Olympic solidarity: global order and the diffusion of modern sport between 1961 to 1980

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OLYMPIC SOLIDARITY:
GLOBAL ORDER AND THE DIFFUSION OF MODERN SPORT
BETWEEN 1961 TO 1980

By

Mansour, S. Al-Tauqi

A Doctoral Thesis

Submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the award of Doctor of Philosophy of Loughborough University

April, 2003

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ABSTRACT

Olympic Solidarity: Global Order and the Diffusion of Modern Sport

Between 1961 to 1980

This thesis examines the emergence of Olympic sport aid policy in the early phase of its establishment in 1961 with the founding of the Commission For International Olympic Aid (CIOA) and the Olympic Solidarity (OS) in the early 1970s. The study aims to explore the global process of cultural flows of Olympism and modern sport, and the international relations involved in constructing, modifying or resisting the Olympic 'message'. A tentative conceptualisation of 'aid donors' (core and semi-periphery) and the 'aid recipients' (peripheral states) is outlined in relation to the global sport interaction between nation states.

At the macro level, it is clear that the bi-political order of the Cold War, the decolonisation process, and the development aid projects provided to the newly independent countries in Africa and Asia influenced agents' approaches in forming the sport aid policy and the promotion of Olympic institutions. At the meso level, the IOC relations with UNESCO, IFs, regional games and National Olympic Committees and the emergence of hyper nationalism, commercialism and professionalism impinge on the creation of the global sport aid programme that emphasises the hegemony of the Olympic movement.

The research subscribes to critical realism as its ontological and epistemological base and the principal method employed to investigate is a form of qualitative content analysis using a protocol drawn from ethnographic content analysis. Inductive and deductive techniques were utilised to analyse 355 official documents and agents’ correspondence in English, French and German gathered from Olympic Museum archives and facilitated by the application of QSR NUD*IST software for qualitative data analysis.

A socio-economic and political account of the postcolonial era is provided as viewed through 'prism' of modernisation, cultural imperialism, dependency and figuration theories. The thesis provides an approach to the evaluation of the global diffusion of sport and Olympism through the aid programmes revealing complex responses and engagement with global processes, contextualised by (in some ways) homogenous and (in others) heterogeneous nature of the global sport.

Key words: Globalisation; Olympic Solidarity; Sport Aid; Post-colonialism; Diffusion
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The three and half year taking this research from idea to a finished dissertation has been exhilarating. It has not, however, been painless and I have relied on the support, understanding and expertise of those around me.

After thanking God for giving me health, strength, and patients to carryout this work, a sincerely thanks to my supervisors, Professor Ian Henry and Dr. Eleni Theodoraki, for their guidance throughout the project and for their support and encouragement to carryout an international oriented research, to use a computer aided analysis and to attend conferences which enriched the learning processes and broadened my horizons.

I also particularly thank my colleagues Mahfoud Amara, Hung Yu Liu, Mick Green and other research students for the useful and fruitful discussions and the understanding among each other that made the working environment pleasant and stimulating.

Thanks also is extended to the IOC, Olympic Museum, International Olympic Academy, and Olympic Solidarity for giving me opportunity to participate in Olympic related programmes and more importantly to have access to such valuable historical archive materials and documentations that formed the base of my research project. I also forward my gratitude to Sultan Qaboos University for providing me with scholarship and financial support.

Finally, although I have seen my family very little throughout the duration of the project, I thank them for their continued support, encouragement and their ‘duaa’ and much gratitudes to my ‘close’ friends who contributed (even in a small way) for their support and being there for me.
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<tr>
<td>CIOA</td>
<td>Commission for International Olympic Aid</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CAIO</td>
<td>Commission de l'Aid Internationale Olympique</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CISM</td>
<td>International Council of Military Sport</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EU</td>
<td>European Union</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GAIF</td>
<td>General Assembly of International Federations</td>
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<tr>
<td>GANEFO</td>
<td>Games of the Newly Emergence Forces</td>
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<tr>
<td>ICSPE</td>
<td>International Council of Sport and Physical Education</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IF</td>
<td>International Federation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IMF</td>
<td>International Monetary Fund</td>
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<tr>
<td>IOC</td>
<td>International Olympic Committee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NAM</td>
<td>Non Alliance Movement</td>
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<tr>
<td>NOC</td>
<td>National Olympic Committee</td>
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<tr>
<td>NUD*IST</td>
<td>Non Numerical Data Indexing Searching and Theorising</td>
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<tr>
<td>OAU</td>
<td>Organisation of African Unity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OS</td>
<td>Olympic Solidarity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PGA of NOCs</td>
<td>Permanent General Assembly of NOCs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UN</td>
<td>United Nations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UNESCO</td>
<td>United Nations Scientific Cultural Organisation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WB</td>
<td>World Bank</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WHO</td>
<td>World Heath Organisation</td>
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CHAPTER ONE
INTRODUCTION

1. Olympic Sport Aid

Olympic sport aid, at least in its currently recognisable form, emerged in the early 1960s taking the form of a Commission for International Olympic Aid (CIOA). It developed in the early 1970s into Olympic Solidarity (OS) and has remained as the body through which 'redistribution' of a part of Olympic income has been undertaken. This thesis embarks on an evaluation of the process of the establishment of 'Olympic aid' and of OS and its forerunner the CIOA. It does so through an analysis of related documentary sources, predominantly correspondence, reports, meeting minutes in the archive of the International Olympic Committee (IOC) at the Olympic Museum in Lausanne, Switzerland.

We take as axiomatic that the traditional argument that sport is somehow apolitical is misconceived. The relationship between nations in the rapidly changing world of the twentieth century underwent momentous reconstruction. The modern Olympic Games were born at the end of the nineteenth century, a century that witnessed the consolidation and spreading of the industrial revolution in the west, and it has experienced two World Wars, the creation of the United Nations (UN), the rise and relative decline of communism as world ideology, the independence struggles of former colonies of the European Empires and the creation of the Non-Aligned movement, the rise of America as the hegemonic power, and the emergence of major social movements such as feminism and environmentalism. Such momentous changes have not only a political, economic and military base, but also cultural foundations and manifestations, and the modern Olympics is thus a product of the era. Our analysis, therefore, seeks to understand how modern Olympism generally, and Olympic aid more specifically reflects and/or reproduces the relations between,
not only the individuals concerned in decision making in the Olympic movement, but also the economic-political-cultural interests which they represent.

The concept of 'international aid' is relatively recent. It was formalised in the post World War II programme for European economic recovery. The Marshall Aid programme played a significant role in the rapid economic recovery and reconstruction of Western Europe. It had also played a role in the ideological division between the West and Eastern Europe. International aid was also formalised with relation to the former colonies and 'Third World' countries in the UN agreements for development projects and economic cooperation. In a similar vein, international aid played significant part in the Cold War conflict (Tipton & Aldrich, 1987).

Olympic sport aid, in the form of the CIOA, was also born in the post war era, and specifically in the context of the newly independent states, former colonies in Africa and Asia. The concept of 'aid' in the context of international relations might seem to imply altruism, provision of assistance with little or no personal benefit or reward. Analysis of international aid, however, tends to focus on the extrinsic benefits sought by donating parties in particular.

In the postcolonial period, with the Cold War at its height, the West and the Communist block vied with one another for influence in the newly independent states, and aid was often a means to exert such influence (Hoogvelt, 1997; Tipton & Aldrich, 1987). Forms of dependency were developed in terms of economic, political, and military support (Dodds, 2000). However, cultural aid was also a tool employed for such ends. This is not to say that no intrinsic goals were ever evident, aid given to stave off famine, to foster economic self-reliance etc, but extrinsic concerns were also evident and sustained over considerable periods. The Olympic movement in general, and the IOC in particular, has sought to develop and extend its hegemony as the world power in sport across the twentieth century. This is evident from the earliest days and is reflected in the speeches and letters of Coubertin (DaCosta, 2002; Mueller, 2000). However, it is not a hegemony which remained unchallenged. The women's sport movement, various workers movements between the wars and the newly emerging forces games in the 1960s had all launched their own 'world
Chapter One

Introduction

games’, commercialisation of sport had also resulted in the establishment of world championships, all of this should have threatened that hegemony.

The Olympic movement has however proved to be remarkably resilient and has adapted to meet each of these challenges effectively. OS and its predecessor, the CIOA, were founded in the turbulent period of the granting of independence, sometimes after violent struggle, and represent part of the Olympic movement’s response to this context, and incorporating these new nations within its ‘family’ was seen as a way to overcome this struggle. The analysis of documentary evidence in this thesis is intended to assess the situational dynamics, the strategies, and the significance of the introduction and the evolution of, Olympic aid policy.

Following the general pattern of the global social development, the history of Olympic activities has revealed an increasing global interdependent relation between nation states. The scope of Olympics activities and the growth of its membership to 200 countries from five continents, represent an integral part of the global infrastructure, and marks the IOC as a truly transnational organisation that operated beyond any national boundaries. In this sense, Olympic activities are viewed as broader globalisation processes that have led to the ‘crystallization’ of ‘integration’ of large parts of world to a single system (Maguire, 1999, Roche, 2000). OS carries out a wide range of aid programmes, in the form of educational packages, scholarships, and technical sport assistance to the benefit of all NOCs recognised by the IOC. Thus, understanding how it functions and operates is tended to highlight the process of cultural ‘flow’ or cultural diffusion between and among nations that are involved in the Olympic movement.

The overall aim of the thesis is to conceptualise the Olympic sport aid policy within the context of global socio-political economic order. The thesis evaluates the development of the CIOA and OS and explores the manner in which Olympism and modern sport was globally diffused in the postcolonial and Cold War era. The principle objectives that flow from this aim are as follows:
• to analyse the aid Olympic aid policy rationales employed by the groups within the IOC;
• to identify the perceptions of the key actors by reference to the discourse surrounding the policy making process and to understand their intentions and mind ‘sets’ in the establishment of sport aid policy;
• to identify the power relations evident in constructing, modifying or restricting Olympic Aid policy;
• to explore the role Olympic sport aid played in the interaction between aid donors and recipients.

Table 1.1: Levels of analysis

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Level</th>
<th>Aims</th>
<th>Questions</th>
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<tr>
<td>Macro</td>
<td>Analysis of the ideology of Olympic Sport Aid and its change over time.</td>
<td>What were the origins of the OS movement? Why did it come into being in the early 1960s? Who were the major proponents? How has changed over time? Whose interests are represented in the Olympic Solidarity movement? The rationales for developing programmes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Meso</td>
<td>Analysis of OS policy at a national level</td>
<td>How have Olympic Solidarity programmes been implemented? What is the pattern of development of OS programmes by country / volume of support / type of scheme? Who are the policy actors involved at a local level and how do they interact with OS? Mechanisms for developing programmes</td>
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Drawing on conceptualisation of globalisation and international political relations of the ‘core’ ‘semi- periphery’ and ‘periphery’, the analysis (through macro and meso levels) links the establishment and construction of the Olympic aid policy to global political developments. The macro level of analysis is concerned with changes in global political, economic and cultural order, and the meso level is related to institutional, managerial and administration of Olympic sport aid and its
organisational structure and the strategic relations between the IOC and other sport related bodies.

1.1 Structure of the Thesis

The aim of this chapter has been to introduce the key themes addressed in the thesis, and the context of the study. Chapter two goes on to consider the nature of the debate on globalisation and the diffusion of modern sport and Olympism. This is achieved through a review of the literature on globalisation that examines the process of global diffusion of modern sport and Olympism. The theoretical traditions or approaches of the modernisation thesis, cultural imperialism, dependency and figuration theory are adopted as a prism through which an analysis of the Olympic sport aid policy is undertaken. Each implies a different explanation of the relationship between the economically and industrially developed countries and the less industrially and/or developed nations, in other words, the research embraces an account of 'core'-'periphery' relations in the global order. The purpose of this review is to conceptualise the background to locate the development of Olympic sport aid policy within the global system.

Chapter three provides an account of the historical context of the development of the Olympic movement. The chapter illustrates the influence of global politics, economics, and culture on the development of the Olympic movement. Drawing on a synthesis of Hoogvelt (1997); Huntington (1996); Maguire (1999); and Roche (2000), the chapter provides a history of the Olympic movement divided into four major historical periods: the era of imperialism, the inter war period, the Cold War era and post-Cold War period.

In tracing the development of the Olympic movement in these historical phases, issues such as imperialist sport, authoritarian regimes, colonies' relationships with the Olympic movement, the Cold War and GANEFO conflicts, struggles for social and economic power between bourgeois games, workers and women's games, the impact of multinational organisations, regional games, amateurism and professionalism, marketing and consumerism, and the cultural significance of the sport in the changing world order are raised. Highlighting the major factors that have
influenced the development of the Olympic movement, contributes to an understanding of the emergence of sport aid in relation to the social context in which the programmes were initiated. In addition, it illustrates how patterns of global power relations have influenced the work of the Olympic movement.

Chapter four discusses the methodological basis for the study. The study adopts a critical realist philosophical stand in interpreting the emergence of the Olympic sport aid which implies that aid policy, like any other form of social action, is an outcome of dual interaction between structure and agency (Marsh & Stoker, 2002). Given the fact that the empirical data used in the study is drawn largely from documentary sources, the principal method utilised to investigate the relationships between the core (aid donor) and the periphery (aid recipients) is a form of qualitative content analysis which is applied to correspondence, reports and meeting minutes related to the CIOA and OS. An analysis protocol drawn from ethnographic content analysis was applied using inductive and deductive techniques to code and categorise the fragmented data. The process was aided by computer software, NUD*IST, to manage and arrange the data. Thus, epistemological and ontological positions, methods and protocol and their application are outlined in the chapter.

Chapter five presents a detailed examination of the emergence of Olympic aid and the creation of the CIOA within the Olympic movement. It specifically explores the diffusion of Olympism into Africa and Asia in the postcolonial era and the recipients' response to the Olympic message. The chapter also illustrates the process in which the newly independent countries in Africa and Asia were incorporated and integrated into the Olympic 'family'. Several interconnected issues are examined. These include: the creation of international aid post second World War with the Marshall Plan for reconstruction of Europe and its expansion to 'Third World' countries in the 1960s; the agents' perception of the Cold War; the managerial structure of the Olympic aid Commission; the connection to the former imperial powers; and the IOC relations with IFs and UNESCO in the initial phase of the creation of the Olympic aid schemes. In addition, the political economy of the aid commission in terms of the flow of liquid assets and the loan system, as well as the paternalistic discourse in providing aid is explored in the chapter.
Chapter six explores the circumstances in which the Olympic sport aid was revived as a result of the creation of the Permanent General Assembly of National Olympic Committees in which OS was established. The issues of relations between the IOC and NOCs are reviewed. The debate over television revenue from the Olympic Games is demonstrated and the type of assistance and its role in the diffusion of sport globally was identified. The chapter highlights the development process and the transformation of the CIOA that targeted the newly independent countries from Africa and Asia to Olympic Solidarity as a global technical assistance programme. The chapter also highlights the structure in which the OS programme was organised and its implications for the relationship between ‘core’ and ‘periphery’ countries.

Chapter seven is divided in two main sections. The first provides a summary of the rationales under which Olympic sport aid was established and has subsequently been developed. It illustrates the shift in Olympic aid policy by providing a comparison between the aid offered prior to integration of the newly independent countries into the Olympic movement and that offered post-integration. It shows the IOC position in relation to international politics, the NOCs, IFs, regional games, financial resources, and the nature of the aid schemes. The second section of the chapter examines the diffusion process of Olympism and modern sport through the aid structure drawing interpretations from theoretical traditions of modernisation, cultural imperialism, dependency and figuration theory. It critically examines the nature of interaction between the ‘donors’ and ‘recipients’ around the globalisation debate on unidirectional and multidirectional, homogenisation or heterogenisation of global sport and Olympism. The chapter also considers the nature of Olympic aid provided, whether it is constraining or liberating for the recipient NOCs.

Although the thesis has as its primary focus the development of the CIOA and OS to the present day, the analysis covers the period of the 1960s, under the IOC presidency of Avery Brundage, and the 1970s, under the leadership of Lord Killanin. It is during these two eras that Olympic sport aid policy was formalised and provided the base on which Samaranch continued the global Olympic aid programme and subsequently strengthened the global hegemony of Olympic movement.
CHAPTER TWO
LITERATURE REVIEW

2. Introduction

This chapter is divided into three main sections. The first section distinguishes between globalisation as a phenomenon and globalisation processes. It highlights the different views that conceptualise globalisation and illustrates the debates that underpin the globalisation literature. The second section reviews four traditions or approaches that theorise the globalisation processes. An emphasis is placed on the spread and global diffusion of modern sport and Olympism. Modernisation theory, cultural imperialism, dependency and figuration theory are adopted to conceptualise the diffusion processes. The third section in this chapter provides a comprehensive review of literature on international sport aid that provides a background for the analysis of the Olympic aid policy.

2.1 Globalisation and global processes

Theorising the concept of globalisation is a recent concern to emerge in social science. Although as a term, it was coined in the 1950s and 1960s, it was not until the 1990s that globalisation became a 'buzzword' and social scientists recognised its significance. Globalisation is an abstract concept that does not refer to a concrete object, but it is an interpretation of a societal process, and the concept cannot therefore be easily defined. In order to make clear what one means by 'globalisation' it is necessary to address the theoretical context in which the use of the concept is embedded. To some, globalisation refers to modernisation, for others it is about the growing importance of the world market (capitalism); for some it reflects homogenisation of cultural activities, yet others use it to describe the flow of ideological trends. Thus, globalisation is a complex phenomenon that involves economic political and socio-cultural changes in every sphere including sport. While
there is a variety of conceptualisations of globalisation it is possible to identify some common threads that assist in defining globalisation processes.

Robertson (1992:8) perceives that globalisation refers both to "the compression of the world and the intensification of consciousness of the world as a whole." Meanwhile Giddens (1990:341) conceives globalisation as "the intensification of social relations at the world level, linking distance locations such as local events are structured by events occurring across the world". In support of this Maguire (1999:13) gives the view that "it is clear that aspects of social reality, our activities, condition of living, belief systems, knowledge base and responses, are affected by interconnection with other groups, both 'near'; and far away". To illustrate such a connection, the attack on the World Trade Centre on 11 September 2001 in the US, for example, directly affected the global economy, oil prices, currency exchange rates, frequency of flights, and airports' security systems in most 'cosmopolitan' cities, such as London, Frankfurt, and Paris. The event also affected other communities such as Afghanistan, Saudi Arabia and Pakistan. Sport events were no exception; they were postponed or cancelled as a result of the incident. Therefore, it is seen that movements and interaction in global space are now patterned and institutionalised to such an extent that local societies have to explicitly react and relate themselves to the global configuration (Lubber & Koorevaar, 1998).

Closely linked to the idea of interconnectedness and a sense of the world as a whole, others have perceived the process of globalisation as being tied up with a compression or reordering of time and space. Jarvie (1994:231) elaborates on this,

Not only are people and nation states seen to be woven together in a tighter and deeper interdependency network. These globalisation processes are believed to be leading to a form of time-space compression. That is, people are experiencing spatial and temporal dimensions differently. Time and space are 'collapsed' there is a speeding up of time and 'shrinking of space'

New communication and transportation technology have contributed to the shrinking of the global space and accelerated cultural, political and social flows. Internet, satellite television broadcast, and high speed aeroplanes have influenced the way people experience time and space. People, commodities, cultures, images, and ideas are transmitted more rapidly around the globe influencing people in their local space
(Appadurai, 1990; Harvey, Rail, & Thibault, 1996; King, 1995; Robertson, 1992). There is no doubt that the sport industry in general and the Olympic Games in particular have benefited from such developments in the promotion of its activities world wide, in increasing ownership of franchise broadcasting to billions of viewers, and the acceleration of global production, which has led to the emergence of a new division of labour on low paid, flexible, and new international marketing strategies (Maguire, 1999).

The shrinking of time and space and the intensification of interdependence of global society has led to the emergence of the 'world system' which transcends national cultural boundaries. It relates to the idea that the world has become a single place or single social system, a 'global village', which has brought about the development of global culture (Robertson, 1992). However, this does not mean that the world has become a unified society, or that it has achieved a cohesive and homogenous social system.

While there has been a rapid growth of connections and networks across nation states, some authors have identified the most significant of these processes in terms of their contribution to globalisation. Giddens (1990) highlights four interconnected features (prime movers) of the processes: the flow of world capitalist economy, the nation state system, the world wide diffusion of technologies and the associated division of labour, and the emergence of a military world order. Featherstone (1990) highlights other features such as, the acceptance of unified global time, the development of standards of citizenship and the conception of humankind. As far as culture is concerned, particularly in the sport arena, the unified calendar of the Olympic games, the creation of sport institutions, such as NOCs and national sport bodies, the establishment of sport legislation and constitutions, the acceptance of elite achievement sport characterised by specialisation and professionalisation, the symbolisation of victory with a national anthem and national flag, can all be seen as features of global sport (Harvey et al., 1996; Houlihan, 1994a; Maguire, 1999; Roche, 2000). However, we have to be aware that these are just examples of popular globalisation processes. We also have to be aware that there are other non-institutionalised processes that influence global changes such as protest movements, the rise of new cultures, the revival of traditional cultures, environmental factors and
unintended outcomes from action taken by organisations (for example, in the nuclear and biological weapons industry).

Given the main common features of globalisation processes, the major lines, which characterise the debate in globalisation literature, are related to the impact of globalisation. One issue is whether globalisation processes lead to homogenisation, synchronisation, and standardisation of cultural norms, or whether they lead to heterogeneity and diversity among societies. Moreover, the debate is intensified when an attempt is made to identify the dynamics involved, whether the processes are unidirectional and mono-causal or multidirectional and multi-causal. In terms of global and local interaction in the cultural arena, four different situations can be identified. Robertson (1992:130) suggests the process is a paradox between 'particularisation of universalism and universalisation of particularism. In other words, globalisation is a process of localising a global product (e.g. modern sport) as well as universalised local products (e.g. national identity). Maguire (1999) following Elias' notion of 'civilisation processes' suggests the concept of diminishing contrast and increasing varieties; King (1991) suggests the creolisation of global culture, and others suggest the ability of a local community to redefine the global cultural product transmitted. Houlihan (1994 a) proposes, in this debate, that there is a need to not only question the diffusion and the spread of global culture to local communities, but also to consider the local response to global products. This could be conceptualised through the notion of penetration of global culture into the local community and the response of the local community to the global cultural product.

