Moving from BODIES to SPECTACLES, this module focus on the political, cultural, economic, and spatial dimensions of global sport mega-events/spectacles.

This begins with an analysis of the relationship between global sport spectacles and international relations/politics.
Mass mediated global sport events or “spectacles” (i.e. Olympic Games, World Cup, Commonwealth Games, Super Bowls, etc.) have a significant impact on international politics, and specifically the position and influence of nations within the international community of nations.
Lecture Outline

I. International Relations and Soft Power: Attraction and Persuasion

II. International Sport and Soft Power: UK International Sport Policy

III. Sport, Soft Power, and National Re-Branding BRICS: China and Russia

IV. Sport and Soft Disempowerment: Qatar 2022

V. Summary
I. International Relations and Soft Power: Attraction and Persuasion
INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS:

The nature of the relationships between independent states, nations, and people.

The state of play in international relations tends to reflect the nature of GLOBAL SOCIETY.
1930s INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

A time of tension and hostility between modern nations.

1938, Sudetenland
Traditional Diplomacy:

The communication between leaders/administrators of nation states.

Neville Chamberlain, 1938: “I believe it is peace in our time.”
BRITAIN AND FRANCE AT WAR WITH GERMANY

CHAMBERLAIN’S DECLARATION

“OUR CONSCIENCE IS CLEAR”

AUSTRALIA PLEDGES FULL SUPPORT

LONDON, SUNDAY

BRITAIN AND FRANCE ARE AT WAR WITH GERMANY
In the post-Second World War era, the emergence of NUCLEAR WARFARE (and their capacity to destroy human civilization) deterred the POWERFUL (nuclear) nations from engaging in OUTRIGHT WARFARE.
Traditional Diplomacy

The management of international relations, by leading representatives of the nation.
Also, INTER-NATIONAL or INTER-ORGANIZATIONAL bodies (i.e. the UN) increasingly helped to resolve disputes and potential conflicts.
Also, within this context, as well as traditional diplomacy, nations are expressing their influence in international relations through new ways, through:

“intangible power resources such as culture, ideology, and institutions”

This is PUBLIC DIPLOMACY.

PUBLIC DIPLOMACY:
The communication with FOREIGN PUBLICS to positively influence their views and values related to the nation.

Under Secretary for Public Diplomacy and Public Affairs

The mission of American public diplomacy is to support the achievement of U.S. foreign policy goals and objectives, advance national interests, and enhance national security by informing and influencing foreign publics and by expanding and strengthening the relationship between the people and Government of the United States and citizens of the rest of the world.

Source: http://www.state.gov/
The role and function of PUBLIC DIPLOMACY is to positively influence the way a nation is perceived by people around the world.

President John F. Kennedy’s West Berlin visit, 1963
PUBLIC DIPLOMACY takes numerous forms:

- **Media and News:** Communicating Values
- **Overseas Programs/Exchanges:** Transmitting Values
- **High Profile Events/Celebrity Representatives:** Embodying Values
Media and News: Communicating Values

Voice of America

Russia Today

Al Jazeera

BBC World News
Overseas Programs/Exchanges: Transmitting Values

China studies America, and vice versa

Where America’s foreign students come from 2009/10, % of total

- China 18.5
- India 15.2
- South Korea 10.4
- Canada 4.1
- Taiwan 3.9
- Japan 3.6
- Saudi Arabia 2.3
- Mexico 1.9
- Others 40.1

Total students: 690,923

US college and university enrollments to study Chinese ‘000

Sources: Institute of International Education; Modern Language Association
High Profile Events/ Celebrity Representatives: Embodying Values
New York: Public Affairs.
HARD/COERCIVE Power:

“influence the behaviour of others to get the outcomes one wants”

The Agents of HARD/COERCIVE Power

Military Force

Police Force

Economic Sanctions
SOFT/PERSUASIVE Power:

“attract and co-opt them to want what you want”

“soft power resides in the ability to shape the preferences of others and align those preferences to your own.”

