of community benefits, such as urban regeneration, improved sporting and transportation infrastructure, to supposedly meet potential costs and encumbrances to the community. There is not only a lack of

community consultation about the bid process, but also about the impact of the event itself. According to Kidd (1992, p. 77), each bidding city of the Olympics should carry out a social impact assessment and a widespread public consultation prior to the submission of its bid. Candidate cities should conduct an in-depth investigation of the probable impact of the Games, otherwise Olympism risks losing legitimacy, since its goal is to place sport in the service of the harmonious development of humankind (IOC, 2011). Therefore, it is of the utmost importance for the IOC to guarantee that an Olympic Games bid represents more than the elites.

Secondly, there is much debate about who benefits most from hosting the event. Lenskyj (2002, p. 131), a scholar, argued that "*the legacy benefits of large sporting events accrue to the already privileged sectors of the population while the disadvantaged bear a disproportionate share of the burden*". The development projects fit the interests of local business or established institutions, while the benefits to local inhabitants fell far short. It is an example of the Matthew effect, where the rich get richer and the poor get poorer. She focused on the harsh realities of the most marginalised residents who find themselves directly caught up in the turmoil when cities bid on or host sports mega-events. The most vulnerable are hopeful that the large sporting event will bring positive change for them, but instead they are confronted with urban sanitisation programmes, labour strife, attacks on the homeless, and the power of the media. Since large sporting events are mostly in the interest of global financial flows and technology rather than local communities, they symbolise a shift of public funds to private interests (Horne, 2010). As critics have argued, providing 'circuses' when people need 'bread' is a dubious use of public money (Andranovich, Burbank and Heying, 2001; Cashman, 2002). Matheson and Baade (2004) consider this displacement of public funds as a significant problem. National government's expenditure on projects and maintenance related to the mega-event often imply that budget cuts are made in other areas such as health, welfare and environment. These cuts concern those "*who were least likely to enjoy benefits from the mega-events*".

1. Beijing: The first BRIC Olympic city

The election of Beijing to be the host of the Summer Olympic Games in 2008 marked the end of the era in which sports mega-events were nearly exclusively hosted by the developed world. It was only the third time the Summer Olympic Games were hosted outside the West and its former colonies (Brownell, 2008). Industrialised countries had to make room for an emerging country which is part of the so-called BRICs (Brazil, Russia, India and China). The Olympic Games provided the PRC with the

opportunity to showcase the nation's achievements and to be recognised as a prominent international actor. Emphasis on environment and human rights reached a new level through the notorious reputation of the PRC (Zemel, 2011).

In environmental terms, Beijing, one of the highest polluting cities in the world, had to become paragon of environmental sustainability by collaborating intensively with United Nations Environmental Programme (UNEP) and Greenpeace (Brownell, 2012). Initially, the IOC was not particularly concerned about environmental sustainability. The negative environmental impact of the Winter Olympics in Albertville was one of the historical benchmarks for the IOC to reconsider environmental policies. It took the IOC until 1994 to officially designate 'environment' the third pillar of Olympism after sport and culture (Cantelon and Letters, 2000). Still, many academics contest that hosting the Olympic Games has a positive and sustainable influence on the environment. Some argue that the delineated timeframe, impact and cost of the Olympic Games run contrary to environmental sustainability (Frey, Iraldo & Melis, 2007). The environmental legacy of the Beijing Olympics is rather contradictory. On the one hand, $20 billion was spent on the improvement of the environment and usage of green technologies. On the other hand, it is often perceived as a form of "greenwashing" - claiming environmental sustainable efforts for political reasons, instead of attaining any real environmental benefits. Even though the so-called "Green Olympics" may have raised public awareness about the environment, the air quality remains hazardous and the goal of achieving potable water in Beijing was not met. To achieve its environmental commitments for a blue sky during the Olympics, Beijing undertook drastic measures such as closures of factories throughout and in the vicinity of the city. Since economic growth remains the main policy of the Chinese government, these efforts could not be sustained and the smog returned (Brownell, 2012). As stated by Greenpeace China climate change and energy campaigner Yang Ailun *"It changed the public mentality and made people remember the clear days we had 20 years ago and wonder why can't we have that again. That's a big achievement."* (AFP, 2009, August 4). Many Chinese observers argue that environmental sustainability would never have gained such great recognition in the PRC without the Olympic Games (Brownell, 2012).