A debate in globalisation literature is also evident in relation to the impact of globalisation on nation states. Some argue that the intensification of globalisation processes, the creation of a 'borderless' world and the emergence of international and transnational organisations, has led to the 'hollowing out' of the state and the undermining its role in global space. Others reject such a view and argue that nation states remain the primary political entity in global space (Kiely, 1998; Lubber & Koorevaar, 1998).

Generally, the debate and the divisions of opinions appear when it comes to understanding globalisation in terms of the main dynamics involved, the impact of
the process, and the period over which those processes have emerged. The following sections outline different theoretical orientations in explaining the globalisation processes and will aim to identify the strengths and weaknesses of each orientation.

2.2 Modernisation theory

A modernisation approach in theorising globalisation processes is closely linked to functionalism. It was the dominant paradigm in this research area in the 1960s. The approach is essentially concerned with how traditional societies reach the condition of modernity. It focuses on the economic, political, cultural, and social aspects of this process. Consideration is given to development of political institutions that support participatory decision-making. It assesses the use of technological innovation, management techniques, division of labour, and commercial activities in carrying out human tasks. The changes that occur in societies are seen to be accompanied by urbanisation and the decline of ‘traditional societies’. The characteristics of ‘traditional societies’ are claimed to be marked by stability, localism, an ascriptive paternalistic hierarchy, an absence of specialised roles, and dependence on manual labour. In addition, these societies are also characterised by the preponderance of ritual, and the lack of precise boundaries between the secular and religious life or between work and leisure time. In contrast, modern societies are viewed as dynamic, cosmopolitan, technological and characterised by a functional structure and universality. The modernisation approach tends to assert that the effect of these trends leads to convergence of most societies all over the world around the western model of development (Giddens, 1990).

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Table 2.1: Modern versus traditional society</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Modern</td>
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<tr>
<td>West</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rationalism, anti-traditionalism</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Individualism</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Universalism</td>
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<tr>
<td>Achievement</td>
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<td>Specialisation</td>
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<tr>
<td>Dynamic</td>
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<tr>
<td>This-worldly asceticism</td>
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<td>(good work means of salvation)</td>
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Source (Brownell, 2001)
Based on the same notion Foster-Carter (1985) proposed the notion of the world as a kind of continuum, with different ‘societies’ ranged at various points along what is claimed to be the same route. Latecomers follow in the footstep of the pioneers. In addition, King (1995) in his discussion of the criteria he attributes to modernity and its definition, noted that the definition proposed is not just in relation to history, but to one very specific history, which is basically, that of ‘West’. Western history is always written as the world’s history and imperialism has given a truth to these claims awarding the form and categories of Western modernity with a global significance (Mitchell, 2000). However, global or ‘universal’ modernity remains an area in question, there is great deal of differences between nations in their modernisation root given their place in geo-political and economic interaction.

Probably the best known of the economic contributions within the tradition of modernisation theory is that of Rostow (1960). The author conceived of development as a number of stages linking a state of tradition with what he called ‘maturity’. Five stages through which all developing countries had to pass in order to achieve modernity were proposed: 1) traditional society, 2) the pre-condition for take-off to economic growth, 3) the take-off stage, 4) the road to maturity, and 5) the society of mass consumption. According to the author, international relations did, in fact, speed up the process of development. He differed from the early development theorists in that his approach was much broader and incorporated cultural development, but the key element of his thinking was, nevertheless, the process of capital formation.

Freidman (1995:70) has argued that “many of the categories of globalisation discourse are ideological products of a specific form of identity space, often referred to as ‘modernity’, which is itself a product of the modern world system”. The author concludes that societies as integral parts of the larger world are not the product of a recent awareness of the shrinking world, but fundamental aspects of modern identity.

In cultural terms, followers of the modernisation thesis explain that what we are experiencing in the global arena is simply another manifestation of modernisation. As (Guttmann, 1991:188) notes,
...the concept modernisation is preferable because it is also implies something of the nature of global transformation. Whether conceptualised in terms of the traditional and the modern, the particularistic and the universalistic, or some other admittedly simplified dichotomy, everyone with a historically informed imagination recognises that there has been a social transformation in the last two centuries and that this transformation has produced a more secular and a more rationalised world, if not a more rational one.

In contrast to Guttmann's view about global transformation, we can not generalise that rationality is solely a product of secular movement. One can not ignore the religious contribution to human knowledge, values, and ethics that guide human behaviour. In fact Huntington (1996) perceives that culture and religious identities still play a significant role in interaction between civilisations.

Frank (1969), in his brief but influential study on the sociology of development, set out to show that what modernisation theory proposed, was empirically untenable, theoretically insufficient and practically incapable of stimulating a process of development in the third world. According to Frank modernisation theory was to compare an underdeveloped country to a developed one by means of various economic indicators; the differences revealed were then established as the substance of development. Frank argues that many developed countries show a strong particularistic trend, that credited status is widespread and the structure of roles is not functionally specific as the official ideology might have it. Similarly, traits of universalism, achievement, and specificity might appear in the social structures of the underdeveloped nations. He went further criticising Rostow's growth stages by pointing out that it is difficult in practical terms to find these proposed stages in reality. According to Frank, underdevelopment was not originally a stage, but rather a created condition. The greatest problem of Rostow's model was the fact that not all of the countries, which, according to him, were ready for take-off could manage the final 'jump'. In this respect, Gerschenkron (1962) suggests that the later developing societies may not have to repeat earlier stages of development by importing technologies and advanced knowledge. In addition, Rostow's model was also criticised in terms of theoretical shortcomings. The model was based on statistical comparison rather than developed from analysing dynamic change, and that an overall perspective was thus lost. Such criticism is also evident in the current modernist measure based on the GNP of nations. The statistical evidence does not
tell the full story about the development process and the interaction among people and how these measures are distributed among different segments of societies.

In terms of development policy, Rostow's approach was gravely compromised because of his political affiliation:

As to the efficacy of the policy recommended by Rostow, it speaks for itself: no country, once underdeveloped, ever managed to develop by Rostow's stages. Is that why Rostow is now trying to help the people of Vietnam, the Congo, the Dominican Republic, and other underdevelopment countries to overcome the empirical, theoretical, and policy shortcomings of his manifestly non-communist intellectual aid to economic development and cultural change by bombs, napalm, chemical and biological weapons, and military occupation? (Frank, 1969).

Generally this observation forms the contradictory notion of a modernisation project for the periphery countries. Not only does a modernisation project have the positive connotation of utilising technology to assist human tasks and facilitate development, but also creates a threat that destabilises the structure of societies. Biological and mass destruction weapons and colonialism and military occupation play a significant role in preventing growth according to Rostow's approach (Dodds, 2000). Modernity has been seen to cut across all boundaries of geography and ethnicity, of class and nationality of religion and ideology; in this view modernity can be said to unite all of humanity. However, it is a paradoxical unity, a unity of disunity it pours humanity into a maelstrom of perpetual disintegration and renewal, of struggle of contradiction, of ambiguity and anguish (Booth, 2001:122).

Moving the discussion to the sport arena and its relationship to the globalisation phenomenon, researchers have employed the modernisation thesis to explain the cultural diffusion of sport, stressing the manner in which traditional sport is subject to modernisation processes. Gruneau (1988) has identified five contingent arguments that characterise the application of modernisation theory to sport. First, modern sport is an outcome of a progressive evolution. Second, sport has become increasingly democratised resulting in greater opportunity for minority groups. Third, the development of modern sport is viewed as rational to the demand of urban industrial societies, emerging from the need for the rational organisation of games. Fourth, social conflicts in sport were simply transitory features of the emergence of
modern sport. Fifth, there is a supposition that the characteristics of sport are essentially homogenous throughout modern societies, hence there is a tendency to view the model of modern sport as providing the model for societies in transition.

Wagner (1990:400) reviewed a different set of trends that have been said to characterise a global sport. The author commented on the increasing global interconnectedness of sporting culture proposing that “the larger international process of development and modernisation...are fundamentally responsible for the change of the world sport”. This notion suggests that the population of traditional societies that undergo changes might be more receptive to Western sport. The chief concern in Wagner’s work is to place the notion of Americanisation within the broader process of globalisation of sport. However, the researcher also observed that “Americanisation is part of these processes.... but it is only one part of a much broader process it is not by itself the key process”. Therefore, he proposed the concept of ‘mundialisation’, which emphasis that the inputs in the global sport arena come from different parts of the world. In supporting the modernisation thesis as fundamentally responsible for changes in international sport, Wagner (1990:401) argued that as

modern societies develops and traditional lifestyle changes, many young people look around for things to do to replace traditional ways of living...as urban/industrial/town/service jobs replace traditional rural ones, young men and increasingly young women search for pastime, and cultural forms that transform via media, such as soccer and basketball, may catch their attention

However, it could be argued that the changes in world sport could not solely be attributed to the search for pastimes; there are other economic, political forces that are responsible for the transformation and diffusion of world sport.

Guttmann (1991) supported the modernisation thesis suggesting that Wagner was correct to insist that we are witnessing a homogenisation of sport rather than Americanisation, and that the concept of modernisation is preferable because it implies something about the nature of the global transformation. However, Guttmann has been criticised by others for viewing the transitional process in a modernisation time frame, and for overlooking what Robertson (1992) has suggested as the universalisation of particularisation and not just the particularisation of
universalism. That is to say it is suggested that he overlooked the interconnection that exists between the local and the global in the globalisation era.

Perhaps the most influential work that supports the modernisation thesis and that still generates debate among sport scholars is Guttmann's (1978) work *From Ritual to Record*. The book describes structural characteristics of pre-modern and modern sport, it outlines the uniqueness of modern sport and its differences from primitive or traditional sporting activities. Traditional sport is described as being characterised by rituals and religious conducts as opposed to modern sport that is characterised by rationalisation, secularism, equality, specialisation, bureaucratisation, quantification and obsession of record. The book has been described as containing a coherent theory, factual credibility, historical evidence, as well as statistical analysis. It has been argued that Guttmann's description of modern sport identified the structural characteristics of modern sport. It has not been challenged to date, and no alternative list has been provided in the last two decades (Booth, 2001). However, with postmodernism, feminism, Marxism as well as post-colonialism thoughts, an account against modernisation theory is generated.

Modernisation theories have been subject to a multitude of criticism since they first rose to prominence. The most comprehensive critiques of the modernisation approach in sport can be found in volume 32 of the Sport History Review Journal (2001). A sociologist's and anthropologist's review of Guttmann's book *From Ritual to Record* and criticises its conceptualisation of modern sport as opposed to traditional sporting culture. For instance, Brownell (2001: 31) points out that Guttmann did not define, clearly, the term ritual. The authors stated that "I found Guttman's description of 'primitive sports' inadequate. He seems to take ritual and the related category of religion, as an unproblematic category that can easily be applied everywhere, including ancient Greece and non-Western societies. However, definition of ritual in anthropology has been extremely hotly debated, and even today there is no consensus on what it really is." Beside, physical movement cultures in traditional societies are not always connected to religion, they organise cultural activities that are secular as well. It is worth mentioning that although modern Olympic Game is a product of modernity, but it is 'ideologically' linked to the ancient Greek Games and
some of the Olympic sport such as boxing and wrestling have their historical roots date back to ancient Egypt.

In addition, Howell, criticises the notion of 'equality' in modern sport, he suggests that modern sport is continuing to produce inequalities that involve gender, race, ethnicity, class and regions. Booth (2001:22) concurs with Howell, and suggests that discrimination on such grounds were deliberate political strategies of the dominant power brokers and they were far from the "anomalies" within the structure of modern sport. Inequalities in modern sport do not follow a pre-determined logic of modernisation. Moreover, Lipper (2001) question notion of rationality in modern sport. The crucial point in his critique is the implicit universalising of dominant masculine logic and the obscuring of perspective on the relationship of power. Rational logic of human behaviour ought to be regarded in relation to power and control over the organisation of sport. The exclusion of workers and women was seen to be rational for the control of sport culture.

Gruneau (1993) criticises the modernisation theory and points out that among the more notable of these theories is the tendency to see modernisation of sport as an abstract evolutionary process rather than a more open-ended set of limits, pressures, and struggles. Ironically, one of the things most neglected in such theories is the constitutive role that the idea of modernity itself plays in negotiating these limits, pressures, and struggles among different segments of societies. Maguire (1999:16) criticises modernisation theory in terms of the themes it examines, (e.g. development of political institutions, division of labour, and management techniques). He points out that in comparative studies of sport where some of these themes have surfaced, the approach has failed to take hold, due to the conflict issues such as exploitation and underdevelopment. Studies of Darby (1997; 2001), and Bale and Sang (1996) have illustrated a form of exploitation in the field of sport in terms of interaction between core and periphery nations.

Nevertheless, criticisms of modernisation theory can be classified into three principle categories: theoretical level, ideological shortcomings, and methodological emphasis. For example, in theoretical terms, the thesis suffers from ethnocentrism focusing solely on Western norms, its notions and concept emerged from the agenda of
imperialism. In ideological terms, it explains social phenomenon using the purpose they serve rather than their cause, and it does not take into consideration the values and norms that emerged from other accounts. Methodologically, the theory fails to acknowledge traditional diversities that may influence changes, the theory also does not take into account the impact of colonialism on colonised societies, and it perceives traditional and indigenous societies as being static.

2.3 Cultural Imperialism / Americanisation

The cultural imperialism approach to theorising the globalisation phenomenon involves investigating cross-cultural processes. The cultural flow is identified with activities undertaken by the nation-state and/or multinational corporations, whether governmental or non-governmental. These activities entail a form of domination of one culture over another or the increasing hegemony of a particular central culture. Issues of control, power, and the ability of indigenous people to understand, interpret, and resist cultural manipulation and domination arise in evaluating these types of studies. The idea of the invention of an indigenous culture by a foreign one is central to understanding the process involved. The main emphasis in the cultural imperialism approach is placed on the notion that the globe is made up of a collection of nation-states in competition with each other: it views the world as an integrated political and economic system of global capitalism.

It has been suggested in sociological studies that defining the concept of culture is problematic. Culture refers to many different aspects such as values, practices, attitudes, behaviour, customs and symbols. Although these aspects are difficult to define within the local culture, the task becomes much more complicated when dealing with the global culture, especially in the era of globalisation where there is an increasing interconnectedness and interaction between the local and global. For example, human rights values as a global issue are used to strengthen national policies, a variety of global symbols are consumed locally as well national symbols being consumed globally. However, one of the attempts to narrow the focus of cultural studies is to distinguish culture from the economic and political spheres (Tomlinson, 1999). Houlihan (1994 a) has criticised this approach and suggests that it is not convincing for several reasons. Distinguishing between the core culture and
economic or/and political culture is problematic due to the vagueness of the definition of culture. This is in part due to the implicit nature of the various elements of a community's culture. The relationship between cultures and the production of structural aspects, such as gender, class or ethnic inequalities, cannot be explained without including political and economic variables. In contrast, Tomlinson (1999) has argued that the economic culture is not primarily the establishment and maintenance of difference rather it is the constitution of meaning, which "speaks to the existential condition of human being. Cultural practices provide a resource of meaning through collective symbolisation woven into a set of material practices that sustain a viable way of life". By providing this meaning of culture, Tomlinson rejects the notion of investigating a group of people within an institution or society that practices certain popular activities, such as sport and music and generalising as typical of cultural practices and experienced for the whole society.

Globalisation as cultural imperialism also identifies cultural relationships as basically a reflection of economic power relationships in the capitalist world. The driving force of globalisation is exploitation and ideological manipulation of societies and people as markets, consumers and workers. Similar views to this have been referred to as 'Americanisation' and 'commercialisation'. Cultural imperialism is closely associated with the matrix of interests that tie capitalism to particular states, and thus, given its economic dominance, in particular to the United States. In recent writing on the Americanisation thesis, the work of Pelle (1997) has questioned the extent to which American hegemony, either by design or accident, was ever truly successful. He bases his argument on the assumption that the popularity of American culture in Europe is threatening and replacing not just Western European, but the whole world culture. Whitelegg (1999), reviewing Pelles's work, points out that Europeans welcomed American business, investments, and products, but that does not necessarily mean that they also took on board American political and cultural ideology, nor that they neglected their own cultural aspirations. Whitelegg criticises Pelle's work on two general fronts. First, the work provides little theoretical input which is either explicit or implicit in nature. The conclusion achieved does not present a development of the Americanisation thesis which may contribute to what is already known from previous research. Second, Pelle's work falls into the generalisation approach, which he claims to refute when he argues that
generalisation should be undermined by the particular. That is to say that different society are treated in the same manner despite their differences in the level of interaction with American culture, and the analysis of cultural flow in different periods of time was looked at as if nothing had changed over time.

Nevertheless, Edward Said, in his book culture and imperialism, provides different meanings of imperialism and Empire. Imperialism means

the practice, the theory and the attitudes of the dominating metropolitan centre ruling a distant territory; 'colonialism' which is almost always a consequence of imperialism, is the implanting settlements on distance territories'. Empire, however, is a relationship, formal or informal in which one state controls the effective political sovereignty of another political society. It can be achieved by force, by political collaboration, by economic social or cultural dependency (Said, 1993: 8).

For Said, imperialism is simply a process or a policy of establishing or maintaining the empire. He argues that in our time direct colonialism has largely ended; imperialism lingers where it has always been, in a kind of general cultural sphere as well as in a specific set of political, ideological, economic and social practices, both are supported or even impelled by an impressive ideological formation that includes notions that certain territories and people require and demand domination.

In reviewing sport studies of cultural imperialism, the Americanisation thesis has captured the attention of many social sport scientists. The global spread of corporate sport that depended on sponsorship, the fall of amateurism and the rise of professionalism and the transformation of sport to an entertainment space driven by aggressive marketing, the rise of corporations such as Nike and international management group (IMG) as major players in the international scene and the emergence of 'prolympism' are seen to be the basis of global monoculture, which strongly influenced by the American model of sport (Donnelly, 1996a). The author perceives that the Americanisation tendency is deemed more suitable to interpret the source of changes in global sport than globalisation (Donnelly, 1996). He suggested that Americanisation can be illustrated for example, in the transformation of games to corporate products, an exhibition spectacular; which emphasises high-scoring, record making to identify superstar athletes, the ability to attract sponsors by
providing desired audiences and having the characteristic of good television coverage.

In a similar vein Wilcox (1996) examines the cultural, economic, and political significance of the multi-million dollar American sporting enterprise in Europe, and examine the role of the American sport corporations in Europe through the related contexts of media, national autonomy and identity, global capitalism, and modernity. Andrews (1996) examines the interconnection and disjunctures in the complex relationship between global media and local meaning within the context of contemporary transnational sport culture. The authors used the Michael Jordan phenomenon as an example of American popular culture to assess its significance within New Zealand, Polish, and British culture. Jackson (1994) considers the case of Canadian culture and analyses the media’s role in articulating specific political, economic, and cultural events in order to construct a crisis of Canadian identity. These studies, although they have acknowledged the strength of American culture in the context of the cultural imperialism thesis, have tended to assert that a comprehensive understanding of Americanisation must address its complexity going beyond a simple case of cultural imperialism. In addition, issues such as appropriation of cultural form and strategic use to serve particular political interests within the ‘receiving context’ should be taken into account.

Cultural imperialism has also been investigated by examining the relationship between the coloniser and the colonised nations in the diffusion of sport. Clayton (1987), Kirk-Green (1987) and Mangan (1987) examined the diffusion of sport in Africa and noted that the European imperial administration, military sport, and imperial education system, diplomats, Western traders, workers, and fortune seekers have introduced sport throughout the continent and played a significant role in popularising modern sport in colonised societies. Houlihan (1994 a:187) provides an analytical model of ‘importer and recipient’ in understanding the globalisation processes of sport. He perceived that in colonies that are poor and have few local sporting traditions, the diffusion of sport is characterised by exploitation, ideological manipulation of communities as market and workers, evidence that supports the idea that cultural imperialism is present. Klein (1989; 1991) studied baseball and the relationship between the U.S. and the Dominican Republic. He demonstrates how
large North American clubs foster, trade, and discard Dominican baseball talents while simultaneously undermining the development of a strong baseball league in the Republic. In addition, Arbena (1993) has considered the imperialistic impact of the US on the development of sport in Latin America. The author notes that the "structure and practices of sport are fundamentally an expression of international force, but in another way, we cannot understand the evolution of Latin American sport over the last hundred years apart from the international both - regional and global, context" (Arbena, 1993: 151). Stoddart and Keith (1998) analyse the forms and fortunes of cricket as it spread to various segments of the old British empire and beyond. It illustrates the linkage between imperialism and cricket.

With regard to the diffusion of sport in the communist block, Girginov (1998:124) suggests that the Soviet style of the physical culture model was imposed on the rest of the communist block with the adoption of uniform terminology, value concepts, and physical education systems. The imposed Soviet model was an essential stage in the process of homogenising the Communist sporting culture in theory and in practice. In support of such an observation, Chapel (2001) suggests that the ideology of sport development in Cuba is underpinned by Soviet Marxist philosophy.

Researchers have also utilised the cultural imperialism approach to explain the Western domination of transnational sport organisations such as the IOC and FIFA. For example, Eichberg (1984:97) suggested that Olympism is a 'social pattern' that reflects the culture of the Western (and East European) industrial societies. He points to several negative consequences of Olympism, such as, scientification of sport, drugs, and violence. The author explains that these excesses are not accidental or marginal, but logically related to the configuration of Western Olympic sport, with its emphasis on achievement, 'faster, higher, stronger'. In this perspective Olympism is seen to reflect the colonial dominance of the West and its remarkably successful spread of influence across the globe.

Guttmann (1993:131) argues that the intense ritualism associated with the Olympic Games has emphasised the European origins of the Games and has made it necessary for non-Western nations to participate in the Olympic movement on
Western terms. The author investigated the IOC from 1954 to 1990. He traced the process of recruitment of IOC members, the origins of sport that constitutes the Olympic Games programmes, the managerial structure in which sport is organised, and the geographical location of countries that have hosted the Games. The author's results illustrate the domination and the control of Western culture in the body of the Olympic movement. Similarly, Thomas & Chalip (1996) conclude that the majority of world sport, particularly those sports whose origins were not European, are excluded from the Olympic Game (See also Seppanen, 1989).