Monocle Soft Power Index
## Comparing Hard and Soft Power

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Hard Power</th>
<th>Soft Power</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Aims</strong></td>
<td>Domination, command, and coercion</td>
<td>Attraction and persuasion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Strategies</strong></td>
<td>Military force and/or economic sanctions</td>
<td>Dissemination of values, institutions, and culture</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- **Hard Power**: Domination, command, and coercion through military force and/or economic sanctions.
- **Soft Power**: Attraction and persuasion through dissemination of values, institutions, and culture.
Soft Power and Nation Branding

The deliberate construction—through soft power/public diplomacy strategies—of the symbolic meaning/value/reputation of a nation, in order to make it attractive/appealing/aspirational to other nations.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Anholt-GfK Nation Brand Index: Overall Brand Ranking (top 10 of 50 nations)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2013</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NBI rank</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Nation Brand Hexagon
© 2000 Simon Anholt
Soft Power’s **Power of Influence/Persuasion**

“the ability to get others to want the outcome you want because of your cultural or ideological appeal” (p. 11).

“A country may obtain the outcomes it wants in world politics because other countries — admiring values, emulating its example, aspiring to its level of prosperity and openness — want to follow it” (p. 5).

The Agents of SOFT/PERSUASIVE Power

Values

Institutions

Culture
The US: The Soft Power Leader

“The reality is that, in a modern information economy, a nation’s top diplomatic assets are often those that can be transmitted via digital bits and bytes around the globe instantaneously. Media, culture and sports – all of these can be beamed around the world 24/7 via the Internet and modern satellite communications. No wonder the USA has traditionally been the soft power leader – it’s films, stars, celebrities and sporting events can be downloaded, streamed and broadcast anywhere in the world, making it possible for anyone to pick up the basics of the American way of life.”

Source: Basulto, D. (2014, January 3). Hosting the Sochi Olympics is all about soft power. Russia Direct.com
II. International Sport and Soft Power: UK International Sport Policy
According to the UK government the benefits of the UK’s soft power ASSETS include:

- securing greater protection for the UK's citizens by reducing the likelihood of attack, building alliances, and increasing international goodwill;
- reducing hostility towards the UK;
- winning friends and supporters for the UK's values;
- dealing with threats that can only be tackled internationally;

· opening the way for greatly expanded trade in British goods and services and challenging trade barriers, visible and covert;
· promoting large-scale investment flows, both inwards and outwards and increasing the attractiveness of the UK as a place in which to invest; and
· supporting the UK's internal cohesion and social stability.

According to the British Council, the universal appeal of SPORT makes it:

“the most accessible and exportable of the UK’s soft power assets”.

The mechanisms through which SPORT enhances the UK’s SOFT POWER:

I. UK Athletes achieving world-class success: Demonstrating its status as a leading (sporting) nation.

II. The UK’s presence and influence in international sport organizations and governing bodies: Demonstrating its status as a leading (sporting) nation.

III. The implementation of wide-ranging international sport programs and schemes in developing nations.

“This work has contributed, through public diplomacy, towards an increase in the UK’s ability to influence, together with a great deal of international goodwill towards the UK.”

IV. The hosting of major sporting events: Demonstrating its status as a leading (sporting) nation.

World-leading leagues such as the English Premier League are also considered to be highly admired internationally, and:

“make people feel better about the UK”

Hosting global sporting events (SPECTACLES) has become an important part of PUBLIC DIPLOMACY/SOFT POWER strategies.

Hosting, and even the bidding for, major events has become an important part of the (internal and external) POLITICAL PROJECT of NATION STATES.
According to Cull (2008), the Olympic Games are themselves an exercise in PUBLIC DIPLOMACY for PRESTIGE.

Opening (and closing) ceremonies of major sporting events provide a context for “staging the nation”:

For PRESENTING AND PERFORMING officially sanctioned depictions and understandings of the HOST NATION AND ITS NATIONAL IDENTITY.