In human rights terms, although the Chinese government was under extreme pressure to improve the human rights conditions, it did not stick to its official promises of reforming the death penalty system and tolerate a complete media freedom in the run-up to the Beijing Games (Amnesty International, 2008). A lot of ink flowed in service of the pre-Olympic "clean-up" of Beijing through forced evictions of homeowners and tenants. Brownell (2012) regrets that the media and the NGOs did not reflect the generous compensations the majority of them received, but instead only highlighted single cases of those who felt they had been mistreated. Often, Western media and

NGOs do not pay attention to the turbulent Chinese history of property ownership underpinning current eviction conflicts. After the revolution in 1949, the PRC took control of all the land until 1978 when private property rights were systematically restored through the 'land use rights reform' introduced as a part of the economic liberalisation programme of Den Xiao Ping (Wai Chung Lai, 1995). The conflicting real estate claims from different time periods, make it difficult for outsiders to judge orderly evictions accurately.

The IOC responded to the accusations by stating that human rights are a political matter outside of its mandate and that it carried out "silent diplomacy", the only kind of diplomacy that works in the PRC. The IOC has the capacity to facilitate dialogue and reconciliation among hostile nations, but has not yet evolved into an organisation that tries to influence issues under national sovereignty itself.

2. The South African World Cup Soccer 2010: More than a sports tournament?

"Hosts need to understand what the World Cup is: a party. It leaves nothing behind except a hangover, good memories and a large bill." (Kuper, 2010, October 30, p. 2)

"In reality, sports tournaments rarely do much to transform the fortunes of the countries that host them – at least not for the better – let alone change the fate of whole continents. But they can tell us a lot about where power really lies."(Runciman, 2010, May 22, p. 2-3)

In 2010, a momentous and historic FIFA World Cup took place because it was held, for the first time, on African soil. The African continent wanted to show that it was capable of organising an event of this magnitude. Never before were expectations in terms of multiple positive legacies through hosting a FIFA World Cup so high. The Mbeki doctrine consisted of an implicit claim that the 2010 tournament was a catalyst for an 'African Renaissance' in which South Africa would play a leading role in an African rebirth (Schoeman, 2003). The well-publicised slogan, 'It's Africa's Turn', underlines that the 2010 World Cup is not limited to South Africa but belongs to the entire African continent (Meulders, 2010). Other members of the African Union remained skeptical about South Africa's pan-African solidarity and saw through *its strategy to export its profit-driven business model under the guise of development* (Meulders, Vanreusel & Bruyninckx, 2010).

Cornelissen (2011) argues it is too early to perceive the permanent impact of the soccer tournament in South Africa in relation to SDP. Nonetheless, she identified the 2010 World Cup in South Africa as the center for both a global and a local discourse that focused on SDP in the context of large sporting

events hosted in the Global South. Firstly, the UN's involvement and support for this event was made clear. The UN General Assembly acknowledged the use of large sporting events to promote and support SDP initiatives in resolution 64/5 (UN, General Assembly, 2009). Special Advisor to the UN Secretary-General on SDP, Lemke, expected the World Cup to provide a lasting legacy for Africa through the use of sport as a tool for development (UN, UNOSDP, 2010, June 8). Secondly, this edition was characterised by a fast growth of SDP projects in South Africa as implemented by a wide and varied range of actors. The boost in SDP projects harmonised with FIFA's international social responsibility agenda. All these initiatives have in common that they aim to use the mega-event and the sport linked to the event as a strategic opportunity to create awareness for social change (Burgess, 2011). Keim (2008) highlights that time pressure to meet FIFA requirements often forces policy makers to deliver top-down development initiatives. This kind of strategy is problematic since it leaves no room for the voices of local communities. Therefore, many SDP initiatives were unable to reflect local needs and requirements.