Darby (1997) illustrates how FIFA featured in the postcolonial era, the exploitation characteristic on the emergent nations by elite European and South American countries and evidence provided supports the argument for the existence of economic and cultural imperialism. Sudgen & Tomlinson (1998) in their investigation of who rules 'the peoples game' noted that the UN and UNESCO as transnational organisations depend excessively for material support upon the core nations of the developed countries. This dependency undermines their power to challenge the status quo. They argue that "economic dominant nations exercises limits to their tolerance of radical debate concerning the world order" (Sudgen & Tomlinson, 1998: 227). In the light of this argument they suggest that the European countries if they feel their interests have been most damaged by the progress of the emergence of other nations in the football world, may withdraw from FIFA. As a consequence of this action, FIFA would struggle financially since as claimed by UEFA Europe generates 80% of the game's global turnover and thus makes the greatest financial contribution to FIFA.

The emphasis in the commentary provided here so far has been on the dominance of Western culture in sport activities, but one of the major debates in globalisation theory is whether the recipients of the imported culture are passive or active. In analysing the growth of sport and leisure in Japan, Horne (1998) focused on the forms of resistance that have accompanied the development of the golf industry. Even though Japan is considered to be one of the major investors in the development of the golf industry in Asia and Australia, the construction of golf courses has been successfully opposed on social and environmental grounds. Opposition groups have been created such as the Global Anti Golf Movement (GAGM).
along with Global Network for Anti-Golf Course Action (GNAGA) and the Malaysia-based Asia-pacific People Environment Network (APPEN). These groups have taken the lead in the opposition movement in Japan and twelve other countries. The author points out that the opposition process suggests that the development of modern sports and leisure is best understood from a perspective that recognises sport as shaped by the politics of local resistance against global power.

Nauright & Phillips (1997) examine the introduction of North American styles of ownership and marketing in Australian professional sport. They have shown how this development has threatened traditional suburban-based clubs in the major cities. They conclude that the private ownership introduced has failed in most cases, and has been opposed successfully by Australian fans who have ownership stakes and democratic rights within their clubs.

Other examples that illustrate how recipients of imported culture are active are demonstrated in how recipients have used sport to strengthen their identity. In the case of the West Indies, not only did they accept cricket, but they have also mastered its skills better than the 'exporter'. As suggested by Guttmann (1994), sport has basically given the recipients an opportunity to beat the importer at their own game. In addition, Darby (2001:219) pointed out that "what is fascinating about the role of football in colonial Africa is, although participation in Western sporting forms may have imbued sections of the indigenous elite with an appetite for all things European, when the game was gradually diffused downwards to the labouring classes it came to represent a site for opposition and protest against colonial exploitation". Mangan & Nam-gil (2001) illustrate how the diffusion of modern sport in Korea was influenced by resistance to Japanese imperialism although the two cultures are orientalist.

In terms of participation in modern sport, in Japan the values associated with baseball are oriented toward teamwork, delicacy, improvement of skills. In contrast, the values associated with baseball in America are oriented towards guts, determination, power, and strength. The examples provided show how recipients have responded to the cultural messages they were receiving. Based on the response of recipients, it is suggested that nations could 'reinvent' the Western
inputs and shape them to their own culture as illustrated in the case of Singapore whose modern sport culture is complex and creolised from the residual culture left by British imperialism (Horton, 2001).

Different researchers have rejected the use of the terminology of cultural imperialism in explaining the processes of the globalisation era. Pieterse (1995) in his work on globalisation and hybridisation pointed out that the use of the terminology of imperialism is not adequate to address the current global situation. He explains the current situation as different from imperialism since many of the major actors (e.g. the IMF, the World Bank and the UN) in global circumstances are not states, and that the policies of the recipient countries involved has not necessarily been changed. Guttmann (1994) suggests that the most accurate term to characterise what has happened during the process of lucid diffusion is 'cultural hegemony'. Guttmann argues that the concept of cultural hegemony provides more than a merely cosmetic improvement over the concept of cultural imperialism because it correctly stresses the fact that the cultural interaction is something more complex than the domination by the totally powerful over the entirely powerless. He also points out that media studies have rejected the assumption that non-Western audiences simply accept whatever messages are transmitted from the Western media without selection or interpretation.

Houlihan (1994 a) illustrates the weakness of the Americanisation thesis and points out that studies that have emphasised Americanisation have been challenged by those who argue that there are powerful competing cultural flows, such as Japanisation and Europeanisation. These challenging cultures occur within the globalisation arena but are not determined by the global system. In addition, there is an argument that although America's trans-national companies are playing a major role in restructuring the world economy, they are responding to a global logic rather than a domestic American logic. Moreover, local recipients of global culture are not always passive, they may form a type of resistance to a global 'invader'. They may have the ability to absorb major elements of global culture and adapt them to the local context. However this ability of the local culture to absorb a global should not be regarded as natural process with a given outcome. In other words, it should not be exaggerated due to the fact that indigenous communities, in postcolonial era,
may still politically and economically depend on the West and their ability to negotiate their interest is limited or undermined within the global system. The cultural imperialism approach is also criticised for its tendency to generalise. It concentrates on Western domination and ignores the impact or contribution of other cultures in the globalisation process. In so doing it lacks sensitivity to local circumstances.

2.4 Dependency theory

In a process of explaining the relationship between rich and poor countries, dependency theory has contributed significantly to the shedding of light on different angles of the 'core' 'periphery' relations. While classical Marxist theories of cultural imperialism were interested in explaining the causes of imperialism and how capitalism had expended geographically out of its own borders, they ignored the effects of capitalist expansion in peripheral areas. These theories, assumed that the struggle between social classes in Europe due to capitalism would be reproduced elsewhere. Thus, dependency theory is concerned with the uneven way in which global society has developed (Bale, 1994:13). It sets out specifically to analyse the nature of this unevenness, its causes and the form which dependency between states has assumed during the twentieth century.

The origin of the theory can be found in the work of a group of Latin American economists (Raul Prebisch and Dos Santos and others) working in the United Nations Economic Commission for Latin America in the late 1940s. Their work raised a debate criticising the way in which the Western World had tended to explain the development gap between the rich and poor countries. They argued that the cause of Latin American underdevelopment could be found in the structural economic inequalities that existed between the core and the peripheral world. For instance, there are unequal exchange values for raw material within the international free trade market, and a heavy reliance on the export of primary products to the more developed world (Prebisch, 1998). Therefore, the under privilege of Latin America resulted from the imbalance in which the richer world developed at the expense of the poorer areas. Dependency theory in arguing that unequal economic structure is the cause of the backwardness of the Third World, rejects the concept of the unified
state as an actor and the notion of the global system as a collection of nation states (Hoogvelt, 1997). Dependency theory thus explores the role of multinational corporations in forming the economic world system versus the state’s role in the process.

Over time, three different forms of dependency have developed and have characterised the economic relations between the core and periphery countries. The first type is colonial dependency, which emerged during the period of imperialism when land, raw material and labour were monopolised by colonial 'masters'. The second form, financial-industrial dependence, gained importance toward the end of the nineteenth century when the first world undertook heavy investment in the developing world. The third form manifested itself in a technological-industrial dependency which emerged after the Second World War (Darby, 1997). This work is important in the sense that it helps us to view dependency as a historically dynamic process in which the imperialist/dependence relationships between the rich and poor countries have been expressed in different forms and are likely to continue to be so in the future. This work is also important in addressing the question of the flow of cultural activities in the world system, and whether it follows the same forms and patterns of economic and political expansion.

The economic structure that has resulted from the relationship between the core and the periphery in terms of dependency follows two major aspects. The first is the subordination of the economy to the structure of advanced capitalist countries. This involved a re-organisation of the local economy in such a way that it only produced primary goods for the industrial west, which (under colonialism), the prevention of local industrialisation, and more importantly, the production was limited in scope and diversity. In addition, the external orientation of the local economy was small that there was an extreme dependency on overseas markets, both for sourcing capital, technology and for production outlets (Hoogvelt, 1997). It is important to point out here that external dependency is often intensified by extreme concentration upon few rather than many metropolitan countries (in the main as a result of a continuing linkage with the colonial mother country). Such relations are indicated in the level of concentration of trade partners, export partners, and aid donors.
Dependency theory also argues that the interaction between the core and periphery countries involves a transfer of value, an expropriation of economic surplus by the core countries from the poor countries, resulting in capital accumulation in the advanced countries, and stagnation and impoverishment in the impoverished periphery. Development and underdevelopment is a two-way affair, just as development in one part of the world went hand in hand with underdevelopment in another, so underdevelopment in the periphery contributed to further development in the advanced countries. The key mechanism of this dual outcome is unequal exchange (Hoogvelt, 1997).

Other researchers follow a multidimensional approach in explaining this relationship between the core and periphery. Sunkel and Paz, (1972); Cordoso and Faletto, (1972); and Dos Santos, (1970) have utilised a socio-economic framework to illustrate the nature of the dependency. Their results, according to Jarvie (1994), had a strong imperialist theme, representing a classical dependency approach, but nevertheless they were criticised for adopting an essentially economic stance.

Elements of dependency theory have been applied in analysing international sport. Stoddart (1988) for example, highlights the perpetuation of links with the imperial 'mother country' through the 'moral codes' associated with cricket. Emphasising the significance of this, he suggests "the colonial established a cultural primacy through cricket as much as through economic power and political position" (1988: 251). Soddart also drawing on the class elements of dependency analysis, highlights the importance of Caribbean elites in promulgation of dependent ties with imperial 'metropolis'. He noted

in all aspect of Caribbean cricket...the colonial elites hold, organisation and philosophy were deep seated, with ramifications into political, commercial and cultural life" (1988:252).

Focusing on baseball Klein's work has emerged as an exemplar of dependency theory illustrating the global diffusion of sport. Specifically, Klein (1989) highlights the role of the organisation of American major league baseball in the underdevelopment of Dominican baseball. Locating within the system of Dominican–US dependent relations, he argues that American intervention "winds up crippling the organisation
of Dominican baseball while at the same time making it more dependent on the US” (1989: 96).

Sage (1996) points a paradox within the ‘cultural industry’ of transnational companies of sport. The paradox surrounds the manner in which an idealised link is made between American professional team sport and American patriotism. The carefully managed image, enhanced by advertising to create and preserve a favoured public image is based upon contradistinction, in that “licence merchandised is largely manufactured in foreign countries by exploited labour” (Sage, 1996:3). Within global sports system the deliberately constructed and carefully preserved images of transnational brands obscure the inequalities and imbalances of the global sport system.

Darby (1997) used a dependency and world system theory approach in analysing the place of Africa in global football and FIFA. The author illustrated how football and FIFA feature elements of exploitation in the postcolonial period by the elite from the core countries and the elite from the Latin America. Sudgen & Tomlinson (1998) support Darby’s claims about the management of FIFA in relation to African countries.

Bale & Sang (1996) and Darby (2001) examine the dynamics of athletic labour migration from African to European football leagues. They suggest that this migration has a long history, going back to the colonial structure. The impact of such migration is that it boosts the strength of European domestic leagues and competitions on the one hand and undermines the strength of the African leagues on the other. However, the authors acknowledge that this migration also has some positive outcomes, for instance the development of skills, escape from economic scarcity for the individual athletes, and the improvement of performance in international events that boosts national identity for some Africans countries.

In the context of the current research on Olympic sport aid it is important to consider the extent to which aid creates structures of dependency between the aid donor and the recipients, and to understand the impact of Olympic aid especially in terms of
whether it leads to development or underdevelopment of the aid provider or aid recipient in the global sport system.

The drawback of the dependency theory in economic terms, is the fact that it is unable to explain and therefore does not fully recognise the economic growth, social and industrial development that has clearly occurred in some periphery countries. The theory utilises a purely economic framework of analysis in explaining development and underdevelopment within the global system. Indeed, the emergence of newly industrial countries in East Asia represents a serious challenge to the adequacy of the development and underdevelopment version of dependency. However, others argue that most of the development and achievements in the peripheral countries was a version of development that serves the interest of the ‘core’ countries and ensures the continuation of the dependency structure (Hoogvelt, 1997).

In cultural terms, specifically in international sport, dependency might be questioned because some peripheral countries manage to achieve a strong position in sport activities. For instance, Kenya in track and field dominated the middle and long distance competitions in most major world events (Bale & Sang, 1996), Nigeria and Cameroon managed to win the gold medals in recent Olympic Games and in Youth Football World Cup (Darby, 2001). Senegal and South Korea achieved remarkable results in the 2002 World Cup. India, Pakistan and the West Indies are highly respectable performers in professional cricket. Kenya and North African countries: Algeria and Morocco, dominated the long distance events in track and field. Latin American footballers dominate the world ranking of the best teams and players in the world. Nevertheless, it could be argued that despite peripheral athletes’ achievements in Western sport, the periphery is still dependent on the West for providing coaches, equipment, knowledge and even the administration of high level competition. In addition, financial revenue for athletes depends on their ability to compete in core countries’ national leagues. Currently, the success of African countries in world sport events depends on the success of its athletes in their journey to Europe and America. We turn now to an approach which seeks to move beyond the ‘economistic’ limitation of the dependency theory.
2.5 Figuration theory (Civilisation process)

Nobert Elias initiated the theory of the civilising process, with its emphasis on 'process sociology' or figuration theory in the late 1930s. Elias started by considering the meaning of the term 'civilisation' and reached the conclusion that, since any aspect of human society and behaviour can be judged to be 'civilised' or 'uncivilised', providing such a definition is a difficult if not impossible task. Instead, it is easier to specify the function of the term. The author argued that civilisation has come to express the self-image of the most powerful Western nations and has acquired in that connection derogatory and racist connotations. This is not only in relation to what Westerners call the 'primitive' or 'barbaric' non-Western societies they have conquered, colonised or otherwise subjected to domination, but also in relation to 'less advanced', less powerful, societies and outsider groups in the West itself (Dunning, 1999).

The major principles underlying Elias' work could be summarised within four interrelated themes. First, his sociology is about people in plural interdependent human chains whose lives are significantly shaped by the social figurations they form together. Second, these figurations are viewed as continually in a state of flux, undergoing changes of both a short-term and more permanent nature. Third, the long-term development occurring within human figurations is largely unplanned and unforeseen. Fourth, the development of human knowledge occurs within human figurations, acting as an important element of their overall development (Goudsblom & Mennell, 1998). In addition, the theory is concerned with understanding the process of civilisation, which Elias defines as a process whereby external restraints on behaviour are replaced by internal, moral regulation. Generally, the theory is concerned with the civilising process rather than civilisation, suggesting that there is no zero point of civilisation, and no fully 'civilised' society.

There are two main prime units of analysis in this perspective, figuration and development. Figuration basically "refers to the 'webs of interdependence' which link and both constrain and enable the actions of individuals, though produced and reproduced by acting individuals, their long-term structure and dynamic cannot be explained solely in terms of the properties of individuals" (Elias, 1978; cited in
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(Maguire, 1988:188). Development is related to change however, it is used in contrast to the term change because it more adequately captures the complexity of figurations in flux (Maguire, 1988).

This process sociology sees globalisation as a process that is not recent in origin. It considers globalisation to be very long-term, involving an increasing interdependency between the local and the global. It criticises other traditions in conceptualising globalisation in several aspects such as the resource dichotomous thinking, the monocausal logic and the tendency to see the globalisation process as governed by either intended or unintended actions of groups of people. Unlike these traditions, Elias was unique in dealing with the globalisation phenomenon by reference to the concept of 'diminishing contrasts, and increasing varieties'.

Maguire supports this concept and proposes that it “attunes the researcher to thinking relationally and developmentally” (1993b: 308) about globalisation processes. More specifically he suggested that

These concepts arguably enable the analyst to steer a path between the excesses of the homogeneity thesis and simplicities of the voluntarist position that assumes that individuals freely choose and cultures freely contribute, in equal measure, to global cultural diversity. These concepts also ensure that we conduct a serious comparison of contemporary civilisation in the context of the debate surrounding resurgent nationalism and globalisation process. These concepts also help in making sense of the global diffusion, patterning and differential popularisation of sport (Maguire, 1999:5).

With regard to the diffusion of culture and forms of conduct, Elias observed that the final 'wave' of the civilisation processes was the spread of Western institutions and standards of conduct to the rest of the world (Elias, 1939/1982: 253). The dispersion of 'civilising' forms of conduct, Elias postulates “follows the incorporation of the other areas into the network of political and economic interdependencies, into the sphere of elimination struggles between and within ...the West” (Elias, 1939/1982). The spread of this Western pattern of conduct occurs, Elias suggests, either through Western settlement or alternatively through the assimilation of the upper strata of other nation. As a result of this process, the author noted the reduction of contrast and conflicts in relationship between the West and non-Western communities. He
suggests that Western nations perform an 'upper class function', an important part of which is the control of 'behaviour' which becomes an important instrument of domination. The consequences of this domination is seen as two fold, while the Western nations are driven to maintain their special conduct as a mark of distinction, their situation similarly forces them in the long run to reduce these differences in standards of behaviour more and more. Consequently, it is argued that the commingling of patterns of conduct is witnessed. The expansion of Western civilisation, which results in this double tendency, is explained as follows:

The Western people, under pressure of their own competitive struggle, bring about in large areas of the world a change in human relationships and functions in line with their own standard. They make large parts of the world dependent on them and at the same time...become themselves dependent on them (Elias, 1939/1982).

The above quotation indicates how relationships between the west and the rest are in flux over time they change from a form of high domination and imposing of power, to negotiation and establishment agreements. Therefore, sociological process theory approaches the globalisation phenomenon through key insights that characterises its conceptual framework. First, the concepts of diminishing contrasts and increasing varieties; second, the idea of commingling of Western and non-Western culture; third, the subsequent emergence of a new amalgam from commingling of culture; and, fourth, the ongoing attempts by established groups to integrate outsiders as workers and/or consumers (Maguire, 1999).

Figuration theory sees sport like all other forms of culture as both produced and consumed, so its role is understood in both dimensions. It considers sport to be more than just a reflector of society, it is a part of it, interacting with other parts, often in a dialectical fashion. At times, sport may be a mechanism by which the hegemonic sectors, consciously or not, manipulate the factors of production and consumption to maintain their unequal control of those resources and, by implication, power (Dunning, 1999).

From the literature reviewed, it was noted that most of the work utilising figuration theory in analysing the sociology of sport, such as Elias & Dunning (1986); Dunning

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(1999); Stocvis (1992); Wilson (1992); Clarke 1992, has focused on the sociological issues related to Western societies. It would seem that, little work has been conducted on non-Western societies.

In a study that focused on non-Western societies Arbena (1993) gives an historical account of the development of sport in Latin America in terms of conquest domination, cultural adaptation, and diffusion from 1427-1930. The author analyses the popularisation of sport from 1930 to present, and discusses the twentieth century revolutionary alternatives to sporting practices. The author associates the spread of sport in Latin America and the wider world within the period 1850 to 1930, with the spread of the British and American capitalism. However, in the twentieth century, Arbena suggests that the interest of the Latin American governments such as Cuba, Guatemala and Mexico in sport was associated with political interests. For example, in the case of Cuba, since the establishment of the Castro regime, sport has been used for several domestic and international objectives. At the national level, physical education is used as a means to raise the level of well-being (in part, for the potential purpose of national defence), to promote discipline and social solidarity, and to win popular gratitude for the regime for providing free recreational, participant, and spectator activities. At the international level, sport is seen as serving two important ends: "to make Cubans feel proud of their country and supportive of their revolution leader, and above all, to prove to others, especially in Latin American, that the Cuban model is truly successful and potentially applicable elsewhere" (Arbena, 1993:112). Even though Arbena illustrates several aspects that affected the popularisation of sport in Latin America, he is subject to the criticism that he has provided what, in effect, is a monocausal explanation of the global process of sport.

A study that has utilised figuration theory to examine Olympic Games and environmental issue can be found in the work of Leisjo (1998). This study discusses aspects of the planning of the Olympic Winter Games 1994 in Lillehammer, Norway. It emphasises decision and planning processes connected with localisation of venues in the period of 1981-1994. The study shows how a first plan, which was sold to the IOC with the slogan of the “Compact Games” was radically changed in the process of implementation, when changes in figurations and power balances occurred. The
“Green Games concept” and an “environment Olympics” even though they were not part of the first plan, subsequently became a successful part of the Games. These were simply symbols and material facts produced during the process of implementation, and they involved the informal co-option of elements from the environmental movement. The author concludes that the process of co-option changed the profile of the Games in Lillehammer, and more importantly, he suggests, it may have a long term impact on the Olympic Movement at a global level. The author argues that some of the most important outcomes of human interaction and bid projects may be due to outcomes which are unplanned or may be considered to be the unintended consequences of many people actions. This argument supports the figurational principle that long-term development occurring within human figurations is largely unplanned and unforeseen. However, this is not to suggest that planned and intended actions are not taken into consideration by figurational analysis, but rather reflect the argument that long term development is largely or most often based on unplanned changes.


In the specific application to sport, Maguire (1999) proposes that the concept of increasing varieties and diminishing contrasts can assist in explaining the global diffusion of sport. Based on Elias' position that sees the civilisation processes as characterised by a double-bind tendency, whereby whilst ‘habitus markers’ of the established groups permeate the lower or outsider class with their patterns of conduct, ‘phases of repulsion also occur’ during which the established group build social barriers between themselves and the outsider. This process is also equated with the spread of Western ‘civilised’ patterns to become established class practices on a global level. For Maguire sporting practices have played a role in this process. The spread of Western patterns, he argues, is a function of the establishment of distinctive forms of behaviour.
...Their tests and conduct, including their sport were part of this, and these practices acted in ways similar to the elite cultural activities within western societies. They were signs of distinction, prestige and power (1994c: 403).

Despite this, Maguire notes that Western distinguishing conduct flowed across social strata as a result of both intended and unintended actions. This cultural interchange was also marked by the permeation of non-Western codes and customs back to Western societies. Sporting forms were contingent elements of such an interchange which resulted in diminishing contrasts between Western and non-Western societies (Maguire, 1994). The form and extent to which Western and non-Western values spread beyond their original context are dependent on the historical legacy and structures of those recipient areas.

In addition, Maguire (1999) rejects the notion that globalisation is a simple process of homogenisation, nor does the spread of, or diffusion of, styles of behaviour solely depend on the activities of established groups. He suggests that a multiplicity of two-way processes of cultural interaction criss-cross the semi-permeable barriers which established groups, within Western societies, and between Western and non-Western societies, deploy to maintain their distinction, power and prestige. The more they become interconnected with outsider groups, the more they depend on them in social tasks. In this way, Maguire suggests, the contrasts between them diminish.