A site of SOFT POWER: Creating an ATTRACTIVE and PERSUASIVE vision of the nation, designed to improve its standing around the world

German National Socialism  

Berlin 1936 Summer Olympics: International Attraction and Persuasion I
Soviet Communism

Moscow 1980 Summer Olympics: International Attraction and Persuasion II
U.S. Capitalism

Los Angeles 1984 Summer Olympics: International Attraction and Persuasion III
London 2012 Summer Olympic and Paralympic Games: International Attraction and Persuasion IV

- Cutting Edge Technology
- Innovative Infrastructure
- Cultural and Political Individuality
- Management and Organizational Skills
- Volunteering Culture
- Audience Enthusiasm
- Progressive and Egalitarian Attitude Toward Disability

"These aspects depicted the UK as ‘a nation that belongs alongside the other major countries on the world stage’”

London 2012 Olympic Opening Ceremony: Popular Music/Culture Crucible
Monocle Soft Power Index

Soft Power

- Government
- Diplomacy
- Culture
- Business/Innovation
- Education

Subjective Soft Power Metrics

- Global Leadership
- Soft Power Icons
- Cultural Output
- National Airline/Major Airport
- Commercial Brands
- International Purpose/Role
- Cuisine
The UK possesses high levels of SOFT POWER, only below those of the US and perhaps Germany.

So, the Olympic Games was not an exercise in advancing/furthering its soft power, rather PROTECTING/MAINTAINING it.

---

**Top Olympic medal winners**

Final tally – Sunday, August 12th

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>COUNTRY</th>
<th>G</th>
<th>S</th>
<th>B</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>United States</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>104</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>China</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Russia</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Britain</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
According to Simon Anholt, author of “Places: Identity, Image and Reputation”:

Hosting the London 2012 Games was “certainly a good thing for us to do...a reputation is not something you own but something you rent, and that rent must continue to be paid”.

By regularly carrying out operations such as hosting the Games, the UK pays its “rent” and teaches the populations of emerging economies who are less familiar with the UK that:

“Britain is a rather special place and they should know something about it”.

III. Sport, Soft Power, and National Re-Branding: China and Russia
London 2012 could be viewed, at least partly, as an exercise in maintaining the UK’s well established SOFT POWER and INFLUENCE within international relations.

This is very different from both the 2008 Beijing Summer Olympics, and the 2014 Sochi Winter Olympics, both of which were looking to utilize the games as a vehicle for enhancing the SOFT POWER of China and Russia respectively: a RE-BRANDING of these nations as a counter to their NEGATIVE ASSOCIATIONS among the international community.

Beijing 2008: (Re)Branding Chinese State Capitalism

Sochi 2014: (Re)Branding Putin’s Post-Communist Russia
The system of government within contemporary China is very different from that within Western “democratic” societies.

Authoritarian State  

Market Economy  

Chinese “State Capitalism”
China’s Soft Power Strategies

Confucius Institute (worldwide)

Beijing 2008

China Buys Smithfield Foods

Buying into Western brands

Aid to Africa

Shanghai Expo 2010
“Better City – Better Life”

CHARM OFFENSIVE
How China's Soft Power Is Transforming the World
Joshua Kurlantzick
China’s Image Problems

Human Rights Issues
(religious and political persecution)

Communist Regime

Media Censorship

Corruption

Tibet Occupation

Exports
(poor quality and/or dangerous)

Beijing 2008 as PUBLIC DIPLOMACY
“The Communist Party wants to use these games to show its people, its earned the right to stay in power...Would you really get rid of a government that brings in the whole world to gasp at what China can do?”
Sport as EXTERNAL SOFT POWER

“This was an event which set the scene for China’s ambitions...as a twenty-first century superpower”
The Beijing 2008 Olympics was part of the Chinese state’s **SOFT POWER/RE-BRANDING** strategy to:

“**persuade the world that China is a country to be trusted, and admired.**”

Beijing 2008’s **SOFT POWER STRATEGIZING**

Technologically Advanced Modern China

Athletically Superior China
[Ancient] Chinese Culture and Heritage
“there is little doubt that China used the Olympics to promote its rise as an emerging power and aid its integration and agency in the international system”

Much of Putin’s foreign policy focused on restoring Russia’s global perception and standing:

- DEMOCRATIC
- PROGRESSIVE
- OPEN TO THE WORLD

Russia’s Image Problems

- Ethnic Conflict
- Violent
- Militarily Aggressive
- Human Rights Issues
- Corruption
- Authoritarian Leadership
- Organized Crime
- Terrorism