Cornelissen (2011) examined the contributing or impeding nature of the position of the main actors regarding the sports mega-event. The national government had the ability to promote partnerships and to encourage directing programmes according to development goals. However, public spending on infrastructure related to the tournament was extremely high, while a comparatively small amount was spent on social development initiatives. The intended and existent patterns of public spending do not match the South African government's focus on social development in relation to the 2010 tournament. International sports federations bore a great social responsibility, inter alia, by defining the overarching institutional framework for the pursuance of goals of SDP projects. However, various components of FIFA's 'Win in Africa' programme were not fulfilled, belying its claim of using the World Cup to ensure social development for the African continent in its entirety.

All South Africa's bids were characterised by legitimating narratives and promotional rhetoric which emphasised the role of large sporting events as a potential means for widespread social development (Cornelissen & Swart, 2006). The South African bid mentioned that the tournament would serve as a catalyst for improving the standard of living of the historically disadvantaged people. This was consistent with the commitment of the government to halve poverty and unemployment by 2014 (http://www.undp.org.za/millennium-development-goals/mdgs-in-south-africa). However, because South Africa has long been involved in a drawn out bidding process, for the hosting of sporting mega-events, this can be seen as a part of the macro-economic strategy of the country (Cornelissen, 2011). In light of the country's difficult balancing act between pro-growth and pro-poor objectives, pro-growth mega-events are often associated with redistribution. But Pillay and Bass (2008) pointed out that development in relation to the 2010 tournament is not about widespread and sustained poverty

alleviation. The focus on the alleged benefits of sports mega-events serves merely to justify the voluminous expenses on a luxury sporting event in the context of increasing poverty and inequality. Therefore, it can be interpreted as an opportunistic gesture instead of a widely supported target (van Eekeren, 2008).

A large gap existed between the expectations of the South Africans versus the objectives of the organisers of the tournament (FIFA, the Local Organising Committee (LOC) and the national government). A Human Sciences Research Council survey demonstrated that 85 percent of the South African population was optimistic and hopeful that the World Cup Soccer would bring about a combination of job creation, economic growth and global image (Pillay & Bass, 2008). Neither the organisers of the tournament, nor the sponsors put sustainable development and poverty alleviation high on their respective agendas (van Eekeren, 2008). The partial decentralisation of the South African policy towards the regions impeded a consensus concerning a realistic legacy for the 2010 tournament (Pillay & Bass, 2008). Notwithstanding, a public debate on the distribution of benefits related to the mega-event is necessary. Otherwise, the benefits risk coming entirely under the control of the elites (Meulders, 2010). With the desire of becoming world-class and globally-competitive, South African cities promoted a neo-liberal economic growth-centered model of development based on the belief that benefits will trickle down to the poor and marginalised in society.

3. Rio: A new chance to meet the developmental expectations?

Will the FIFA World Cup 2014 and the Olympics in 2016 in Rio simply be a force of economic development or will it actually address issues of inequality? Can Rio take into account the important lessons from the Beijing Olympics and the South Africa World Cup Soccer? Will all stakeholders be able to recognise that sports mega-events and its associated benefits belong to the entire population? Even though there is still a lot of time and room for political maneuver before the assessment of development outcomes of the Rio Games, it is necessary to critically analyse the development expectations of Rio 2016 (Darnell, 2010).