Concurrent with the broader figurational theory attempting to situate phenomena within long term processes, Maguire (1998; 1999) has attempted to situate the globalisation of sport within a five-phase 'sportisation' model. His model of sportisation phases is developed from Robertson's model of globalisation. The initial phase, what Robertson terms 'germinal phase', lasted in Europe from the early fifteenth until the mid-nineteenth century. In this phase, several important changes occurred; the incipient growth of national communities, the acceleration of the notion of the individual and the idea of humanity, and the development of a scientific world view emerge. The 'sportisation processes', which happened later in this period, were bound up with the changes identified. The second phase lasted from the mid-eighteenth century until the 1870s. The notion of a homogeneous unitary state developed, conceptions of standardised notions of individual rights, humanity and international relations also crystallised. The third phase, that lasted from the 1870s
until the mid-1920s is known as the 'take off phase' where the globalisation tendencies were increasingly manifested. Changes took place at the level of national societies, international relations, the generic individual and humanity as a whole, the growth of world-wide agencies, and the standardisation of human rights. In addition, in the development of sport, the phenomenon of international sport began to unfold. The fourth phase, which is known as the 'struggle for hegemony' was dominated by the Cold War which also found an expression in sport. Likewise, the gradual crystallisation of the 'third world' occurred in a sporting context. The fifth phase is entitled the 'uncertainty phase' in which the number of global institutions and movements greatly increased, problems of multiculturality and polyethnicity developed and a concern with humankind as a whole emerged more fully. However, though this model of historical phases assists in explaining the major changes that affect the global process, it is criticised for being Euro centric in a sense that it did not take to consideration the previous civilisations (e.g. ancient Egypt, Greek, China and Islamic) which contributed for building human history. With regard to this issues Dunning & Rojek (1992) point out that there is a need to avoid both natio-centrism and Euro-centrism and view the emergent European sport figurations in the context of wider, and increasingly global, networks and interdependencies.

Sport talent migration has also been the focus for several papers which adopt the figuration perspective (Maguire, 1994a; 1998; 1999). The investigation of Canadian ice-hockey talent migration, foreign cricketers in England, and European soccer labour migration, are located within the framework of diminishing contrast and increasing varieties, and the broader figurational standpoint on the globalisation of sport. Maguire investigates this research agenda within different lines of inquiry. The author examines consequences of increasing female migration on gender relations. He suggestes that gender relations are one dimension that play a crucial part in contributing to a migrant's life. In addition, he examines sport migration and the issue of labour rights, and he notes that the experience of labour rights differ from individual sport to team sport, from nation to nation, and differs from one continent to another. He notes for example that the Bosman ruling is not necessarily applicable to all players. Individuals from non-European Union countries are subject within the EU to selection procedures on the basis of their nationality. Furthermore, there is little or no detailed investigation about the experiences of migrants from less
developed countries (Africa /East Europe/Latin America). Maguire (1999) suggests that questions about labour rights should be posed and concludes that sport migration is not a uniform experience it is has its own highly differentiated political economy that reflects its position as part of the global sport system.

Maguire also examines talent migration by considering the issue of deskillling of 'donor countries', noting that developing countries who have invested in the production of athletic talent, regularly lose their talents to the more developed countries. Maguire associates this issue with the broader concept of national identity. In this analysis, the author also raises the issue of culture shock and the ability to adapt to new environments. Such analytic frameworks avoid the explanation of sport migration based solely on economic terms, and opens up other dimensions that can provide us with a deeper understanding of the phenomenon.

Green and Oakley (2001) have used the concept of diminishing contrast and increasing varieties in their examination of elite sport development systems in selected countries based on the classification of 'core' and 'semi periphery'. They introductory observation suggests with 'diminishing contrast' of the Cold War after the fall of communism bloc, there is reverse 'global sporting flow' from the Eastern block (semi-periphery) with regard to management approaches in elite sport development. Concepts of rationalisation and scientisation of sport which were undertaken to unprecedented length in GDR and the Soviet Union (giving their achievement in Olympic Games from 1952-1988) are embraced by Western core states. The authors do not suggest a process of copying the semi-peripheral model, but they use such process as illustration of a shift in sport policies toward increasing tendency of developing sporting excellence and the production of Olympic medals. Such policy shift seemed to drive the global sport culture into a more uniform model of elite sport development. However, the authors suggest that a room for diversity uniqueness or distinctiveness are still open for globalisation debate in sport arena.

The civilising process theory is criticised on various counts. First of all, it is not clear what is the cause or mechanism which produces these civilising processes. Wilson (1992) argues that a major defect of this theory is that it lacks a convincing theory of the state. As a result, the author maintains that many of the assumptions and
propositions made in the civilising process theory are unrealistic and one-sided. Wilson illustrates his argument that the state is essential for understanding the history and the structure of modern sport by means of an account of the state in regulating sport activities. A further objection is that the theory is not supported by empirical evidence, since modern societies may be perceived to be ‘uncivilised’ due to growing violence, brutality and crimes. Further, it is difficult to provide a definition of what civilisation really means. A behaviour that is considered to be civilised behaviour in the west may be considered uncivilised in non-Western countries and verse-versa. In addition, the judgement of certain behaviours may change over time, for example, what is accepted today as civilised behaviour may be considered in the future as non-civilised behaviour. For example, the amateur concept of sport was the dominating notion in international sport during the imperial era, but with the growing influence of working classes and professionalisation of sport the amateurism concept was overshadowed. In addition, fox hunting in England is currently tremendously criticised, although it was considered a civilised cultural activity in the past.

Considering the violence that is associated with modern sport, Sheard (1997) concludes that even though boxing had undergone a civilising process in regulating and controlling the nature of the sport and make it more safer for participants, it is indeed still a dangerous sport which cause damage to athletes, in addition, the debate surrounding boxing is primarily about its morality and the example that it sets not in the pain and suffering it causes to the athletes.

Stocvis (1992) criticises figuration theory suggesting that process sociology is wrong to maintain that the key feature of modern sport is its relatively low level of tolerance of violence. The author sees this as simply one factor relevant to the structure and history of certain sports. Other factors, such as the formal organisation, standardisation and commercialisation of sport are more important. He concludes that process sociologists must critically review many of the basic assumptions upon which their application of the theory of the civilising process to the development of modern sport is based.

Similarly, Clarke' (1992) investigates the question of football hooliganism argued that the historical analysis of process sociology in hooliganism phenomenon has been too
narrow. He goes further and suggests that the civilising process is unable to understand the passions which it purports to explain, in particular, it ignores the role of commercialisation of sport and leisure industries in perpetuating stimuli which lead to outbursts of aggression.

Dunning (1999) supports the use of the civilising process in conceptualising sport in social conditions arguing that even though the Elias theory of the civilising process has been critically debated, it has so far stood the test on theoretical and empirical grounds. That is, while neither Elias nor any other figurational sociologist would want to claim that our understanding of civilising and de-civilising processes at the moment is anything more than rudimentary, it is yet to be refuted by observation and reasoning. In addition, the author points out that the strength of figuration theory, is that it involves the attempt to meld the best features of classical and modern sociology. Dunning shows how figuration is rooted in the classical legacy by explaining how figuration offers a different orientation from Marx, Weber and Durkheim, functionalism, and history in conceptualising the civilising process of societies.

Questions can be posed toward elements of the analysis that utilised the framework of diminishing contrast –increasing varieties as an explanatory tool to globalisation of sport. This framework, Maguire (1998:73) argues: "enables the analysis to steer a path between the excesses of aspects of homogeneity thesis and simplicity of the voluntarist assumption that individual freely choose and cultures freely contribute in equal measure to global cultural diversity". Undeniably, the framework assist in capturing the macro developments of the globalisation of sport including, importantly, the capacity for multi-directional and countervailing flows, and unintended consequences. That is, it highlights potential for differing outcomes from global flows. However, the utility of the frame work is open to critique for lacking explanatory power regarding the key dynamic, which determine the pattern of global culture.

In response to these critics, in the investigation of globalisation, Maguire (1999) argues that studies of cultural imperialism and modernisation thesis along with studies that use Marxist economic and political orientations. Whatever critics or
shortcomings these work had, they set out as part of the broader process of figuration sociology to explain aspects of globalisation. The author suggests that the analyses conducted in these studies were relational in character and conceptualised the process as part of an interdependent network of competing global cultural flow (Maguire, 1993, 1999).

Figuration theory assists the task of explaining the global diffusion of sport by emphasising the multidimensional, multi-directional, and power balance analysis. Issues of sport migration, sport labour, media, sport production complex (e.g. goods/equipment), sport hooliganism and the concept of body culture are discussed and explored. The theory offers researchers an opportunity to escape from the monocausal, unidirectional and reductionist thinking. In emphasising the importance of multidirectional analysis, it has been suggested that the essential point of departure in understanding the global sportisation process, is to carry out intercivilisational analysis. Although the development of modern sport can be clearly associated with the West, both the interconnections with already existing nonoccidental body culture and the degree to which contemporary sport has been permeated by oriental forms and values must be taken into consideration. Another advantage of this theory is that the figurations studied are not artificial structures imposed by investigators on the people being observed, they are just as real as the people forming them as well as there being no generalisation of the primacy of factors or spheres in explaining the phenomenon.

Figuration theory has the capacity to frame meaningful accounts of the issue ranging from changes that have occurred to the way societies are governed and the way policy is made. It has been demonstrated in different studies that the central concepts of figuration sociology have the capacity to explore political formation below the national state and political relations between sub-national, and national and trans-national institution (Matthews, 1999). Other contributions of Elias' sociology to empirical work are:

- Explanation for changes to the wider policy environment
- Acknowledgement that changes happen in a variety of socio-cultural and political configurations, without proffering a dominant group.
• The promotion of a holistic view of research and rejection of the structure/agency dichotomy.
• Changes to social, political and economic figurations that challenge the primacy of nation state are accommodated.

However, arguing that the principles offered in support of developmental notion are not manifest in factors that can be empirically tested can challenge these contributions. This is to say that these contributions are difficult to be operated in empirical work.
2.6. The Analysis of International Sport Aid

This section seeks to review literature concerned with the notion of development of international sport aid. It is noted that authors have taken different stands in conceptualising the nature of programmes. Some see sport aid as an element of state foreign policy, in particular in the establishment of international relations, others see it as a political tool of the IOC to mobilise, control and standardise activities undertaken by NOCs in a process of creating a global sports culture. Supporters of Olympism perceive it as an appropriate mechanism to promote the Olympic ideals and social development. However, it is noted that although much has been written about the Olympic Games and the movement, little research has been conducted on the spread of Olympism through its aid and assistance programmes in developing countries.

2.6.1 Sport Aid and Humanism Mission (Olympism)

The first dimension of studies identified concerning the international sport aid policy, is related to the humanism mission of Olympism. A number of writers on the Olympic movement have argued that sport aid is bound up with the spread of a humanism (Anthony, 1994; Benzerti, 2002; Muller, 1988; Parry, 1994). The authors perceive that the role of Olympic aid is primarily directed to the spread of the Olympic ideal all over the world. The Olympic aid mission should be bound up with a humanist approach to social development. They consider Olympism as an ideal in its own right, which contains universal ethical principles of human dignity, fair play, a better world, peaceful co-existence, international understanding, non-discrimination, moral education, equity, and opposition to any kind of abuse whether of the body or commercial abuses in sport. For them the programme is seeking to place sport at the service of humanity and social development through education and health improvement. Thus, these commentators agree that Olympic aid should not be directed at elite sport alone, but should also target the grass root and mass sport. The educational aspect of Olympism is seen as having the political mission to serve the civilisation process identified by de Coubertin when he stated that

"the beauty of sport lies in the fact that they are sufficiently humane to suit all conditions of men from semi-savage state to that of the ultra-civilised state" (Anthony, 1994:84).
In short, the goal for these Olympism idealists is to place sport everywhere at the service of all, for the harmonious development of humankind, with a view to fostering human dignity.

Therefore Olympic aid carried out by Olympic Solidarity commission is perceived as:

- a world bank of sports expertise distributing proceeds, mainly from global televising of the Olympic Games, to countries in more need; these proceeds are both financial and human - cash and skills. It is also a means to 'franchising' NOCs world wide; sharing with them a defined body of knowledge enshrined in the Itinerant School's 'Manual' (Anthony, 1994: 88).

de Bondt (1993:165) sees the Olympic Solidarity as a sport development department that works exclusively to spread the ideal of the Olympic movement, to promote the education of athletes, coaches and administrators, to popularise and enhance the practice of sport all over the world and in particular, to assist those NOCs which have the greatest need.

In an address given by Samaranch at the 11th Olympic Congress 1981, he stressed the role of OS and stated that:

"OS has been created not only to help but also to make close ties between the IOC and NOCs. It is through OS that we are able to try and overcome imbalances and inequalities. The IOC, too, needs the understanding and the backing of NOCs. The purpose of OS is therefore not only to help but also to unite".

Anthony (1994:86) points out that the idea of overcoming inequalities serves the philosophy of fair-play and

if fair-play is truly to show itself in the Olympic family all matters in the "Contemporary athlete" section are relevant; unless Third World athletes can enjoy the same preparation, access to knowledge, and competitive opportunity, talk of fair play is pie in the sky.

For Anthony, Olympic aid is about overcoming the inequalities between the rich and poor countries as far as Olympic sport is concerned. Generally, it is noted that aspects of Sport For All, women's sport, government and sport, drugs and sport, art and sport, cooperation, understanding, self development, health and knowledge are
the key issues that should be given priority in sport assistance programmes according to the authors above. Therefore, the main objective is basically to address these issues by facilitating NOC participation in all programmes of OS.

2.6.2 Sport Aid Standardisation of NOCs Culture

The second dimension of interpretation of the sport aid programmes is related to the issue of the imposition of ideas and sport standards. Donnelly (1996) argues in his article 'Prolympism: Sport monoculture as a crisis and opportunity' that the shift of Olympism toward professionalism is tending to create a global sport monoculture he terms 'prolympism'. He argues, this has a tendency both to reproduce itself, and to marginalise other sport ideologies. Donnelly shows how the Olympics has been drawn to television and the commercialisation of sport with attendant commercial priorities. Moreover, he illustrates how this model is placing strains on indigenous and alternative sport forms. With programmes such as OS and sport aid providing support to various countries for the sake of developing Olympic sport, native sport may be neglected or pushed aside. In addition, alternative sports in non-Western countries seem to be following the professional model even if they had been designed as a counter to its dominance. Thus, OS plays a significant role in imposing professionalisation of native physical activities and raising the standards of sport.

Cousineau (1998), in a critical examination of sport policy in developing countries sees that the Sport For-All policy under the OS Commission is a process that aims to transmit the values of the Olympic movement to the developing countries. In cooperation with local sport organisations, the Commission encourages the practice of Sport For-All as part of the Olympic system. The author criticises the process and suggests that the Olympic movement approaches a form of cultural imperialism as something that has been judged to be good by someone, somewhere, should therefore be implemented everywhere globally, whether it has anything to do with local collective needs, local culture or regional geography. The focus becomes more the development of sport through people rather than development of people through sport (Cousineau, 1998: 39).
Chapter Two

Literature review

However, later in the article, the author seems to support the IOC Sport For-All policy and points out that the promotion of the philosophy and governance of NOCs and IOC is probably better than nothing, especially in communities where there are no other institutions with the mandate, leadership and capability of providing a wider range of recreational sport services. The Olympic name, according to the author, at least lends certain credibility for politicians and government officials and can act as a catalyst for the launching of community-based sport and recreation services adapted to the local needs of all citizens and not necessarily the promotion of a few Olympic sports (Cousineau, 1998).

Chifflet (1996) argues that sport in French Black Africa is influenced by international institutions to reproduce a Western model of sport. He considers that OS plays an essential role in such a process. He suggests that OS assistance to run the NOCs and to form local instructors and the national athletes, is encouraging the NOCs to adhere to the Olympic movement and supports the IOC in maintaining its model all over the world.

Bale and Sang (1996:118) consider the role of aid provided by the International Athletic Amateur Association (IAAF) to Kenya athletics. They suggest that the IAAF can be seen as a world governing body whose intention is to colonise the world with more and adherence to participation in serious and achievement sport. They perceive that the creation of regional training centres, the facilitation of Kenyan athletes' journeys to take part in competition abroad, and the hierarchy qualification programmes for coaches are the mechanisms the IAAF utilised for the development of track and field in Kenya and Africa and this is a form of imposing global culture on indigenous communities.

Dubberke (1986) perceived the aid provided by industrialised countries to non-industrialised to have mostly been in the form of sending coaches, and providing sport scholarships and equipment. The aim is to improve high performance sports and to enable recipient countries to compete at an international level. According to the author, this process involves the implementation of the philosophy of high performance in recipient countries.
In considering the rationale for establishing such assistance programmes directed at NOCs, especially in less privileged nations, Donnelly (1996) sees the main reason for creating Olympic sport aid programmes in the contemporary era as a means of helping athletes to qualify for the Olympic standards. Consequently, he sees this initiative as raising the level of elite sport all over the world.

On a much larger scale, Olympic Solidarity provide similar outreach programs-coaches and athletes development, sport medicine, facilities, clinics, equipment, travelling funds- to developing countries, in attempt to avoid problem...of athletes failing to qualify for the Olympics under the new standard. (Donnelly, 1996a:32).

Miller (1992) supports this rationale and suggests that imbalanced competition between athletes would be unhealthy for the Olympic Games and the movement. Furthermore, Gabor (1988) suggests that the rationale for such funds is to prevent poor countries from boycotting the games as well as reducing the dependency of NOCs on their government. Countries may withdraw their participation due to financial difficulties, thus, covering participation costs will prevent NOCs from boycotting the games and also reduces their dependency on their governments.

By offering financial, administrative and athletic aid, OS tries to ensure the participation in the games of countries whose involvement would otherwise be unreliable. Decreasing the dependency of such NOCs on government support is intended to make them less subject to boycott the games (Gabor, 1988:29).

However, Lucas (1992) disagrees with Gabor regarding the reduction of dependency on government. He suggests that NOC must not allow themselves to depend too much on OS funds because this could create what he call the 'hazard of solidarity dependence', when Solidarity money is reduced or disappears the NOCs would face a significant problem, and he therefore argues that all NOCs must be encouraged to become self-sufficient and not dependent on 'soft money' provided in the form of aid.
2.6.3 Sport Aid and International Politics

The third dimension of the studies identified concerning sport aid policy, is related to the political aspect of the programmes. Hazan (1987), Houlihan (1994), Killanin (1983) and Peppard & Riordan (1993) indicate that sport aid is part of the political struggle between the three pillars of the world politics i.e. core, semi-periphery, and periphery. This struggle has been manifested in sport as in other activities.

Hazan (1987) considers the foreign policy of the USSR through sporting activities, and traces the development of formal relations between the USSR and African states, noting that the Soviet attempt to expand relations was intensified from the mid-1950s. He describes the goals of the Olympic Solidarity programme, which he suggests, was initiated by the Soviet Union to assist developing nations, and subsequently carried out by the IOC. He explores the nature of the sports relations that were systematically developed by the USSR with more than 30 African countries during the 1960s and 1970s. In addition, he outlines the scope of Soviet involvement in African sport, and explains the surprising paucity of sports competitions between Soviet and African athletes.

The author also examines the work of Soviet sports specialists in Africa, and looks at the training of African athletes in the USSR emphasising the clear political overtones of all aspects of Soviet-African sports relations and he concluded that: Soviet sports with Africa sought an immediate propaganda effect and a long range political impact. In the short term sport aid served as an instrument of the Soviet propaganda machine, demonstrating the achievement of the Soviet system and promoting good will and admiration for the USSR. In the long term they served political goals, such as facilitating the development of cooperation in other areas and transplanting to Africa various elements of the Soviet social system (Hazan, 1987:268).

Generally speaking Hazan sees that sport was used as a bridge for further political and economic co-operation between the USSR and African states. Surprisingly, the author interpreted both OS and UNESCO assistance programmes to Africa, which where in part funded by the USSR as a clear support for communist political propaganda which facilitated the Soviet expansion in peripheral areas.
In similar terms, Peppard & Riordan (1993) see sport aid programmes as a part of Soviet sport diplomacy toward neighbouring and developing countries. They point out that given the signal success of the USSR in the Olympic Games, such sport aid was seen as an effective means of demonstrating the possibility of a socialist path of development. It is stated that the USSR spent as much as 2.5 million rubles annually on sport aid programmes in Africa, Asia, and Latin America. The aim of the USSR aid, according to the authors, was to sign treaties in sport development in peripheral areas, and thereby to promote communism.

The authors suggest that Soviet sport foreign policy started in the interwar period where nationalist ideology dominated the political sphere in Europe. Nations began to secure their territories by creating good relations with their neighbors and Soviet leaders acknowledged the importance of sport in fulfilling national and international objectives. Sport was controlled by government in every aspect and was utilized to pursue specific goals that supported the states ideology. Peppard & Riordan (1993:96) indicated that the overall Soviet objective with regard to neighboring countries such as Turkey and Iran and other states within strategically important areas close to the USSR, was to link them to the USSR by treaties embodying the three major principles of non-intervention, non-aggression, and neutrality. Within the three years from 1918 to 1921, for example, the USSR managed to sign treaties with most countries with which it shared borders.

With regard to Third World countries that were under colonial rule, the Soviet Union saw the chance to challenge the colonisers’ power and promote socialism in Africa and Asia, since in Europe the potential for revolution had faded. Thus Soviet policy was to provide every assistance to national liberation movements in the colonies and newly independent states and to promote socialism preparing for the world revolution (Peppard & Riordan, 1993). Thus, sport contacts basically reflected diplomatic and strategic considerations.

It is argued that the ultimate aim on the part of the Soviet Union in their sport assistance policy was to sign sport cooperation treaties with developing countries (Peppard & Riordan, 1993). This argument was supported by reference to the treaties that were signed in the period from 1969 to 1980 (See table 2.1 below). It is
also claimed that the USSR Olympic committee was one of the first NOCs to give unreserved support to the Cypriot NOC in its effort to join the IOC thereby bringing broad international recognition to the young republic and demonstrating how sports contacts could help to strengthen mutual relations between people (Peppard & Riordan, 1993:108).

Table 2.2: Soviet Treaties with Developing Countries through Sport Assistance

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Countries</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Countries</th>
<th>Year</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Egypt</td>
<td>1969</td>
<td>Cyprus</td>
<td>1977</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sudan</td>
<td>1970</td>
<td>Yemen</td>
<td>1981</td>
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<tr>
<td>Iraq</td>
<td>1972</td>
<td>Mozambique</td>
<td>1981</td>
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<tr>
<td>Syria</td>
<td>1972</td>
<td>Kuwait</td>
<td>1981</td>
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<tr>
<td>Algeria</td>
<td>1972</td>
<td>Indonesia</td>
<td>1982</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Libanon</td>
<td>1973</td>
<td>India</td>
<td>1985</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: (Peppard & Riordan, 1993)

Bale and Sang (1996: 110) consider the foreign sports aid provided to Kenya from multiple donors namely Britain, Germany, USA, and China and stated that

"Sport aid is part of the overall package of foreign aid which, at root, results less from egalitarian principle than from the donor states' desire to improve their image with recipient countries or to gain some kind of economic advantage."