Putin’s $50 billion Olympic Project: Sochi 2014
"hosting a mega-sporting event is one of the most effective ways to project soft power on a global scale...hosting the Sochi 2014 Winter Olympics is the shortest and quickest path to bolstering Russia’s soft power and shifting the perceptions around Russia’s global 'brand’”

Source: Basulto, D. (2014, January 3). Hosting the Sochi Olympics is all about soft power. Russia Direct.com
Sochi 2014, all designed to present Russia: “to the world as ultra-modern, forward thinking, and very dynamic”
Sochi 2014 and SOFT POWER

“In short this is about BRAND RUSSIA”
"For Russia, the Sochi Olympics are a perfect storm of media, culture and sports. That means that images we’ll see of the majestic Caucasus Mountains surrounding Sochi during the Olympics could help to erase some of the painful memories of the recent wars in the Caucasus..."
Modern INNOVATION

...Scenes of the futuristic, state-of-the-art competition venues in both Sochi’s Coastal and Mountain Cluster could convince people that the new Russia looks nothing like the rusting, worn-out hulk of the Soviet period...
CULTURAL Attraction and Appeal

...Seeing Russian culture like music and dance showcased throughout the two-week sporting extravaganza – and especially during the Opening and Closing Ceremony – could make Russia seem like a more attractive place to visit and explore. And seeing plenty of Russian Olympians on the medal stand in February could help Russia present a new, more youthful face to the world...
...Russia can get what it wants by persuasion and not by coercion.”

Source: Basulto, D. (2014, January 3). Hosting the Sochi Olympics is all about soft power. Russia Direct.com
“It’s about projecting this image to the world: A Russia that’s resurgent, reasserting its place.”

“The message you are meant to get, that Russia is back.”
Oslo withdrew its bid, leaving two emerging/Asian cities-nations Almaty (Kazakhstan) and Beijing (China), fighting for the right to host the games.
WASHINGTON IS DELIGHTED AND HUMBLED THE USOC IS CONSIDERING US AS THEIR PARTNER CITY TO BID FOR THE 2024 SUMMER OLYMPICS AND PARALYMPIC GAMES.

UNITY

The Olympic Movement inspires and unites the people of the world through the universal language of sport. We invite you to share in this vision and join us. Our hope is to bring greater unity to our streets, our city, and our region to build a lasting legacy for our youth through sport.
IV. Sport and Soft Disempowerment: Qatar 2022
Attempts to use the SOFT POWER capacity of global sporting events to render a nation attractive, credible, and influential (powerful) are not guaranteed to succeed.

There is always the possibility that the increased global attention and scrutiny that accompanies the hosting of such event will EXACERBATE, as opposed to ALLEVIATE, IMAGE PROBLEMS.
Beijing 2008 Counter Narratives

- Anti-Tibet Policy Protest
- Human Rights Issues
- Media Censorship
- Militarization of Games
Sochi 2014 Counter Narratives

Anti-LGBT Laws

"Represssion, Dictatorship, Corruption (Femen)"

Circassian Issue
Soft power cannot mask the enduring hard power of a regime:

“All of Russia's attempts to use sport to improve its positive image on a global scale will fail as long as its domestic and international policies are in confrontation with the essence of soft power.”

As the Beijing 2008, and Sochi 2014, examples demonstrate, there is NO GUARANTEE of the success of sporting SOFT POWER strategies.

Hosting a major sport event/spectacle does NOT NECESSARILY lead to a nation being perceived as being more ATTRACTIVE and INFLUENTIAL among the global community of nations.
Rather, SOFT POWER strategies have the possibility of both:

**POSITIVE OUTCOMES**

- SOFT EMPOWERMENT

**NEGATIVE OUTCOMES**

- SOFT DISEMPOWERMENT

SOFT DISEMPOWERMENT

STRATEGIES or SCRUTINY leading to the offending, alienating, or rejection of other nations, rendering the nation less ATTRACTIVE and INFLUENTIAL.

There is a potential for host nations to “lose more than they gain in terms of destination image.”

Qatar: In Search of **SOFT POWER**

- **Sovereign Arab state** located on east of Arabian Peninsula
- **World’s third largest** oil producer
- **Richest** country in world per capita income
- **2.1 million population**, largely made up of migrant workers in oil and construction industries
- **Rapid urban development** of capital, Doha
Qatar and SOFT POWER
Qatar, SPORT, and SOFT POWER

Owners of Paris St. Germain F.C.