Rio is another example of the shift in the international geography of hosting large sporting events towards the Global South. By winning the bidding process to host the Summer Olympics against world-class cities like Madrid, Chicago and Tokyo, Rio will be the first South American and second BRIC host city. The public, even those who are living in slums, are hopeful that the World Cup and later the Olympics will change Brazil in a positive way (Brownell, 2012). However, this will not

happen, since urban planners and politicians spend public money for sports projects in a way that will not provide social benefits for those who need them the most. The IOC will have to be better prepared than it was during the Beijing Olympics. Brazil and the IOC should be ready with substantiated arguments to reply to the growing criticism leveled at them by the radical NGOs.

Darnell (2010) argues that a contradiction exists between the IOC's and the Rio 2016 OCOG's perception on SDP versus the dominant political and commercial vision as read in media and marketing papers. On the one hand, the official development prospects perceive the sporting event as a part of the broader national development agenda. President Dilma Rousseff stated in her inauguration speech that "*the investments planned for the World Cup and the Olympics will be conceived to ensure permanent gains in terms of quality of life for all*" (Lee, 2009). At first glance, many similarities exist with the South African bid to host the 2010 World Cup. Rio's bid was also underpinned by the society's development exigencies and by the wish for the events to leave a lasting legacy. On the other hand, the media coverage and corporate communications exposed the Rio 2016 games as an opportunity for enhanced foreign investment and economic partnership. It was also clear for them that hosting the Olympics would improve and secure Brazil's international reputation. The 2014 FIFA World Cup and the 2016 Olympics fit into the broader effort in which Brazil endeavors to become a permanent member of the UN Security Council and to expand its voting power within the IMF (Rabuffetti, 2009, October 3). Nevertheless, environment, human security and equality were lacking from the press and business communications, even though the IOC and the Rio 2016 organisers acknowledged the importance of these development issues for the host cities and country. Darnell (2010) suggests that despite the growing attention to social development by the IOC, Rio 2016 OCOG's and the international community, the main focus of the development promises remains part of a neo-liberal economic growth-centered agenda of development. This is unsurprising, given that sustained unlimited growth is the main objective of emerging countries, but it is unsuited and inconsistent with sustainable development goals, particularly in terms of environment, climate and national resources (Ciochetto, 2010). As a result, it is unlikely that expectations with regards to social development will be met by the 2016 Rio Games.

To summarise, in recent times, large sporting events are more than ever perceived as potential means of inciting sustainable social and economic development in developing countries and, therefore, functioning as a means for meeting the MDGs (Darnell, 2010). They serve as a stimulus to, and a justification for, local development. But the overestimation of their benefits and underestimation of their costs, the resulting uneven interior development and the shift of public funds to private interests, make the hosting of large sporting events one of the most political acts in our time (Horne & Whannel, 2012). A review of the international literature demonstrates that sports

mega-events are not the right instrument for poverty alleviation and urban development in relation to socioeconomic benefits (Pillay & Bass, 2008). Dreams induced through forms of development related to sports mega-events tend not to be those of poor, immobile and local inhabitants, but those of wealthy, mobile, and transnational corporations (Rutheiser, 1996). In the context of neoliberal globalisation, BRICs will dominate the organisation of future large sporting events (Curi, Knijnik & Mascarenhas, 2011). Yet, a difficult balance remains to be struck by these emerging countries between unlimited growth and sustainable development.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION

Notwithstanding the significant expansion of the SDP sector in recent years, it is necessary to go beyond the hype of international goodwill to reveal the true nature of SDP initiatives and large sporting events. This study has aimed to open eyes to precisely this reality, rather than perpetuate the existing myth. In a **descriptive** part, a general overview of the SDP movement was provided. SDP is not a cohesive movement, but is instead a mixture of different approaches united by the undisputed belief in the intrinsic capacity of sport 'to do good' (Cornelissen, 2011). The SDP movement is underpinned by the UN recognition of sport on the global agenda for peace and development. Nation-states, NGOs and IGOs, IFs, TNCs and grassroots CBOs are its main actors (Giulianotti, 2011a). An **analytical** part discerns that the reticence of the traditional development cooperation sector towards SDP is based on the ethical consideration that basic needs should have priority over leisure and pleasure, and on the malaise by which sport is perceived to be male-dominated, exclusive and problematic because of its ties with large-scale popular culture. The main challenges faced by the SDP projects are technical weaknesses, intersubjective or practical shortcomings, and political or critical weaknesses.