In a more direct interpretation that is linked to the creation of Olympic Solidarity through its transformation from the International Olympic Aid Commission, Houlihan (1994) notes that that the Olympic Solidarity project was a product of the Cold War conflict between the communist and capitalist members within the IOC. He points out that prior to the establishment of Olympic Solidarity, the IOC faced significant political problems with NOCs and International Sport Federations. The conflict was mainly related to decision-making and ideological influence over IOC activities. He suggests that this conflict was the principal reason for the establishment of the sport development project directed to NOCs which become OS. Houlihan explains the internal political situation within the IOC in the following terms:
In general the IOC is more alarmed at the prospect of a growth of NOC influence than a growth in the influence of the International Sport Federations. While the latter may pressure the IOC for a greater say in decision-making their primary motive is to extract maximum benefit for their individual sport; in contrast the IOC is deeply suspicious of the motive of many NOCs and their continental representative bodies. The focus of the IOC's concern is belief that the central motivation of the majority of NOCs is ideological or sectional, as many of the proposals for membership reform were formulated by the Soviet Union and supported by its communist allies and the African bloc. As a result, the key demand by the NOCs that they should have extensive representation on the IOC has been strongly resisted by the IOC on the grounds that such a move would result in a further consolidation of political camps within the Olympic movement along line of the United Nations General Assembly. It was in a largely successful attempt to divide the Third World bloc from the communist bloc that the IOC established a major sport development program, Olympic Solidarity, directed primarily at the needs of poorer countries (Houlihan, 1994 a: 163).

A former President of the IOC, Lord Killanin (1983), admits that ideological struggle motivated both East and West to exploit the Third World for political purposes. He suggests that exploitation expanded in the sports sphere as well, but he indicates that Eastern Europe had been more vigorous and successful in exploitation than its rivals. It had accompanied its other efforts with aggressive economic, social, political and military aid.

Nevertheless, Clumpner (1978) illustrates how the US has used sport for political ends and argues that the United States has been just as guilty of using sport for political purposes as the more frequently accused socialist countries. Clumpner reviews competitions between American and Soviet Olympic teams and the political concern which accompanied these situations, and discusses some of the U.S. Government's proposals to aid amateur sport and sponsorship of athletic exchanges to other countries. Bale and Sang (1996:114) suggest that most sport aid to Kenya from the US has been undertaken by the Peace Corps (an organisation founded in 1961) aimed to enhance the American image in Africa at the time of the Cold War. Kenya was seen as one of a number of countries to be protected from the perceived evils of communism and sport featured prominently in the work of the organisation. The Peace Corps’ further important role has been the forging of links between the US universities and colleges and Kenyan athletes, facilitating the process of obtaining athletic scholarships.
It is important here to point out that the political aims of the sport assistance programmes were obvious, but these aid programmes had some consequences that developed throughout the years due to the growth of the Olympics. Heitanen & Varis (1984) suggest that the consequences of promoting sport in developing countries and integrating them into the Olympic movement was the creation of a power struggle problem within the IOC in the 1970s. Third World countries were not likely to be interested only in receiving financial and material aid, but also in the demand for equity in international sport. Therefore, protectionist measures were taken by the core countries such as weighted voting systems and an unbalanced decision-making structure, to prevent any drastic changes in the policies of international federations. Kruger & Riordan (1999: 19) note that even though the IOC willingly encouraged the newly independent countries to join the Olympic movement, they were refused equal voting rights or even the right have representative members on the IOC. It is also suggested that Brundage did not want to have equal representation, as was the case in the United Nations. Instead he wanted the IOC to be run in the traditional way (Kruger, 1999).

In contrast, Segrave (1988) suggests that OS played an active role in the elite North and South international sport dialogue and will continue to play a significant role in supporting the organisational structure and the conduct of the Olympic movement. Roche (2000) also sees that the sport aid programmes under the umbrella of OS has developed to become an important part of the role which Olympism seeks to play in the struggle against discrimination or the racism that existed during the pre-independence era. In addition, Heitanen & Varis (1984) agree that extensive development aid and cooperation in sport is, without doubt, an important factor in the promotion of international understanding and it is one way of making progress in the establishment of an international sport order. Although, it has been pointed out that sport aid plays an important role in North - South dialogue Donnelly (1996a:32) suggests that peripheral states accept OS funds from core countries solely for political aims.

Since this (OS funding) is frequently the only sport development funding available in many new and developing nations, it is eagerly accepted by governments who see membership in the United Nations and marching in the
opening ceremonies of the Olympic Games as a twin confirmation of nationhood.

Thus, according to Donnelly, nationhood and international recognition are the prime reasons for peripheral nations accepting sport aid programme and sport specific values are not necessarily considered when receiving such assistance.

Hill (1993) observes that Olympic aid is part of the IOC process of controlling the NOCs. He pointed out that the IOC controls due to the fact that it confers recognition on NOCs and it has the power to withdraw membership of any nation in the Olympic movement. NOCs are perceived "normally" to be independent of their governments but they cannot formally exist until the IOC recognises them, and more importantly, without a recognised NOC, nations cannot send teams to the Olympic Games. In addition, he suggests that the IOC makes a significant financial contribution to the NOCs through the development fund known as OS and from the profits of the IOC's marketing programme.

2.6.4 Sport Aid and Transnational Economics

Given the fact that the marriage between sport organisations and transnational corporations has deepened in the course of the twentieth century, it is not surprising that this marriage is also evident in the sport aid programme. Darby (1997) observes the involvement of Adidas and Coca-Cola in FIFA development sport aid projects to Africa and Asia. He points out that Horst Dassler and Patrick Nally (Adidas Company manager) in the initial phase of the assistance programmes played a major role, not only in providing equipment and clothing for all FIFA instructions and participants, but also in organising the structure of the programme. In a further phase when Sepp Blatter (Current FIFA president) took the charge of the FIFA’s Technical Department, Adidas provided all sports equipment and Coca-Cola undertook to cover the cost of accommodation and meals for participants as well as their travel costs.

This assistance programme was associated with the FIFA/Coca-Cola World Development Programme in the mid 1970s, and in the early 1980s FIFA/Coca-Cola International Academies were established. By the mid 1980s, the assistance strategy
focused on youth football and the FIFA/Coca-Cola World Youth Academy was created. In 1991, the FIFA/ Coca-Cola ‘Furuto’ World Football Development programme was initiated and this has come to be the most far-reaching programme in all development schemes. Importantly, the Olympic Solidarity Programmes were also among the activities carried out under FIFA/Coca-Cola program. The development of the Under-20 World Championship\(^1\) for FIFA/Coca-Cola Cup was a realisation of these sport assistance programmes.

However, Darby (1997: 203) argues that the rationale for such football development programmes in Africa and Asia was associated with the political presidency of FIFA. He concludes that “the establishment and the promotion of the two youth competitions has clearly enabled Havelange (the former FIFA president) to firmly root his political alliance with those constituents whose votes had affected his election and whose continued support would ensure that he remain in power”.

The association of Olympic aid and transnational companies is not limited to sport companies alone. For example, in showing the rationale for his company support for the Olympic movement and Olympic Solidarity, Mathhias Keinert the vice president of International Relation and Corporate Business of DaimlerChrysler AG, pointed out that:

\[
\text{Today more than ever, the Olympic movement seeks to promote international understanding; to further dialogue among civilisations, nation and individuals. This is why DaimlerChrysler is an active supporter of the Olympic Movement. Its partnership with the IOC and other key organisations in international sport reflects the company's understanding of its responsibilities toward society. The ideals of sport incorporate the same ideals that DaimlerChrysler leadership share (Kleinert & DaimlerChrysler, 2001: 177).}
\]

The partnership described above is not only distorted in terms of business collaboration with the IOC and other sport organisations, but also of promoting the ideal of fair-play and sporting behaviour.

Girginov (1998) criticises the assistance given to former socialist countries and suggests that the assistance is simply a mechanism to prevent the elite sport system

\(^1\) Under-20 Championship is FIFA Coca-Cola World Cup for youth held regularly in Third World countries
that existed, before the fall of communism, from disappearing. He also argues that the marketing notion that is dominated by the TOP sponsorship programmes of the IOC is behind the encouragement of new states, such as the Ukraine and Azerbaijan, to join the Olympic movement and to benefit from sport development assistance and maintain high competitive sport.

Moving to a wider perspective of the Olympic movement, Coakley (1993) in a substantial review of the Lucas book entitled *Future of the Olympic Games* criticises Lucas' position regarding the aid schemes. He argues that the "driven consumerism culture" that is promoted by the IOC is not articulated in terms of its sociological and economic impact on marginalized societies. He points out that it would be naïve to assume that such vague guidelines would consistently bring Olympic family members, especially those in leadership positions, to ignore self-interest, to be willing to respond to the need to transform the family itself, or to avoid neo-colonialism as they deal with those who have been socially marginalised by the family through its history.

2.7 Conclusion

This chapter reviewed globalisation approaches of modernisation, cultural imperialism and dependency. It explored the diffusion of modern sport and Olympism based on the foundation suggesting top down flow processes. These approaches emphasise cultural flow from the West to non-Western societies or from the economically wealthy societies to less privileged communities. The figuration approach, however, invites us to examine the diffusion processes from a multidimensional perspective and multicausal relations within the figuration that forms the interaction.

The chapter also reviewed theoretical interpretations of international sport aid. The literature is classified into four categories of explanations: a) sport aid as a humanistic mission, basically the literature suggests that Olympic aid is for the service of humankind and it has universal mission b) sport aid as a process of standardisation of activities of the national sport institutions, which helps to raise the
standards of sports institutions to reach international level. c) sport aid as a means for enhancing political relations and the spread of political ideologies, and lastly, d) sport aid as a means for burgeoning economic treaties creating an opportunity for further economic collaborations.
CHAPTER THREE

THE HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE OLYMPIC MOVEMENT: A POLITICAL, ECONOMIC, AND CULTURAL PERSPECTIVE

3. Introduction

The previous chapter reviewed a number of different approaches to theorising and conceptualising globalisation and globalisation processes. The theoretical frameworks of modernisation, cultural imperialism, dependency, and figuration theory, which the thesis embraces, were reviewed and evaluated. This chapter aims to establish the historical context in which the Olympic aid policy was first established and operated. The chapter explores the political, economic, and cultural dimensions which influenced the development of the Olympic movement and the Olympic Games in the nineteenth and twentieth century. Four historical eras are identified, namely, the imperialist era, late imperialism, neo-colonialism and the Cold War period, and the Post-Cold War era, to illustrate major global changes that influenced and affected the development of the modern Olympic movement.

3.1 Historical structural strategy

The Olympic movement is a multinational cultural organisation that operates at a global level. Reviewing its history requires consideration of the global political, economic, and cultural context. Researchers concerned with changes in the global order and/or the relations between core and peripheral countries tend to use historical structural methods to simplify major changes that occur in the world and to assess their impact on the social phenomenon under investigation. It is noted that several researchers have used slightly different dates to periodise global changes. However, there are similarities in the overview of the global changes in every sphere.
For instance, Huntington’s (1996) work on the clash of civilisations divides world history into three political changes. The imperialist period, which ran from 1500 to the 1920s and resulted on the West controlling 84% of the earth’s surface in 1914 and with ‘civilisation’ influencing all other societies. The second is the Cold War period which covers the period post the 1920s up to the 1980s, with the United States of America (USA) and to a lesser degree the Soviet Union (USSR) playing significant roles in global politics. In this period the traditional imperialist European countries lost their exclusive power in colonies. The last period starts from the 1990s to the contemporary era when the communist block had fallen and other ‘civilisations’ such as those of Islam, Hindu, Chinese, Latin America began to re-emerge. Huntington (1996) simplifies global changes, from ‘one world’ of the 1920s to ‘three worlds’ of the 1960s and to more then ‘half-dozen’ competing worlds of the 1990s.

Hoogvelt (1997) assesses the recent trends in the world political economy and the development prospects of the developing countries in the ‘Third World’. The author divides the history of capitalist expansion into four periods. The rationale for this periodisation is based on the argument that in each of these the Third World has performed a specific function in service of the essential needs of accumulation of the finance of the capitalist countries or the ‘core’ states. The four periods are: the ‘mercantile phase’, from 1500 to 1800, where a transfer of economic surplus through looting and plundering was witnessed, disguised as trade; the colonial period from 1800 to the 1950s, the transfer of economic wealth here being through unequal terms of trade by virtue of the colonially imposed international division of labour; the neo-colonial phase from 1950 to the 1970s, where the transfer of economy was through ‘developmentalism’ and technological rents; and the post imperialism phase from 1970 up to date, with the transfer of economic surplus throughout debt peonage.

In a review of sport diffusion Maguire (1999) uses an historical structural strategy in periodising the process of sport diffusion globally. Maguire utilises Robertson’s (1992) model of the globalisation process and identifies five phases of what he calls the ‘sportisation’ process: the initial phase from 1500 –1850, when the scientific view of the world emerged and the notion of humanity and the individual were formed.
The second phase is from 1850 to the 1870s, where the notion of a homogeneous unitary state took place and sport was bound up with it. The 'take off phase' from the 1870s –1920, where globalisation tendencies where increasingly manifested and international sport began to unfold. The 'struggle for hegemony phase' from the 1920s – 1980s, where world politics was dominated by the Cold War, also found its expression in sport and more importantly, the crystallisation of the Third World occurred. The last phase is the 'uncertainty phase' post 1990 where the international institutions increased, the problem of multiculturality and poly-ethnicity developed and a concern for human kind as a whole emerged more fully.

In a more specific application to the Olympic Games, Roche (2000) identifies a series of phases in explaining the history of the mega-event (Expos and Olympics) in Western society that developed throughout the years, to have a massive global influence. He suggests that there are three forms of internationalist politics that are evident in the growth of the Olympic movement. These forms are: imperialist politics which dominated the global environment from the 1850s to the 1920s and were associated with colonisation and the diffusion of Western culture to the rest of the world; the supernationalist period which is also referred to as neo-imperialist politics and the 'inter war period' from the 1920s to 1945, where European politics were associated with authoritarian regimes such as Fascism and Nazism; the 'Cold War' political struggle for hegemony between capitalism and communism occurred from 1945 to the late 1980s; and lastly, the period of global society which began in the 1990s where globalisation is mostly associated with the culture phenomenon and consumerism.

Despite the differences in chronology there is an agreement in relation to the major changes that have influenced the world and consequently the social phenomena such as the Olympic Games. Along the lines of those identified above, this review of Olympic history will be divided into four periods: the imperialism era, the late imperialism and inter-war period, the Cold War period, and finally the post Cold War period. As the reader will note, the focus of this section is a review of the global political, economic, and cultural factors that have influenced the Olympic movement and the Olympic Games, the role of sport organisations (the IOC in particular) in regard to the relations between core and peripheral states is highlighted.
Table 3.1 Global Historical Structural changes and the development of sport

| Imperial era 1500 – 1914 | The emergence of modern political ideologies, conservatism, liberalism, socialism and communism. The emergence and revolution of nation state system. European imperial expansion and domination of colonial societies. The scientific view of the world emerged: rationalisations of world views in contrast to the acceptance of tradition and the notion of the leader / monarch as the "appointed" representative of God. Concept of humanity and individual were formed. Transfer of economic surplus through looting and plundering of the colonies. The invention of traditions and the growth of the importance of sport in bringing up youth. Mega-events such as Expo and the Olympic Games were used to celebrate the Empire. The diffusion of Western culture to the rest of the world along the line of imperial and colonial expansion. The establishment of international sport institutions and world sport governing bodies. Western 'civilisation' influenced all other 'civilisations' in Asia, Africa and America which resulted in a destruction of existing social order and marginalisation of indigenous culture. Superiority, racism and gender discrimination were bound up with sport practices. |
| Late imperialism 1914-1945 | The soviet revolution and the emergence of the communism block and the Cold War conflict. The Great Wars affected the European economy and witness the emergence of US strength. Transfer of economy in unequal terms of trade the imposition of the division of labour on the colonies. The emergence of hyper nationalism (Nazism and Fascism). Authoritarian regimes utilised sport for political aims, and the emphasis on race superiority. The rise of workers' and women's sporting movements and their integration into bourgeois modern Olympics. Colonial administration uses sport to establish order in colonies. The link between modern Olympics and the ancient Greek culture in rituals and symbolism of flame developed. The participation of non-Western societies into the games (e.g. Japan, India, Egypt) starts. |
## Olympic History

### Neo-colonialism and the Cold War era (1945-1980s)

- The growth of American influence in Europe and the decline of Empires
- The division of Europe into liberal democracies and communism (Cold War)
- The creation of international world organisations UN, UNESCO, NATO, AUO NAM and multinational organisations that challenge the role of nation states
- The rise of anti-imperialism movements Arabism, Africanism, Latin Americanism
- The decolonisation process and the integration of colonies into the world system of international institutions
- The creation of aid development projects for the newly independent countries
- The transfer of economy in modernisation projects to developing countries through the dept peonage policy
- Colonial dependency for technological and machinery for development projects
- Sport symbolised superiority of nation state
- The creation of regional games (Mediterranean, American, Asian and African games)
- The organisation of Olympics in non-Western societies (Japan and Mexico) and the increase in cultural interaction between the West and the rest and the creation of national Olympic institutions
- The Cold War manifested in the Olympic games through boycott, violence, and obsession with record and medals
- Sport as a tool against racism and apartheid (South Africa, Black athletes)
- The emergence of professionalism and commercialism in sport and the decline of amateurism and television broadcast income boosted the Olympic image
- Integration of the newly independent countries into the Olympic movement

### Post Cold War (1990-2000)

- The fall of Communist block and the re-emergence of other civilisations Chinese, Hindu, Japanese, Latin American, and Islam
- The development of the European Union
- Liberal democracy and capitalist ideology domination of the world politics
- Recognition of the failure of development projects for the 'Third World'
- Aid re-emerged as mean of global governance for the 'Third world'
- The growing influence of humanitarian and environmental organisation on global politics and the rise of anti-capitalism movements
- The rise of multiple identities and the multicultural concept
- The rise of entertainment and the consumerism culture and sport plays a significant role in the development of celebrity culture
- Strengthening of women’s status in sport organisations
- The cultural dimension poses question about the universality of the Olympic movement
- The emergence of gladiator and high risk sports that challenge modern sport

**Sources:** (Hoogvelt, 1997; Huntington, 1996; Maguire, 1999; Roche, 2000).
3.2 European Imperialist Expansion 1500s-1914

Imperialism means the domination of one country over another economically, politically and to a certain extent culturally, as we illustrated in the discussion of over cultural imperialism. 'Modern' imperialism relates, predominantly, to the success of Western European states, fuelled by economic and political ambitions, in conquering and colonising other nations. The European overseas empire started in the twelfth century when Spain struggled to expand their control in the Mediterranean area (Huntington, 1996). Indeed, Spain managed to establish effective dominance but its dominance was not long lasting, and Turkish power brought about the collapse of the first Western European overseas empire. However, by 1500, European culture was developed and social pluralism, expanding commerce and technological achievement provided the basis for a new era in global politics.

The end of the fifteenth century witnessed the final reconquest of the Iberian Peninsula and saw the beginning of Portuguese penetration of Asia, and Spanish penetration of America. During the subsequent two hundred and fifty years all of the Western Hemisphere and significant parts of Asia were brought under European rule or domination.

Figure 3.1: Map of European Colonial Empire
By the end of the eighteenth century there was a challenge to domination in the form of direct European control with revolt against European rule with first North America, then Haiti, and then most of Latin America achieving independence. In the latter part of the nineteenth century, however, renewed Western imperialism extended Western rule over almost all of Africa, consolidated Western control in the South continent and elsewhere in Asia and by the early twentieth century subjected virtually the entire Middle East, except for Turkey, was subject to direct or indirect Western control.

Huntington (1996) suggests that the causes of European development included social class relations, the rise of cities, commerce, the relative dispersion in Western societies of estates and between monarchs and secular authorities, the emergence of national consciousness among Western people, and the development of state bureaucracies. However, the immediate source of Western expansion, according to Huntington, was technological innovation: the invention of the means of ocean navigation for reaching distant places and the development of military capabilities for conquering the inhabitants of those places. The author concludes that "the West won the World not by the superiority of its ideas or values or religion but rather by its superiority in applying organised violence" (Huntington, 1996:56).

With an explanation founded in economics, Hoogvelt (1997) suggests that the export of capital to colonies was seen as a necessity not an option for the economically advanced states (the capitalist societies). Initially, the European empires were established through the subjugation of indigenous populations. This effectively opened up new markets to which to export goods, and also facilitated the exploitation of natural resources usually in the form of raw materials and labour. This was a convenient method for organising and laying the infrastructure of the economy. In addition, a nationalistic view was also used to rationalise the expansion. In England for example, the colonisation process was seen not only as form of survival but also as a policy of survival, half of the population would starve if England were to be reduced to Little England (Hoogvelt, 1997).

During the imperialist period, the trading relationships between Europeans and the colonised countries was, in effect, a masked form of looting and plundering.
Europeans were able to transfer the economic surplus of pre-industrial production from overseas communities back to Europe where it paid for the industrial revolution. The effects of this type of trade exchange were evident in both colonised and coloniser countries. At the time that colonised countries were indirectly helping to pay for Europe's technological and industrial advance, the loss of their economic surplus removed the opportunity for economic advancement in the territories where the West traded.

In addition, culturally, the imperialist confrontation with the East had an often aggressively negative impact on the level of societal evolution. The Andean and Mesoamerican civilisation, for example, were effectively eliminated. Indian and Islamic civilisations along with Africa were subjugated, and China was penetrated and subordinated to Western influence (Huntington, 1996). Only Russia, the Japanese and Ethiopian civilisations, were able to resist the onslaught of the West and maintained a meaningful independence. In this imperialist period, Roche (2000) and Maguire (1999) noted that Europeans internationalised their culture and traditions by exporting them to many of their colonies around the world. One of the most effective tools for promoting the Western values was sport and games. Initially this exporting of Western culture was undertaken on a completely elitist and exclusionary basis to enable the ex-patriate upper and middle classes, (who controlled the administration, trade and military organisation of the Empire), to cohere and to communicate among themselves. Classism, sexism, and racism were bound up with the organisation and the development of the sport culture in the late nineteenth century.