Qatar Open Tennis Tournament

Sponsors of FC Barcelona
SOFT POWER Rationales for Qatar’s Involvement in Global Sport/2022 World Cup

1. Identifying Qatar as a modern, innovative, and technologically advanced society/”Putting Qatar on the international map”

2. Projecting an image of peace, security, and integrity “Distancing Qatar from the Middle East”

Qatar 2022 and Sources of **SOFT DISEMPOWERMENT**

1. **Corruption in the Bid Process**

2. Sexual-Minority Discrimination

You should dress modestly when in public, including while driving. Women should cover their shoulders and avoid wearing short skirts. Any intimacy in public between men and women (including between teenagers) can lead to arrest. Homosexual behaviour is illegal in Qatar.
3. Inhospitable Climate
4. Compromised **Human Rights** of Workers

**Kafala system:** Sponsoring employer has control of migrant workers’ visa and legal status. Leading to **exploitation/abuse of workers,** who have no course of complaint.
Qatar 2020: Origin of Migrant Workers
Qatar government admits to nearly 1,000 fatalities in 2012 and 2013.
964 from Nepal, India, and Bangladesh; 246 “sudden cardiac death”; 35 from falls; 28 suicides.
Qatar: A “Slave State in the 21st Century”

“More than 4,000 workers will die before a ball is kicked-off in 2022.”
Qatar’s Gold Rush

$150 billion will be spent on building the World Cup, 9x more than the amount spent on the 2012 Olympics in London. 6x more than the $3.5 billion that South Africa spent on the 2010 FIFA World Cup.

Companies Cashing In

- Bechtel
- Lachemi
- Hitachi
- Balfour Beatty
- Hochtief
- BESIX
- Vinci
- Chinese

Worker fatalities – mega sporting events

- 4000 workers could die before a ball is kicked in the 2022 World Cup
- 2022 Qatar World Cup: 1200 workers have died since the World Cup was awarded in 2010, on average 220 workers a year.
- 2018 Russia World Cup: 5 workers killed
- 2014 Brazil World Cup: 7 workers killed
- 2014 South Africa World Cup: 60 workers killed
- 2012 Ukraine/Poland European Football Championship: 20 workers killed
- 2012 London Olympics: No fatalities
- 2010 South Africa FIFA World Cup: 2 workers killed
- 2010 Beijing Olympics: 10 workers killed
- 2004 Athens Olympics: 40 workers killed
- 2000 Sydney Olympics: 1 worker killed

Staying Fit and Healthy in Qatar

- 1000 injured falling off buildings in 2012.
- Over 100 young Nepalis die each year from heart problems. Medical experts link these with heat exhaustion.
- Some workers, unaccustomed to working in extreme heat, think that drinking water is what makes you sweat.
- Laws restrict working during the heat of the day in the hot summer months. There is no one to enforce them.
- One in three companies violated safety standards in 2012 according to the Qatar Ministry of Labour.

Qataris are the richest people in the world, but the average construction worker toils 15 hours, 6 days a week for only $8 per day.

Source: International Trade Union Confederation
“Consequently, the current position that Qatari authorities find themselves is, on the one hand, with a soft power strategy that looks to paint the picture of an attractive and well-managed, modern nation-state; and on the other, the international reputation of a citizenry that lacks integrity, honesty, friendliness and compassion towards citizens of other nations – even those working within Qatari borders. …we would argue that said forms of soft disempowerment need to be addressed swiftly if Qatar is to maintain its international credibility.”

v. Summary
Sport SPECTACLES play a potentially significant role in INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS.

Within the era of PUBLIC DIPLOMACY, sport spectacles can contribute to the maintenance of SOFT POWER for established nations, and the its nurturing for emergent and/or aspiring nations.
However, **SOFT POWER** can never be guaranteed through involvement with hosting sport spectacles.

In certain circumstances, the increased **SCRUTINY** on host nations can lead to the diminishing of the **NATIONAL BRAND** (SOFT DISEMPOWERMENT).
Now move on to the required readings, online discussion, and topic assignment for this topic...