Furthermore, the study has aimed to illustrate the growing importance of NGOs and IGOs in international relations in the SDP context, and to focus on the power of NGOs such as the IOC, and IGOs such as the UN. Since the traditional vehicles of development are insufficient to achieve the MDGs, the UN actively pursued the concept of sport as a tool for development and peace. The increasing time and space compression of the world pressured the IOC into corresponding to contemporary norms and principles. We are now in a transitional period in which the IOC and the Olympic Games are adapting to a new world order that requires new levels of public accountability and social responsibility (Brownell, 2012). In its quest for legitimacy, the IOC has entered into public-private partnerships with numerous IGOs, adopted the dominant development discourse and conducts SDP projects as an act of CSR on different levels (donor, facilitator and convener) (Peacock, 2011). Although the objectives of the IOC are linked to the wider development goals, a tension is noticed between SDP initiatives (grassroots sport, Sport for All) and the main focus of the IOC on elite performance (Levermore & Beacom, 2012). The disagreements related to the recent IOC's observer

status in the General Assembly, the lack of in-house expertise on development and the struggle between sport *for* development and development *of* sport, demonstrate that the IOC has not yet fully adjusted itself to the SDP effort and such an adjustment does, and indeed will, take time.

According to global democratic trends, there has been a growing attention paid to legacy in the host city of a large sporting event and in the country at large. Three examples of developing countries who were and will be host of a sports mega-event demonstrated the misuse of promises and prospects of social change in the bid procedure. The focus on the alleged benefits of sports mega-events serves merely to justify the unethical practices related to the event. Public spending on infrastructure related to the event was extremely high, while a comparatively small amount was spent on social development initiatives. This mega-event strategy, which assumes that a single event of such a large scale provides a way to generate future economic growth, aggravates the division within sport and society between the 'haves' and the 'have nots'. With the desire of becoming world-class and globally-competitive, the host cities promote(d) a neo-liberal economic growth-centered model of development based on the belief that benefits will trickle down to the poor (Darnell, 2010). Nonetheless, a difficult balance remains to be struck between pro-growth and pro-poor objectives. In this regard, the IOC and IFs bear a great social responsibility by showing their commitment to use sport as a tool for peace and social change concerning sports mega-events.

Finally, it is important to note that many achievements have already been made regarding SDP. The recent progress in terms of gender equality and peace building should not be neglected or ignored. Even the sports mega-events have unquestionably positive legacies, such as enhanced national prestige and growing environmental awareness. The question remains to what extent the positive impacts outweigh the negative ones. This study does not intend to jeopardise the SDP movement, it merely aspires to a more critical assessment of the socio-political impact and expectations of SDP initiatives. Only then, and with a lot of patience, will the movement be able to fully develop itself. Sport is indeed a powerful tool, but only when it is used in the right way and with the right intentions. This study has tried to cast a critical eye on the SDP sector, yet some of the issues treated in here remain significantly under-explored. Therefore a future research agenda needs to contain the following topics:

- It remains very important to gain insight into the UN's position on the collaboration with the IOC. In this study, data has been collected through interviews with IOC officials and a former official from the UNOSDP. To truly understand the UN-IOC relationship, however, interviews with UN officials are necessary.

- Although the difficult cooperation between the traditional development sector and the SDP sector has been discussed and analysed, further research is necessary to bridge the gap.
- Future research needs to analyse to what extent sport is used as a means of development by multiple actors and on multiple levels. This can be done by mapping governmental, civil society and market support for SDP on local, national, supranational and international level.

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