It is important to point out that the attitude of imperialist administration toward sport in colonies was not controlled in a uniform manner (Darby, 1997). Although colonial activities were governed by common economic and political motives, it is possible to detect considerable variation in European administrations. For example, French colonial administration was described as assimilation of the local population into citizenship of the motherland. Algeria, for instance, was declared an integral part of the national territory and an administration was set up with the object of gradually transforming the Muslims from subjects to French citizens (Darby, 1997). This type of control could be seen as direct control over the colonies including cultural aspects.
British colonial administration, however, could be described as rather less direct or indirect administration. However, a common feature was that they regarded the colonies as 'national property' Hoogvelt (1997) describing this in her analysis of capitalist expansion pointed out that:

In this conception of imperialism as economic necessity. Colonies were regarded as national property, as estates that must be developed using the most up-to date methods. This brought with it a missionary zeal to civilise the colonised people and to bring their culture, their way of life into the 20th century so that they would be able to participate in modern commerce and industry. Thus civilisation and commercialisation went hand in hand and were generally seen as positive benefits for colonised people.

This statement illustrates that imperialist politics played a significant role in shaping the world order. Colonisation was not just motivated by political and economic reasons but was also cultural in imposing certain activities on peripheral areas which would change people's beliefs and values and adapt them to a Western way of life.

Although the introduction of sport to peripheral areas went through different processes and their effect on local people varied, it is possible to define the main stages in which sport was diffused in colonised areas. At first there was a missionary stage, the colonial administrations left the education system in the hands of the missionary schools. Through these schools, sport was introduced to the youth of the colonised countries. The aims of missionary schools were to instil Christian values of work and discipline and to make young converts literate. Subsequent to this came the Empire control of sport clubs. After World War I, the Empire administrations began to pay attention to the education system due to the growth of these missionary schools and the growth in popularity of sport, and hence sport was considered as part of a school's curriculum. Henceforth, the French and British Empire administrations started to support the establishment of sport clubs occasionally providing funds (Martin, 1991). The reason for these initiatives in the creation of sports clubs was to ensure control over the indigenous people and to distract them from politics and from establishing an awareness of anti-imperialism (Darby, 1997).
Even though sport was theorised as an effective tool for social control, sports history indicates that sport could play an ambiguous role in socially divided societies, particularly if it become popularised as spectator events. Sport could provide traditions of popular cultural participation and an arena in which social dominance and subordination can be symbolically expressed and challenged (Houlihan, 1994a; Roche, 2000; Maguire, 1999). Sport could thus be used as a means of control, but, with development it could also become a source of expressing opposition to imperial power. It is suggested that the movement of anti-imperialism in Africa in 1937 was initially started from these sport clubs (Sudgen & Tomlinson, 1998). Jarvie (1994:273) and Macintosh al. (1993) illustrate how sport played a significant role in South Africa in the root of the struggle against the racism both internally and internationally. Houlihan (1994) shows how the title of the Commonwealth Games changed over the years to reflect the relationship between Britain and its Empire. In the 1930s it was entitled the British Empire games. In 1952 this was changed to the British Commonwealth Games due to the enhanced status of Canada and Australia. By the 1970s, with the de-colonisation process and a pressure for more recognition of the independent states, the word 'British' was dropped from the title of the Games.

3.2.1 Imperialism and the Olympic Movement 1894- 1914

The last quarter of the nineteenth century is considered to be a highly significant period in forming modern culture. During this period, a number of public popular cultural manifestations were invented, for instance the establishment of the Olympic Games, May Day, the Paris cycling tour, exhibitions and expos (Roche, 2000). Two complementary perspectives in explaining the rationale underpins the creation of public culture. Based on the Marxist perspective of class struggle, it was seen that the industrialisation produced uneven development between the working and the bourgeois classes in European society. Governments and elite leaders responded to the class struggle by inventing these traditions to win the hearts and minds of the working class. The second explanation is that elites wanted to ensure control by using entertainment instead of punishment (Roche, 2000). Both views agree that these invented traditions provided important cultural institutions for promoting
identity whether it is national specific or international cooperation among nation states. This indicates a clear relation between sport organisations and politics.

Speaking about the relation between sport and politics, such relations were evident in the process of establishing the Olympic Games. Many attempts to revive the ancient Olympics were associated with political views: Zappas' Olympic games in Greece in 1859; the 'Olympick' Games of Robert Dover in Worcestershire; the attempt of Penny Brooks in 1866 in Shropshire; and the promptings of the Australian John Astley Cooper who asked to have sport competitions included in the Empire Exhibition to demonstrate the unity of the British Empire in 1891 (Kruger & Riordan, 1999). The rationales for these initiatives were political as indeed were Coubertin's ideas which were dominated by the desire to revive France's power and credibility, which were so badly damaged by defeat in the Franco-German war of 1870. However, Coubertin's initiative to revive the Olympics took place with a set of historical circumstances that were favourable to the establishment of a multi-sport organisation in 1896. These circumstances are evident in: the growth of physical education as a means of nation building; the enlargement of athletic cults that had begun to take firm hold in the US and in various European countries; the development of a gymnastic system as a response to the demands of nationalism; and the rapid growth of the collegiate and community sport clubs in the industrial and urbanised society of the Western world which further assisted the vitality of sport (Segrave & Chu, 1988).

In addition, the late nineteenth century witnessed the beginning of significant international sporting competitions. Numerous international sport exchanges took place between the US, Great Britain, and France and the rest of Europe in a number of sports. In fact in 1879 the idea of utilising sport as a means to bring the family of nations into more friendly relations was introduced in politics, and international athletic events had proved within a short period to be quite effective. It is worth emphasising here that the internationalisation of sport was a phenomenon, which took place between Western Empire countries only, other nations were excluded from this 'imperialist' family. In developing this notion, the first quarter of the twentieth century witnessed the creation of international sport organisations such as Football International Federation Association (FIFA) 1904, Swimming FINA 1908,
IAAF 1912, Fencing FIE 1913, Boxing FIBA 1920. In the case of FIFA, even though some Latin American countries such as Argentina and Uruguay were more advanced in footballing terms than any other country outside United Kingdom, they were not consulted in the establishment of FIFA (Muray, 1999). The creation of these organisations was surrounded with issues of authority and control of international sport competitions.

Coubertin inspired by British sport and its bourgeois concept of amateurism, wanted to develop this in France. However, there was a considerable array of opposition from the Ministry of Education, professional cyclists, weightlifters, oarsmen, and football players (IOC, 1994). In Germany the diffusion of English sport and its concept of amateurism were largely rejected. The German government opposed the introduction of English sport in its educational and social systems from 1871 up to 1918 when Germany was defeated in the First World War. Germany perceived foreign cultural practices as a threat to its underdeveloped self-awareness and identity (Merkel, 2000). Thus, the anti-democratic concept of amateur sport caused Coubertin a considerable problem. As a result, he had to think about promoting the idea outside France focusing on gaining approval from the British and the USA.

Coubertin had planned to begin the Olympics in 1900 in Paris as part of the World Fair, but the Greeks had come to Paris and claimed that the international Olympic Games were theirs and should be permanently based in Athens. A compromise was reached and the first Olympics were organised in 1896 in Athens with the first IOC president being Vikelas (Kruger & Riordan, 1999).

The Olympic Games in Paris 1900, St. Louis 1904, and London 1908 were held either within or in support of an international expo event (international world fair). In Paris the Olympic Games were not a success, the expo manager Alfred Picard destroyed the identity and the coherence of the Olympic programme by distributing the events in different venues and the games were stretched out over five months (Roche, 2000). In 1904, the games had, since 1894, been planned to be held in Chicago. The organisers however asked the IOC to delay the Games for one year due to financial problems. But St. Louis expo organisers pressured the IOC to transfer the games to St. Louis, threatening to organise an alternative major athletic event that would
worsen the clash with the planned Chicago Olympics. The IOC asked US President Roosevelt to arbitrate in the affair and he decided in favour of St Louis. Coubertin was embarrassed by anthropology Games and thus he effectively boycotted his own games attending instead Wagner's festival in Germany (Roche, 2000). Few European countries participated in this event because the authorities claimed that they were not able to cover the cost of sending teams. In this case the American Games, modern sport was used as a mark of 'civilisation' and 'progress'. Two 'anthropology days' were held in which various 'primitive' non-Westerners were put on display people (African and North and South American tribes were asked to learn and practise Western sports). Kruger & Riordan (1999) pointed out that in the world show anything was being to compare, non-Western young men had to try their luck at Western sports and did, of course, relatively poorly, this was interpreted to support the theory of white superiority over non-white.

The 1908 Games in London were also organised with the help of the financiers of the Franco-British exhibition that was planned to be held in London. The organisers decided to build a stadium that could accommodate both expo activities and the Olympic events. The Games were considered a success due to the fact that British amateur sport provided a logistical infrastructure and showed what an international sport meeting could be like. These Games generated media attention, particularly, in the arguments between the British and Americans regarding which rules should be the right ones (Kruger & Riordan, 1999). It is worth noting that even though the Olympics were using British sports the British Olympic Committee was not established until 1905 (Roche, 2000).

In 1906, the Greeks wanted to celebrate the 10th anniversary of the revival of the Ancient Olympics, thus they staged unofficial the games in Athens (Guttmann, 1992). However, these Games are considered important for the development of the IOC, after the decline in interest due to the connection with the World Fairs / international expos of 1900 and 1904. They are also considered as the first media events, sport was becoming more important, and the phenomenon of sport in newspapers was formed which started to generate excitement and interest in sport. In addition, these Games witnessed a development that would later become far more prominent in the Olympic Movement: the first public political demonstration or protestation. As
pointed out by Kruger & Riordan (1999:9), Coubertin had cherished his own ‘Olympic geography’, granting an independent team to whomever he pleased. Bohemia, although part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire had, for example, a separate team as did Hungary. Finland, a Grand Duchy within the Russian Empire, had its own team. When the Finnish team won an event the Russian and the Finnish flag were hoisted together. In contrast, when Peter O’Connor of Ireland was placed second in the long jump for Great Britain, he asked that the Irish flag be raised for him, but Coubertin refused. Later Coubertin also rejected requests for separate teams from Catalonia and the Basques country, in spite of their autonomous status within Spain.

The 1912 Stockholm Olympics witnessed the undermining of the power of the local organisers of the Games. The IOC and international federations were involved in ensuring the unification of standards, rules and bylaws. However, they could not stop Sweden from prohibiting the Olympic Boxing tournament. The Games witnessed also, the invention of amateur rules, the Swedish wanted to show the superiority of their scientific approach to sport, and thus, lottery money was utilised to build a stadium and to prepare athletes for the Games. Nevertheless, Swedish athletes were not considered professionals because they were serving in the armed forces (Kruger & Riordan, 1999).

The Swedish were placed ahead of the British and the Americans in these Games and this was considered a great humiliation for the British. As a consequence governments began to be involved in promoting the prowess of athletes, and for the 1916 Games coaches from America were hired to improve athletes’ performances. It is during this period, that the nationalist cause reached its high point, culminating eventually in the outbreak of the Great War.

During this period, the relationship between the IOC and international sport federations was not clearly defined. There was no strong link between the IOC and international sport federations and NOCs. The IOC and NOCs were responsible for the organisation of the games, but in 1920, the IOC gave the authority to the international federations to control the rules of their events.
The Olympic movement had become established by this period carrying a message that had a universal appeal, calling for peace, equity, and human rights. However, Roche (2000) argues that in spite of the fact that this 'message' intended to inspire the inclusionary nature of the movement, in practice, the exclusionary effects of the movement were clearly evident. The Games were related to classism, racism, and sexism: women, working class citizens, and colonies or ethnicity groups, were not allowed or were unable to participate. This was the nature of the sport culture that dominated the sports arena in Europe at the end of the nineteenth century and in the early twentieth century.

To conclude, the consequence of European expansion overseas was that by 1910 the world had become more integrated or interdependent politically and economically, than at any other time in human history. International trade as the proportion of a gross world product was higher than ever before, international investment as a percentage of total investment was higher than at any other time. However, notions of civilisation meant Western civilisation, and of international law meant Western domination of law. Europeans controlled 35 percent of the earth's landmass in 1800, 67 percent 1878, and 84 percent in 1914. By 1920 this percentage had future increased when the Ottoman Empire was divided up among Britain, France, and Italy (Huntington, 1996).

3.3 Late Imperialism: The Inter war period 1914 - 1944

A variety of consequences occurred as a result of the First World War in Europe specifically and the world in general. Politically, the war shook the foundation of several governments in Europe. The monarchy of Czar Nicolas II of Russia fell in 1917, Kaisar Wilhem II of Germany and the Emperor Charles Austria-Hungary left their thrones in 1918. The collapse of these empires led to the creation of new states most of which were in Eastern Europe. Outside Europe, in the Middle East most Arab lands which had been under the Ottoman Empire were placed under the control of France and Britain. In this context, European leaders took national groups (as well as political self interest) into account in redrawing the map of Europe and thus strengthened the cause of nationalism.
Chapter Three

The First World War also had a tremendous effect on the global economy. The war created an "economic depression" in Europe in the late 1920s and 1930s. European nations had to raise money to pay for war costs through income taxes, but most of the money came from borrowing which created huge debts in European economies. Great Britain and France in particular borrowed heavily from the US, and the previously mentioned great economic depression caused mass unemployment and spread poverty and despaired throughout the world. It also weakened the 'democratic' countries and strengthened extreme political movements that promised to be able to end these economic problems. However, though European empires lost many of the markets for their exports while producing war goods, the US emerged with increased economic power.

European societies experienced dramatic changes as a consequence of the War. In the 1920s the population decreased due to the increased death and low birth rates during the War and after the War. In the post war period, urban areas expanded as peasants settled in cities instead of returning to farms. Women were 'allowed' to work in factories and offices and most countries granted them the right to vote. In addition, this period witnessed a blurring of the distinctions between social classes and societies began to become in some ways more 'democratic'. The Upper class groups and elites began to lose their power and privilege after having led the world into war.

The main effect of the economic depression in Europe was the rise of extremist political parties. In the UK, both the Communist Party and the British Union of Fascists received popular support. The National Socialist (Nazi) Party emerged in Germany led by Hitler. Generally, European societies witnessed a growth in support for authoritarian political groups that promoted nationalism and promised to overcome the causes of economic depression.
3.3.1. Olympic Movement and Inter War Period 1914 -1944

The economic depression that affected the world also had an impact on the Olympic movement. Coubertin had had to move to neutral Switzerland to ensure that the Olympics would not be drawn into the struggle of the warring parties (Kruger & Riordan, 1999), and he also emerged from the war with no financial sources to fund his trips promoting the Olympic ideal as well as the organisation of games. However, despite the economic depression, after the First World War, an increased popular awareness and interest in the need for international peace and cultural exchange emerged. The disorganised character of the international relations of the nineteenth century and in the pre-war period, had contributed to the disaster of the war, and this was seen to be inherently problematic. The creation of the League of Nations was an attempted to provide an environment which was more stable and stimulated international cooperation. The universalism and humanism of the concepts and ideology of Coubertin and the Olympic movement, (even if much of it was rhetoric and was undermined by the IOC's own practices in this period) made the movement's international institution-building appear compatible and convergent with the broader process of international institution-building (Roche, 2000). Thus the IOC in this period was interested in associating itself with the League of Nations.

The mass popularisation of sport both in participatory and high-performance spectator forms grew rapidly at a national level in the West in the early decades of the twentieth century. The development of transport and communication systems, particularly radio in the late 1920s, created the potential for a new level and frequency of both the organisation and the mass communication of dramatic international sport events.

In international sport, the fortunes of nationally representative individuals and teams would be at stake, and victory could enhance national pride and prestige in the newly salient international world order. The interests were initially, in the pre-war period, principally expressed through the Olympic movement and its events. However, in the inter war period they came to be expressed both within and outside the Olympic movement, and through political conflicts and struggles in relation to it.
3.3.2 Alternative Games as Oppose to the Olympic Games

In the inter war period the IOC established itself as a primary authority and actor concerned with international sport. However, it is not clear whether the internationalisation of sport was a product predominantly of the Olympic movement itself or whether sport popularisation in other forms (e.g. International federations or other competitiveness forms) was the primary vehicle for the spread of sport. This period witnessed five Olympic Games: Antwerp in 1920 which were held in Belgium to symbolise the end of the war, the 1924 Games were given to Paris as a gift to Coubertin before his retirement, the Amsterdam Games in 1928 which relatively witnessed full-scale female participation for the first time as well as commercialisation of Olympic symbols, the Los Angles games in 1932, and Berlin in 1936 given to Germany which had been readmitted to the Olympic Movement in 1928 despite its racist policy against the Jews. It is in this period as well that the other ‘alternative Olympics’ were organised and they effectively challenged the IOC’s authority in international sport. These alternative Olympics included: three Eastern European Workers’ Olympics, Frankfurt 1925, Vienna 1931, and Antwerp 1937 organised by the Socialist Workers Sport International (SWSI). They were described as being bigger events than the bourgeois Olympics in term of scale, number of participant countries and occasionally in the quality of athletes (Roche, 2000). The Federation Sportive Feminine International (FSFI) was created in 1921 and staged the Women’s Olympics in Paris 1922, Gothenberg 1926, Prague 1930 and London 1934. The IOC rejected the use of word Olympic in their games and they changed the name to the ‘Women’s World Games’. The Workers’ Games and the Women’s World Games were part of the social struggle between classes in Europe.

In addition to these ‘alternative Olympics’, there was the challenge from Soviet sport. Even though the Soviet Union had participated in the 1912 Olympics, the USSR was never invited to take part in any games during the inter war period. Instead, the USSR staged a number of notable large-scale cultural sports events. For instance, a special mass demonstration of the Bolshevik storming of the Winter Palace was staged in 1920 to celebrate the third anniversary of the 1917 revolution. A Gymnastic display involving 18,000 athletes was staged and the event was named ‘pre-Olympics’ as a reference to the Olympic Games in which the Soviets were not going
to participate. In addition, the USSR organised the first multi sport event in Asia, the Central Asian games which were held in Tashkent in 1917 involving 3,000 athletes considerably more then the number of athletes which took part in the 1920 Olympics in Belgium (Riordan, 1996; Roche, 2000). These games were considered important due to the fact that it was the first time different parts of the former Russian colonies were convened together in one event, despite their differences in language, religion, and cultural background. It was also an indication of the new relations being sought within the USSR by members of the Moscow power elite. In 1925 and 1928 the USSR staged a multi sports event known as the 'Spartakiad Games' which combined sports events and mass festival. These events were successful and historians described them as a 'ritualised Marxist demonstration against the hypocrisy of the bourgeois Olympics with their apparent discrimination against working class athletes (Riordan, 1996). The last Spartakiad Games, prior the World War II, were held in Moscow in 1932, and it is suggested that the year to stage this event was carefully chosen for international propaganda and ideological purposes since in the same year the USA was staging the 1932 Olympic Games in Los Angeles (Roche, 2000).

From 1917 to 1939 these 'alternative Olympics' and Soviet sport events played a significant role in democratising the 'bourgeois' Olympics. The political revolution in Russia in 1917 and other communist societies produced a model of 'physical culture' which had a revolutionary role as an agent of social change. The Communist sport model aimed to modernise communities, employing sport for utilitarian purposes to promote health and hygiene, defence, and labour productivity integration of a multiethnic population into a unified state, international recognition and prestige. In addition, communist and other authoritarian countries used sport in national building based on its broad relevance to education, health, culture, and politics, and its capacity to mobilise people (to predispose them toward change) and foster national integration. Sport in authoritarian regimes extended and united sections of the population probably more than any other social activity (Riordan, 1999). It is with these types of values that modern sport was introduced to non-Western societies. Girginov (1998) points out that the Eastern European model of sport served to stimulate and promote democratic changes within the Olympic movement and its elitist exclusionary ideology of amateurism, which enhanced the globalisation of its appeal. In addition the Soviet group was critical of the growth of professionalism and
consumerism in sport especially among the working classes and in 'Third World' countries. In other words they promoted a sports culture that was inclusionary in nature and connected sport with wider cultural traditions and activities (Riordan, 1988; Riordan, 1999).

The historical connection between the modern Olympics and the ancient Greek games was established through rituals and ceremonial presentation (Kruger & Riordan, 1999). The declaration of the Games is made by the head of the host state or his/her representative, an oath would be taken by athletes, victory ceremonies would be held with special medals, and there would be closing ceremony. However, in the inter war period new traditions or symbols were introduced including the flag with five rings, the flight of doves (symbolising peace), a representative athlete taking the athletes' oath (introduced in 1920), and a permanent burning flame and a torch relay which were introduced by a German member in 1928. The last invention of these remains a very important Olympic ritual to date (Roche, 2000).

3.3.3 Olympics Movement and Colonial Societies

The spread and the internationalisation of sport and Olympism was the prime concern of de Coubertin from the early stages of the establishment of the Olympic movement. He had promoted sport pointing out that: "Let us export our oarsmen, our fencers into other lands. That is true trade of the future; and the day it is introduced into Europe the cause of peace will have received a new strong ally" (Pierre de Coubertin, paper presented at the Union des Sport Athletiques, Sorbonne, 25 November 1892; cited in (Maguire, 1999: 11). Coubertin's enthusiasm in promoting sport was however, not incompatible with a humanist mission but rather a paternalist attitude in relation to colonial societies. Hoberman (1986: 39) quoted him stating in 1902 that:

"Colonies"... are like children: it is relatively easy to bring them into world; the difficult thing is to raise them properly. They do not grow up themselves, but they need to be taken care of, coddled, and pampered by the mother country; they need constant attention to incubate them, to understand their needs, to foresee their disappointments, to calm their fears.
Hoberman (1986) also points out that Leopold (King of Belgium) had asked Coubertin to draw up plans for a "colonial preparatory school" but unfortunately, this project was never to be, and in 1912 Coubertin published his advice to colonial regimes on how they could best make sport an instrument of administration. He stated that:

it is a mistake to assume that victory by the 'dominant race' over the dominating one constitute a dangerous temptation to rebellion. On the contrary, the example of British India shows that such incidents actually legitimize colonial rule in the eye of the "winners".

Nevertheless, the interest in promoting modern sport in colonial societies was not discussed until more than two decades had elapsed from the staging of the first Olympic Games in Athens in 1896. Issues of organising regional Olympic Games in Africa were brought up in 1923 in the IOC session in Rome. Guttmann (1992) suggests that French and Italian colonial officials were invited to discuss the advisability of African games and share their expertise about the colonial territories. In this meeting it was decided that the IOC should encourage a 'Jeux Africain' for non-Europeans, which would start in 1925 in Algiers. The proposed games were seen as an earlier version of apartheid sport in a sense that they would promote two concurrent biennial events, one for the Europeans and the other for local 'native' populations (Roche, 2000). Nevertheless, the suggested Games were not held due to lack of financial support and were postponed three times in 1925, 1927 and 1929. Benzerti (2002) suggests the delay was due to a conflict of interests between the colonial powers, which were strongly opposed to the idea of organising games for Africans.

The African Games were first organised in the early 1960s, initially under the name of the Friendship Games, for the French speaking colonies sponsored by the French government (Guttmann, 1984). The first African Games organised by Africans themselves were held in 1965 in Brazzaville (see section 3.4.2 on pan African Games). It is worth mentioning that in Paris in 1922 there had been talk of a Latin America Games, which General Charles Sherrill, an American member, supported with the proviso that they be controlled by Roman Catholic organisations (Guttmann, 1992). According to DaCosta (2002) the YMCA played a significant role in promoting sport in South America and a conflict between IOC and the YMCA occurred and
Coubertin rejected the use of the Olympic name for YMCA activities. However, the pan American games were not established until 1953.

The inter war period witnessed some participation of non-Western nations. Japan was one of the leading Asian countries to join the Olympic Movement and achieved remarkable results; India won a gold medal in field hockey after defeating the Americans in the 1932 Games; and an Argentinean won the marathon event. It is in this period that the internationalisation or the globalisation of the Olympics started to be realised. Egypt was the first African and Arab country to join international sports competitions. It participated in the Olympic Games in 1920 and qualified for the Olympic final of soccer and got to the semi-final in 1928 (Wagg, 1995). The IOC also held its 37th session in Cairo in the process of preparing for the 1940 Games to be held in Tokyo. This was the first attempt to organise the Olympic Games on non-Western soil. Kruger & Riordan (1999) argue that the IOC’s interest in promoting the Games outside Europe was due to the increasing influence of the authoritarian regimes (e.g. Nazi and Fascist) over sporting activities, as well as the increasing threats of the possibility of the break out of the Second World War.

In reviewing the nature of participation of colonies in the Olympic Games, it is noted that some colonies participated under the flag of their colonial power and some preserved their national identity. For instance, the French-Algerian athlete Mohamed Al Ouafi, participating in the 1928 games in Amsterdam, represented France (Roche, 2000). In contrast, Egypt and India, although they were British colonies, had had recognised NOCs since 1910 and 1927 respectively, and their participation in the Games was with a different status. It could be argued that the nature of participation of colonies in the games reflects the differences between the British and French colonial attitudes toward colonies in general, as well as their attitude toward Sub-Saharan African colonies specifically. Darby (1997) has observed differences in the colonial systems in the promoting of football in Africa among the British and French colonies. This period witnessed the creation of NOCs in some countries in Sub-Saharan Africa, such as Zimbabwe and South Africa NOCs, despite the fact that they were colonies, however, South Africa was granted recognition and Zimbabwe was not recognised until its independence in 1980 (Macintosh et al., 1993). The IOC
recognition of colonies’ NOCs became a burning issue post World War II with the emergence of independence movements in ex-colonial territories.

3.3.4 The Olympic Movement and Authoritarian Regimes

In the history of the development of the Olympic movement it is considered that the period between the two World Wars was crucial in forming the Olympics that we know today (Roche, 2000). The connection of sport with other areas of social life, politics and economics in particular, had become very evident. In fact the relationship between sport and politics had become more obvious. Authoritarian regimes acknowledged the importance of sport in addressing the masses as well as forming foreign policy. Sport in Germany for instance, was intended to serve the Nazi’s two fundamental functions: to provide a forum for self representation displaying the racial superiority of the German nation, and to assist with the military preparation for the Second World War (Merkel, 2000). These sets of ideas led to “the most controversial Olympics” in 1936 (Guttmann, 1992). The US announced a boycott based on Nazi racial policy against the Jews. Interestingly, the IOC collaborated with the Nazi government in allowing a major Nazi propaganda exercise to be staged, even though it would affect the ‘good name’ of the Olympic movement. Moreover, the IOC refused to acknowledge and/or condemn Nazi sport policy, and they resisted the boycott calls to relocate or cancel the event. The IOC considered the racism issue to be an internal affair. The Games were held and the Olympic ethic of no discrimination (in terms of race or religion) was invented. It can be pointed out that Hitler refused to grant a medal to Jesse Owens. Nevertheless, the Games served Nazi ideology by providing an international stage to promote the ‘superiority’ of their system and ideology.

Much of European society in the period 1936-1940 tended to favour the authoritarian regimes that were promising to solve economic problems. Amazingly the IOC in spite international criticism and the condemnation of Nazi Olympics after the 1936 event, continued to collaborate with the Nazi government. Coubertin accepted financial assistance from the Nazi Olympic committee to establish an Education Programme of Olympism (Lucas, 1980). Coubertin was also nominated by the Nazi regime for the Nobel Prize, and moreover, in the last few years of his life, until his death in 1937, he
was funded by the Nazi Olympic Committee through Carl Diem (Roche, 2000). The IOC’s willingness to collaborate with authoritarian regimes or fascism was evident in a string of decisions they took about staging the games. After the 1936 Berlin Games, they selected Tokyo to host the 1940 Games, in the full awareness that Japan at that time was aggressively corporatist (Roche, 2000). However, it is argued that the selection of Japan was a strategy from the IOC to avoid the war which was looming in Europe instead of cancelling the Games. in the end, Japan refused to go ahead with the 1940 Games. Here the IOC could be criticised as instead of working to prevent the war in Europe and promote peace, it had intended to stage the Games outside Europe. The staging of the Games was seen to be more important. It is important to point out that, in the late 1930s, the fascist countries were more closely associated with the Olympic movement then the imperial powers of Great Britain, France, and Belgium.

Roche (2000) concluded that even though the Olympics during the inter war period managed to organise successful events in Paris 1924, Amsterdam, 1928, and Los Angeles 1932 and Berlin 1936, the movement and its events still retained the classist, sexist and racist attitudes from its late nineteenth century origins. The current national and international sport would have left from the Olympics if the movement had not accepted the need for reform and change in terms of its attitude towards workers and women’s sporting movements. However, the Olympics managed to achieve limited success in two important projects: the creation of what was described as a fair, internationally understood and wholly acceptable definition of an amateur athlete, even though interpreted differently in different countries; and the integration of the growing numbers of national Olympic committees and International Sport Federations into the Olympic movement.

3.4 Transformation from Imperialism to Post-colonialism: Post World War II Period 1945-1980s:

World War II brought the downfall of Western Europe as the centre of world power. The war weakened the major European nations, and these nations lost most of their African and Asian colonies. The Soviet Union and the United States emerged as the leading world powers. The USSR controlled communist governments and seized most
of the countries in Eastern Europe. Western Europe became economically dependent upon the United States and formed the capitalist block. As a result, from 1940 to the early 1960s Europe was a centre of the Cold War struggle between communist and capitalist blocs. This struggle was transferred to non-Western contexts when the anti-imperialist movement (e.g. pan-Arabism and pan-Africanism) in colonies accelerated in the 1950s and 1960s. Nationalist and liberalist movements were the prime movers of the quest for independence in the Third World.

In the post-war period the international community also witnessed major changes in the political and economic environment. Before the end of the war, in the Atlantic Charter of 1942, the US and the UK pledged themselves to bring about the fullest collaboration between all nations (Tipton & Aldrich, 1987). In their mutual aid agreement, they committed themselves not only to wartime co-operation, but post-war reconstruction and co-operation as well. They declared themselves ready to give mutual support, to reduce restriction in trade and to pursue policies to maintain full employment after the conclusion of the war. The USSR joined the US and the UK and agreed to co-operate in the reconstruction of Germany and other nations in Europe. Finally, in 1945, the United Nations came into being as an association committed to protect the world from future conflicts. The allies also hoped that the UN would enforce economic co-operation among nations and avoid the problems of war debt reparation, trade discrimination and unemployment which had marked the 1920s and 1930s.

The formation of this powerful organisation for economic and military co-operation represented a new development in the international system. The UN added a new dimension to diplomacy, since former imperial powers had to give up at least some of their sovereignty to new groupings. Absorbing a number of existing international bodies and adding new ones, the UN rapidly developed into a huge complex of special organisations dealing with the entire range of human activities. Regional organisations also emerged such as the European Economic Community (EEC).

Nevertheless, as is the case with domestic reconstruction of virtually all countries, the new international system proved not only durable but also capable of absorbing significant change. This was mostly dramatically true in the case of decolonisation,
with the rapid movement of European colonies toward independence. The independence movement was able to use the UN as a sounding board to gain attention and support for their cause, and UN peacekeeping missions in several cases prevented armed confrontations from spreading and possibly triggering a war between the superpowers. As pointed out by Tipton & Aldrich (1987), although the new international organisations were less than totally successful, they provided a forum for cooperation and, to some extent, replaced the bilateral arrangements and strictly military alliances which marked the period before the Second World War. These international organisations also provided a third layer of politics to supplement the traditional local and national arenas, and their very existence posed new questions for political debate. However, the structure of the UN was not equal in that it gave the core countries and the US in particular, more power in international relations (Tipton & Aldrich, 1987; Wallace, 1990).

In the two years after the creation of the UN, other organisations were created to function on a global scale controlling global economics. These included the International Monetary Fund (IMF), and the International Bank of Reconstruction Development (IBRD) better known as the World Bank, and the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT). It was hoped that increasing trade would become very important in the new world system. In 1947–48, a conference was held in Havana to establish the International Trade Organisation (ITO). This organisation was meant to eliminate the restrictions on trade. Due to the gap that had appeared between developed industrial countries on one hand, and the exporters of the primary product and underdeveloped countries on the other, the latter, demanded that the proposed ITO explicitly adopt ‘economic development’ as one of its major aims. It pressed for control of international investment, a system of preferences to aid the export of developing countries and the introduction of quantitative restriction on trade to promote development in poor countries. The wealthy manufacturing nations did not have this in mind when it was suggested that such an organisation was created. However, a compromise formula was developed, but this was ratified by only one country and both the Havana Charter and the ITO were abandoned (Tipton & Aldrich, 1987; Wallace, 1990).
In response to the International Trade Organisation, which was dominated by the US and had created further tensions between the super powers, the European Community was formed to serve European interests, with the formations of the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC) in 1952, and the European Economic Community (EEC) in 1957. The European Free Trade Association (EFTA) was formed to collaborate with institution outside Europe. These organisations played a significant role in facilitating the international trade led by multinational companies.

From the late 1940s to the 1960s the growth of influence of transnational companies in the world economy was evident. Most of these companies were American and European. They were extremely powerful in world markets and they viewed the natural resources of the third world countries as their property. This kind of attitude created conflict between the core and periphery, in particular, in the oil producing countries in the 1960s and 1970s (Wallace, 1990). The growth in the international economy was particularly in manufacturing, and US based companies responded to existing conditions within and beyond the domestic economy such as market saturation, a developed international communication and transportation system and the growing economy. However, this was challenged by European countries and Japan, who all adopted a strategy based on establishing production and foreign sales territories (Kiely, 1998). Basically, the transnational companies were the new wave of expansion to the world from the US, Europe and Japan to the rest of the world.

Hoogvelt (1997) suggests that in relation to the Third World, these multinational companies and international governmental organisations were the means of continuing control over peripheral areas. They permitted the emergence of neo-colonial or neo-colonial (neo-imperialist) structures as a continuation of the colonial system in spite of formal recognition of political independence in the emerging countries. With this system, they ensured control over resources even in the absence of direct political overlordship and administration. Throughout the post Second World War period until 1970, profits of former imperialist powers had been maintained through direct exploitation of raw material resources by multinational capital. The pattern of economic exchange between the 'First World' and the 'Third World' was characterised by "unequal exchange... that had been mediated by the by neo-colonial class alliances between international capital and the Third World bourgeois"
This resulted in the emergence of extreme inequality as a block to a widening of the market and deepening capitalist relations inside the peripheral areas.

It is in this period witness the emergence of 'aid' in international politics. The USA initiated the Marshal Plan to aid and assist Europe in reconstructing its political and economic spheres affected by the Second World War. The UN also created in 1945 a programme known as UN Relief and Rehabilitation Administration (UNRRA) in assisting for economic development. In addition, during the 1950s and 1960s international aid policies were designed to support development project for the Third World and newly independent countries and assist their root to international economy. According to Dodds (2000), Hoogvelt (1997) and Tipton & Aldrich (1987) the aid was perceived to be part of the Cold War conflict between the communist and liberal capitalist in the struggle of global hegemony. Further discussion on the emergence of international aid and the relationship between 'core' and 'periphery' states through aid are provided in chapter five.

3.4.1 The Olympic Movement in the Cold War Period

A) The Olympics and Ideological Conflicts

Toohey & Veal (2000) review the political influences that have affected the Olympic movement, classifying them into different categories. One of the categories dominating political use of sport in the post war period was international rivalry based on political or ideological disputes. Even though the political conflicts based on these factors can be traced back to the beginning of the modern Games, and throughout the inter war period, it is in the post Second World War period that governments and the IOC leaders made most extensive use of international sport.

In 1948, the choice of London as the venue of the Games was controversial both internally and internationally. London was badly damaged, the city had suffered as a result of the German bombing, and economically it was in a strained condition. Despite this, because of the UK's position as one of the Allied powers of World War II, the Games were given to the city (Toohey & Veal, 2000). The IOC banned Japan
and Germany from these Games on political grounds as the aggressors in the World War.

The politics of opposing the ideology of the enemy is clearly explicated by the IOC with the process of recognition of NOCs. The IOC after the Second World War was aware of the changes that had occurred in the global political order. The world was divided broadly into communist and capitalist spheres of influence. Thus, modifying the IOC Charter was an essential part of the development process in facing this new global order. In 1948, the first draft of the new IOC Charter was distributed to members. The Charter incorporated modifications in relation to fundamental principles, the statutes of the IOC, the regulations and protocols of the Olympic Games and the general rules of the celebration of the Games (IOC, 1994). One of the major changes of the Charter was that dealing with the IOC and NOCs relationship. The NOCs were no longer to be constituted as an independent section, they were included as a part of the IOC statutes. The IOC defined the conditions for recognition of NOCs very precisely. The conditions required NOCs to be from independent states (not colonies) and to be autonomous (free from government influence). It could be argued that these rules were designed as a preparation for the recognition of the East European countries and the newly emerging Third World countries, in order to ensure control over their activities.

In the process of recognising the USSR Olympic Committee, Brundage the IOC member pointed out the reluctance to affiliate the USSR into international federations he wrote:

My own guess is that the real object of the Russians is to humiliate the West...every time they force a Federation to break its own rules in order to let them compete, Russians prestige is increased and Western prestige decreased. The trouble at the moment ...is that about half of the countries don't want to annoy Russia, and any country which is anxious to obtain a World championship or world congress is reluctant to annoy the Eastern bloc (Espy, 1979:28).

Even though the IOC leader disliked communism and in particular the Soviet Union, this never generated a direct opposition to the communist countries joining the Olympic movement. Allison (1994) in expressing this pointed out that the IOC in its acceptance of the Soviets had opted for its universalistic aspiration (that all countries
should participate) over a fundamental principle (that NOCs should be independent of state). Nevertheless, the IOC had to accept Soviet membership since the USSR had contributed to victory in World War II and emerged from it as the strongest power in Europe, thus, virtually automatically qualifying to participate in the post war politics of sport. The IOC leaders were also clearly keen to integrate powerful nations in their organisation.

The USSR's membership of the Olympic movement was coupled with several problems. The Soviet Union requested that Russian be an official language that a guarantee be given of Soviet presence on important bodies, and that 'Fascist' Spain be expelled from the movement. All these conditions were refused by the IOC but despite this the USSR agreed to join the movement (Allison, 1994).

In terms of recognition of other countries, the IOC used the amateurism and independence rules and began to form its own geographical distribution of countries. East Germany wanted to be recognised as a separate nation state, but the IOC required them to form a unified team with West Germany, which already had an Olympic committee. East Germany was not recognised until the 1960s. In 1951, Israel and Palestine asked for recognition but they were told to get together so that athletes of all countries [without discrimination of race, religion, or opinion would be admitted into the organisation]. However, in 1952, Israel was recognised and Palestine was rejected due to that fact it had no state or NOC.

In the same year, China asked that Taiwan should not be recognised as an independent country. The IOC refused the People's Republic of China's request. As a result China withdrew from the Games in 1952 and only rejoined the movement in 1980 in the Lake Placid Winter Olympics Games. Observers commented that the IOC disowns and deplores any action by any one which might tend to utilise the Games for political purposes. However, the IOC failed to show the same degree of courage when it considered the question of the two Chinas (Indonesia Olympic Committee, 1963).

The politics of competing ideologies was expressed in the 1952 Games in Helsinki. The USSR competed for the first time and an Olympic tradition concerning the
Olympic village was broken. The organisers allowed the creation of two camps for athletes and officials of the communist bloc and the capitalist camp (Toohey & Veal, 2000). In addition, the ideological struggle was manifested in granting visas and flag displays. For example, the US and its NATO allies between 1957 and 1967 have denied visas thirty-five time to some communist countries like, and in some instance the western officials refused permission for GDR to display its flag and emblem (Riordan, 1999).

B) Boycott Politics

The second dimension of political use of the Olympic Games in the conflict of political ideologies is that of boycott policy. Political boycott is generally defined as “conduct whereby two or more states combined to interfere with economic or political freedom of others, as by cutting off trade with its territory”, cited in (Hoberman, 1986). Boycott policies has been widely used in the sports arena, industrially developed nations, as well as developing states, have effectively used sport to support their political view. In a critical evaluation of Olympic boycott policies it seems that they are political acts in themselves. The rationale and the motivations behind such stands are political in nature and often have little to do with sport or the Olympic movement. The rationales and motivations which have supported such stands over the history of the modern Olympics could be classified into two categories, the boycotts related to race and discrimination, and boycott of political intervention of one country with another.

The boycotts that relate to racial issues were those by the United States in the 1936 Nazi Olympics where German Jewish athletes were forbidden from participating and the African boycott of the 1968 Olympics. These boycotts were motivated by discrimination policies used by certain countries over certain racial or ethnic groups. The most effective boycott that helped to increase the level of democracy in the IOC was the African boycott against the apartheid South African government in 1968.

The ‘intervention boycotts’ were those related to USSR invasion of Hungary and the Suez Canal War between Egypt and England, France, and Israel. These wars led Switzerland, the Netherlands, Egypt, and Lebanon to boycott the Melbourne Games in 1956. In addition, the Soviet occupation of Afghanistan led the United States and
some of its allies to boycott the Moscow Games in 1980. It is obvious that the reasons for such political acts are not directly related to sport. The Soviet boycotting of the Los Angeles games in 1984 is deemed by most commentators to be a reprisal for the previous boycott, and it therefore falls outside the classification of boycotts due to political intervention.

Guttmann (1988) analysed the two boycotts in 1980 and 1984 and suggested that the American absence from the Moscow Olympic had diminished its lustre, and that the USSR had thereby lost a significant amount of international legitimacy with regard to the Games. In contrast, the absence of the USSR in Los Angeles games did not do material damage to the American host. The organisers managed to raise considerably more money from television and corporate sponsors than their predecessors and made a profit of over $200 millions. However, Nafziger (1985:256) in his assessment of the effect of the US boycott of Moscow disagrees with Guttmann. He suggests that the "the boycott divided athletes, threatened to destabilise the International Olympic movement, aggravated a global public, worried persons with a business stake.... and threatened to isolate the United States from some of its important allies". He also added that the participation of the US in the Moscow Games would have been less harmful to the US than boycotting. The author concludes that the boycott policy in respect of 'intervention boycotts' generally did not seem to change or eliminate the condition at which boycotts were directed.

Given these international conflicts and crises following World War II, the IOC decided to drop its emphases on world peace and focused instead on promoting the Games. IOC president Avery Brundage commented that:

in an imperfect world, if participation in sport is to be stopped every time politicians violate the laws of humanity, there will be few international contests...” and “if we held up games every time the politician made a mess of things we would never have them (Lucas, 1980:140 &155).

The Cold War and other international conflicts have generally affected the Olympics, but nevertheless, they illustrated that the IOC was a highly political institution that the movement could be used to support political ideology and promote certain values relating to government interests. Observers suggest that despite the fact the IOC claimed to separate sport from politics, in the three decades after World War II, the
IOC become a more politically oriented organisation by recruiting political members. In this period the IOC included in its membership ten diplomats (including eight ambassadors), four members of Royal families and one vice-president of a state. In addition, the IOC president was having regular meetings with head of states around the world (Girginov, 1998).

3.4.2 Regional Games (mini-Olympics)

The Olympic Movement, fuelled with the desire to become the head authority in sport in the world and underpinned with the universal values of friendship and equality encouraged the organising of regional games: the Mediterranean Games, proposed by Mohamed Taher Pacha in 1948, the Pan-American Games; and the Pan-African Games. According to Guttmann these games were:

valuable as a kind of mini-Olympics at which nations unlikely to have their flags hoisted in the victory ceremonies of the regular games might nonetheless enjoy their triumphs, gain experience, and imbibe the lessons of fair play and good sportsmanship”. Cities from the Third World which acted as hosts of regional games, acquired organisational know how that enable them to stage the real thing one day (Guttmann, 1984 :222, emphasis added).

Moreover, the author points out that in theory the Games were integral parts of the Olympic movement, but in practice, they often engendered destabilising political conflicts. In other words, the games had a paradoxical nature, they were the mechanism to promote Olympism but at the same time created political conflict for the movement.

Table 3.2: Continental Games

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Chapter Three Olympic History

Continue table 3.2: Regional Games

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<td>Algeria 2003</td>
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Sources: http://www.rsssf.com/tables/medgames.html; (Guttmann, 1984); http://www.gbrathletics.co.uk/masg.htm;

A) Pan-American Games

In 1932, the South American delegation of the International Olympic Committee (IOC) proposed the formation of an organisation to promote amateur sports in the Americas. This idea led to the first Pan-American Sports Congress in 1940 in Buenos Aires, Argentina. The 16 countries represented at the meeting formed the Pan-American Sports Committee and selected Buenos Aires to host the first Pan-American Games in 1942. However, World War II forced postponement and, at the 1948 Olympic Games in London, a second congress was held which renewed the commitment to organise the Pan American Games. On February 25, 1951, as originally envisioned, the first Pan American Games were hosted by Buenos Aires with 2,513 athletes from 21 countries. The organisation was renamed the Pan American Sports Organisation (PASO) in 1955 and is currently made up of 42 nations of Central America, North America, South America and the Caribbean. The PASO headquarters are in Mexico City, Mexico. According to Guttmann (1984) the Pan-American Games did not cause political problems throughout 1950s and 1960s, but they became a serious concern in the 1970s as anti-Americanism grow. This political attitude was expressed in jeering hooting crowds and in biased judging. From the 1970s communist Cuba was the Latin American country which presented the most
significant challenge to the USA in the Olympic Games and it used sport to
demonstrate the superiority of its ideology in the international arena (Chapel, 2001;
Kanin, 1981). It is worth mentioning that Latin American prestige in international
sport particularly in football (soccer) has influenced and motivated other peripheral
state to encourage sport development in their societies (Darby, 1997)

B) Mediterranean Games

Unlike the Pan-American games, the Mediterranean Games were the forerunner of
political conflicts. Israel was a new country that was created in Palestine,
implementing the promise of Lord David Balfour to provide Israelis with a homeland.
Egypt hosted the first Mediterranean Games in 1951 and Israel did not participate
because it was not yet recognised as a state. In 1955, Spain the host of the second
Games invited Israel to participate but withdrew its invitation under Arab pressure
(Guttmann, 1984). The Israeli Olympic committee protested to the IOC against this
action by the Games organisers. Surprisingly, at first, the IOC president Brundage
was unready to act upon the principles of universalism and stated that,

we can not become involved in a matter of this kind. Those who organised
the regional games are quite within their right to include and exclude any
country (Guttmann, 1984:225)

Mr. Brundage also advised the executive board that the IOC should not become
involved in the organisation of events other then the Olympic Games. Interestingly,
Brundage changed his mind and concluded that the exclusion of Israel was politically
motivated and therefore counter to the conditions of IOC patronage. The IOC
decided to support the Israeli case, but despite their support, Israel was not allowed
to participate.

The next Games were meant to be held in Beirut in 1959. Lebanon could not be
expected to invite the Israeli team to the Games since the two countries were
involved in a war that engaged all the neighbouring countries. Despite this political
conflict, the IAAF, led by Lord Exeter, decided not to sanction track-and-field events
for the Mediterranean Games unless Israel was invited to Beirut (Guttmann, 1984).
The IOC member from Lebanon, Gabriel Gemayel, pointed out that in 1948 Germany
and Japan were excluded for similar reasons, however, due to the pressure of
international federations, Gabriel agreed that the Mediterranean Games would not include track-and-field events and thus, Israel was excluded from the Games. In 1962 the Games were held in Italy, and Israel was again not invited due to Arab protests. For more than a decade the International Organisations tried to integrate Israel in the Mediterranean Games, without success, it was included to European Games.

C) The Asian Games and the Games of the New Emerging Forces (GANOFO)

Considering the international politics in Asian Games, the major political conflict that influenced or affected them from 1962 to the 1980s, was the Arab-Israeli conflict, and to a lesser extent the China and Taiwan conflict and that between India and Pakistan. Israeli athletes participated in several Asian games in 1966, 1970, and 1974, but the Arab nations supported by the Chinese and by other Muslim countries created a tremendous pressure against Israel's participation in the Asian Games. The rejection of Israel was expressed by refusing to compete face to face with Israeli athletes, and in the 1976 Asian Games after the terrorist attack that occurred in the Munich Olympic Games in 1972, the Israeli Olympic Committee was advised to withdraw for security reasons (Simri, 1983). Since 1981, Israel has not been able to participate in the Asian games. The Asian Games Federation (AGF) issued a new constitution, establishing an Asian Sport Council (ASC). The new constitution restricted participation in the Asian Games to members only and Israel was not a member because, according to Simri (1983), they were not invited to the meeting, thus, their right to participate was withdrawn.

More detail on the circumstances that surrounded the creation of the GANEFO Games in which Israel and Taiwan were part of the conflict is provided below. In the early 1960s, the IOC was considered to be the head authority of world sport. After successfully recruiting the USSR into the Olympic movement, the IOC eliminated the threatened challenge of the USSR organising an alternative sport festival in the form of the 'spartakiad' Games. The IOC also managed to eliminate the Communist Workers Sport and Women Sport movements by integrating both organisations into the world of bourgeois sport (Riordan, 1999; Riordan, 1996). Nevertheless, in 1963,
Chapter Three

the IOC faced a severe challenge from Third World countries, more precisely the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM).

On February 7, 1963, the IOC made a decision to suspend Indonesia’s membership, on the grounds that the Indonesian Government had refused to grant visas to athletes from Israel and Taiwan for their participation in the Fourth Asian Games in Djakarta in 1962. The IOC considered this act to be political discrimination. It is claimed that four IOC members and three observers attended the meeting and yet the executive board of the IOC went ahead with its member’s decision (Indonesia Olympic Committee, 1963). It was the first time in its history that the IOC had withdrawn membership from a country.

The decision was seen by Indonesia as discriminatory and an insult because it was taken without them being offered the opportunity to express its views about the incident, and the IOC President Avery Brundage considered the decision to be final, with no opportunity for further consideration. As a result, the President of Indonesia himself made the decision to order the Indonesian Olympic Committee to withdraw from the IOC. The decision was communicated as follows in a telegraph from the Indonesia Olympic Committee:

IOC decision suspending Indonesia membership for indefinite period which actually means oustering Indonesia from the IOC because of non participation of Taiwan and Israel in the Fourth Asian Games, Djakarta is a violation of Olympic Charter since no one article in said Charter provides legal basis for such sanction. IOC Executive Board deliberately abandons interest of almost 200 million peoples of Asia only to serve political manoeuvres of Israel and Taiwan. Therefore Indonesia feels no use to retain any longer IOC membership and hereby declares to withdraw from IOC. (Indonesia Olympic Committee, 1963:10).

In an historical analysis of the Games, Kanin (1981) suggests that the creation of the Games was a political manoeuvre from Indonesia’s President Sukarno to create a positive climate for his leadership of the NAM and newly independent countries. The author also suggests that Sukarno galvanised his people in opposing the existence of neighbouring Malaysia and the domination of south east Asia by those countries which had colonised much of it in previous years. Moreover, Sukarno was more interested in distracting his people from serious internal economic and social
difficulties. Staging international sport festivals would help him to achieve his goals. In addition to these factors, Indonesia perceived the decision as being not solely a matter between Indonesia and the IOC, but also a question that concerned the entire Olympic principle. It was certified that:

Indonesia does not oppose in the very least the Olympic principles and ideals, nor the Olympic movement nor the Olympic Games. What Indonesia opposes is the action by the reactionary elements of the IOC which has made the Olympic Charter as a mean of exercising an arbitrary measure. It has not been only against Indonesia that the Olympic Charter has been used to exercise measures which do not conform to the pure Olympic ideal. It has also been used against the People Republic of China. Unjust is also the IOC attitude with regard to the measures taken by NATO countries towards the German Democratic Republic. The question Indonesia faces is indeed a different one to that which forced the People’s Republic of China to leave the IOC and different yet again from the problems which continue to confront the Democratic Republic of Germany in international sport contests taking place in NATO countries. However, at bottom the principle faced by Indonesia and People Republic of China and Democratic Republic of Germany are the same, namely the attitude of the leadership of the IOC which plainly defends the interest of certain bloc, or more exactly the interest of the imperialist. The president of the IOC may say what he likes to the press about the question of Indonesia, but he cannot tell why the IOC is not bold enough to take any steps whatever regarding the NATO states who quite openly and repeatedly obstruct the participation of athletes from Democratic Republic of Germany in international competition” (Indonesia Olympic Committee, 1963:14).

Prior to this event, the Third World countries were critical of the way in which the global politics and the international system tended to marginalise their interests, and responded by forming pressure groups that attempted to change the European and US priorities and balance the power in the World system. In 1961, they formed the non-aligned Movement in order to promote an independent path between the interests of the communist and capitalist world (Kiely, 1998). Given the IOC attitude identified in the quotation above, Indonesia and the other Third World countries felt that the IOC was pulling them into the political struggle dominated by the two super powers, the US and the USSR. They also felt that their interests were marginalised within the sport organisation that was supposed to be treating its members equally, according to the Olympic ideal. In addition, they felt that the IOC had neglected a larger portion of the world population by pointing out that “it is very greatly in conflict with the heart of the spirit of the Olympic ideal for the IOC to neglect the factor of Asia and Africa which have a total population of no less than 2000 million
persons or more than a half of the total number of human beings throughout the world” (Indonesia Olympic Committee, 1963: 26).

The Third world countries and the non-aligned countries led by Indonesia and supported by the Soviet Union responded to the IOC actions by forming a sporting festival that promoted an independent path of sport development and represented their own economical and political interests. The sport festival created was known as the Games of the New Emerging Forces (GANEFO) as opposed to the ‘old imperialism forces’ and their first preparation meeting was in Djakarta on April 28, 1963.

Table 3.3: Countries Represented in the GANEFO Meeting

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Asia</th>
<th>Africa</th>
<th>Europe</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cambodia</td>
<td>Egypt</td>
<td>Soviet Union</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>China</td>
<td>Mali</td>
<td>Yugoslavia</td>
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<tr>
<td>Indonesia</td>
<td>Republic of Guinea</td>
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<tr>
<td>Iraq</td>
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<td>Pakistan</td>
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<tr>
<td>Vietnam</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Ceylon (Sri Lanka)</td>
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The Games were based on the spirit of the Asian-African conference in Bandung and the Olympic Ideals, and they aimed at:

a) encouraging the promotion of the independent development of sports and physical culture and sports movements in all countries of the New Emerging Forces.

b) stimulating sport competitions among the youth of the New Emerging Forces in order to foster and consolidate the Friendly relations between the New Emerging Forces in particular and to promote friendship and world peace in general (GANEFO, 1963:1).

The GANEFO Council was the body responsible for the development of the GANEFO movement. Its administrative structure was formed on the basis that one council member nominated by the respective government or national sport governing body should represent each country which joined the movement. The Executive Board was elected from among the members of the GANEFO movement, and was composed of the president, and four vice presidents representing Asia, Africa, Latin America, and Europe. The Games were planned to be held every four years and the programme included 20 Olympic sports as well as art festivals.
The announcement of these Games created a considerable concern within the IOC and the international federations. The IOC and IFs perceived that the Games were intended not to be simply a single athletic meet, but rather a permanent organisation which would celebrate the physical prowess of people from the 'Third World', with the Games organised as an anti imperialist phenomenon (Kanin, 1981).

Two months after the Games were held in November 1963, the IOC in its meeting in Innsbruck January 28th, 1964 issued the following resolution:

The IOC considered the position arising out of the GANEFO Games. As these were not under the patronage of IOC, active executive action falls essentially within the province of the International Federations, except in so far as NOCs countenanced them. This point is being actively pursued. The IOC however notes that the GANEFO Games were admittedly political in conception and aims, openly ignored IFs and National Federations, and included invitation to non-member countries. The IOC states that such aims and actions are completely opposed to Olympic ideals and threatening to the very foundation of amateur sport. Under these circumstances it welcomes firms actions by IFs concerned (IOC, January 28th 1964: Innsbruck meeting).

The Marquess of Exeter, President of the IAAF also stated that:

"Now promoted by the government of Indonesia and supported by China, a Games called the GANEFO games has been carried through. It was openly stated that these games were entirely political, that amateur sport was not an end in itself, but a weapon in the political armoury of a country, and it clearly aimed at breaching the authority of the IOC and International Federations (Marquess Exeter to IOC, January 24th, 1964: IAAF)

Several measures had been taken by the IOC and IFs, in particular the IAAF, to prevent NOCs, National Sport Federations, and other IFs from taking part in future GANEFO Games. First, the Games were classified as unlicensed due to the fact that the GANEFO organising committee had not requested a licence from the international sport bodies. Second, letters were sent to recognised sport bodies asking them to state in writing if a) they did not give permission to any athletes to compete in those unlicensed games, b) whether athletes from any member's country had competed without such permission. Third, an investigation was carried out in order to collect detailed information about the level of participation. Information of four participation categories was requested from National Sport Federations and NOCs:
(a) Federation which took part officially
(b) Federation whose officials took part unofficially in the Games
(c) Athletes went to the Games without the permission of their National Federations.
(d) Athletes who went with their National Federations permission.

Fourth, punishment measures were taken for athletes who participated in the Games. For example, the International Weightlifting Federation (IWF) decided in 11th February 1964 to suspend for six months all weightlifters who had participated in these unauthorised Games (Oscar State IWF to Otto Mayer (IOC), the IAAF in 3rd of March 1964 sent a letter illustrating 125 names of athletes that were banned, excluding athletes from People Republic of China, Vietnam, and Somalia.

Table 3.4: List of states which athletes were banned due to participation in GANEFO Games by IAAF

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Asia</th>
<th>Africa</th>
<th>Latin and Central America</th>
<th>Europe</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Japan</td>
<td>Algeria</td>
<td>Chile</td>
<td>Albania</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cambodia</td>
<td>Dominica</td>
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<td>Finland</td>
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<tr>
<td>Indonesia</td>
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<td>Italy</td>
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<td>Iraq</td>
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Source: (Hon Slam, IAAF secretary to Otto Mayer IOC, 29 November, 1963)

Lastly, in order to ensure that there was no future participation, a rule was put forward by IFs that prohibited affiliated members competing with non-affiliated members, and that any individual athlete participating in the GANEFO Games would be unaffiliated. R. Max Ritter the president of FINA wrote to the IOC stating that:

The FINA issued a timely warning to all its affiliated nations that participation in these GANEFO Games would inferring FINA Rule No. 53 prohibiting competitions between affiliated and non-affiliated nations. This proper notice clearly indicated that the FINA is determined to enforce its rules established by the Congress FINA nations (Max Ritter, February 6, 1964 to the IOC).
short for several reasons. The measures taken by the IFs and IOC played an important role in undermining the legitimacy of the games and prevented people from participating. Moreover, the fact that the Games lost their major political backers before they could be institutionalised was also crucial. First, the Sukarno presidency in Indonesia was challenged by the Communist Party which tried unsuccessfully to take over the country in 1965. Two years later, Sukarno's health deteriorated, and he appointed Suharto as his presidential representative, until in 1968 Suharto become the president. The new president was not as supportive of GANEFO as Sukarno. Second, Egypt was preparing for war with Israel and thus had withdrawn its bid to host GANEFO II. Thirdly, China "had to relinquish its right to GANEFO due to the great Proletarian Cultural Revolution which caused too much chaos and dislocation for China to allow a public international sport spectacle to take part in its border" (Kanin, 1981:85). For these reasons, the history of the 'Third World' anti-imperialist sport movement was relatively short.

Despite its short history, the GANEFO movement was interesting in the fact that it tried to create an organisation based on different political assumptions, which opposed the imperialist states publicly. The Indonesian Olympic Committee issued a booklet that indicating that the IOC was a political institution for imperialist states. The Games accepted Western sporting culture and the Olympic ideal that on 'universal' values, but both sport and Olympism were used to express non-Western interests. This could be seen as form of localising a global product.

Surprisingly, most of the peripheral countries which supported the new emerging sporting movement participated in both the GANEFO and the Olympic Games at the same time. For instance, Japan was the organiser of the Tokyo Olympic Games but an active participant in the newly created Games and Indonesia criticised the IOC for withdrawing its right to participate in the 1964 Games.

It is also interesting to note that even though the Games were guided by African and Asian motives derived from the 1955 Bandung conference, and it had an anti-imperialist spirit supporting the 'new emerging forces,' the organisers nevertheless, permitted athletes from Europe and Latin America to participate. Even former imperialist states such as France and Italy were represented. In fact, Holland the
formal colonial master of Indonesia was invited to take part in the Games (Kanin, 1981). This suggests that Indonesia was playing political and economic games rather than being guided by principle. It could be argued that Sukarno lost his moral high ground in conducting such actions. Nevertheless, it would be interesting to know why those specific European countries were permitted and why European states accepted invitations and participated in those games.

Conversely, the games could be criticised in the fact that they illustrates how 'Third World' leaders, for the purpose of political and economic gains, were involving their societies with Western culture without assessing its social and political impact, nor did the leaders go through negotiations processes with their societies inquiring if they wanted to be part of the international sport system.

D) The Pan Arab Games

The end of the second world war resulted in many colonial Arab states being granted partial independence. Egypt, Jordan, Syria, Lebanon Iraq, Libya were launched on the world under the rule of classes which cooperated with colonial powers. With the growth of anti-imperialist movements a variety of distinct Arab states emerged. These countries since they had been under different colonial powers, each emerged with a different ruling class and each with a separate state, whose interests lay in protecting their own identity. The imperial nations in this period intensified the use of this division between these countries. However, although they were divided into distinct states, there existed among all Arab classes, a consciousness of a common Arab identity and a desire for unity that had existed since the Ottoman Empire (Halliday, 1978). The Pan-Arab Games which were established in this period were an attempt to strengthen the concept of Arab nationalism and to create a sense of unity that had been weakened by colonialism (Amara, Al-Tauqi, & Henry, 2003 forthcoming).

Looking at the countries that staged the festival and the chronological order of the Games, a number of observations can be made. From their creation in 1953 up to the last Games held in Amman in 1999, the host states had been located in the Mediterranean area. No country from the Arabian peninsula has attempted to stage
the Games. The next venue is planned to be in Algeria. Although Algeria will be hosting it for the first time, it is also located in the Mediterranean region. Interestingly, the host countries for the initial five games were the first to be granted independence and they were considered to be the leading nations in the Arab world from the 1950s to the 1970s. It is worth noting that their societies are characterised as being multi-religious societies, thus, using the concept of Arab identity in organising the Games was more politically appropriate than using the Islamic identity. The title of the Games indicates that they do not represent identity which is based on geographical location such as Asia, Africa, and America, rather, they represent a form of language nationalism which could be classified as totally politically oriented.

Looking at the chronology of the games, it is evident that the games were not always staged regularly (see table 2 above). This of course, reflects the political instability of the Arab world from the 1950s to the contemporary period. Politically, the Arab-Israeli wars played a significant role in this irregular scheduling of the Games as, more recently, did the Gulf War which created political tensions that led to Iraq being expelled from the Games from 1992 until 1999. The first participation of Iraqi athletes was in 1999, with Kuwait boycotting the Games in protest against Iraq's participation. The Games have not always been organised on a quadrennial basis, in some instances they were held with time spans of more than four years, and in others within two years. The economic situation of the host nations may also be behind this irregular scheduling. The nature of the pan Arab Games in relation to the global order is provided elsewhere see (Amara et al., 2003).

E) Pan-African Games

The Pan-African Games, or All-African Games, is an international athletics (track-and-field) competition sponsored by the IAAF, and contested by athletes representing the nations of Africa. The African Games were first held in 1965, in Brazzaville, Congo, and consisted of contests in athletics (track-and-field) sports exclusively. Attempts to hold such African games date back to the 1920s; and in the early 1960s 'friendship' games (Jeu de l'Amitié) were held in Madagascar 1960, Côte d'Ivoire 1961, and Senegal in 1963, which Jean de Beaumont and Avery Brundage attended. However,
these games were only among formerly French-governed countries (Guttmann, 1984). The second African Games were held in 1973 in Lagos, Nigeria, and the number of participating countries rose from 29 to 35. The third games were held in Algiers in 1978. The Games scheduled to be held in Kenya in 1982 were cancelled.

The major political problem that affected the Pan African Games was racism. From the first games in 1965, South Africa, Rhodesia, Angola, and Mozambique were excluded due to their racial problems. The South African regime was the most controversial problem affecting the African participation in the Mexico Games in 1968 as well as the Montreal Games in 1976.

In December 1966, African nations joined together and founded the Supreme Council for Sport in Africa (at Mamaki, Mali). According to Guttmann (1984), it was agreed that the Supreme Council would use every means to obtain the exclusion of the South African sport organisation from the Olympic movement and from IFs. Thirty two nations joined together and they made a decision to boycott the Mexico Games. It is at this time that "Brundage and Exeter, fearing that the African nations might desert the Olympic movement en bloc and go to Sukarno's GANEFO games had reluctantly acquiesced in the exclusion of South Africa and Rhodesia from the African Games, but they were not ready yet to recommend the final expulsion of either country from the international sport community" (Guttmann, 1984:232).

Although the racial issue of South Africa dates back to 1958 it was not a problem for the IOC until 1968. When the African countries decided to boycott, Brundage announced that "the Games must go on", and he opposed the idea of calling a special IOC session to investigate the problem. Surprisingly, the boycott movement snowballed and integrated the Caribbean nations, the Islamic world, and the Communist bloc, led by the USSR and all threatened to stay away if the South Africans came to the Mexico Games (Guttmann, 1984). The decision regarding South Africa exclusion was put to vote, and the final tally was 47 – 16, with 8 abstentions. The South African supporters came mainly from America, Australia, Germany, and Scandinavia (Guttmann, 1984).

In summary, as illustrated above, these regional games were coupled with political problems. Although there may have been political conflicts between nations within
the region, the problems highlighted above are related to the expression of political conflicts and resistance to Western hegemony, the anti-Americanism in Pan-America Games, anti-Israel in Mediterranean Games and Asia Games and Pan-Arab Games, and lastly anti-apartheid racism in South Africa. Given the IOC and IFs leaders' attitudes and their decisions in these political conflicts, the 'Third World' countries were suspicious about the commitment of the IOC to the solution of these problems.

3.4.3 Form Amateurism to Professionalism and Commercialism

After the Second World War, the IOC emerged as an influential organisation in the world system even though it was not officially a political organisation. It has subsequently also emerged as one of the richest cultural organisations given the growing commercialisation of the Games. It is suggested that three main factors intensified on the commercialisation of the Games: first the increasing professionalisation of sport and the rearguard action to retain amateurism, second, the development of television broadcast technology and its commercial potentials, and third, the cooperation of the IOC with multinational companies through sponsorship packages.

The concept of amateurism played a significant role in the post Second World War period in shaping the political economy of the Olympic movement. The IOC throughout the 1950s and 1960s fought hard to defend the amateur code and prevent the commercialisation of the movement and of athletes. However, the violation of the amateur code was not new, it was also evident before the two World Wars. Western European nations had started to recruit coaches from America, and fund athletes' participation in the Games by lottery money as early as the Stockholm Games in 1912 (Kruger & Riordan, 1999). Basically, the amateur code within the Olympic movement was seen by radical commentators as playing two contradictory roles: it was both an expression of class supremacy as an effort to keep the working class in their place; and it was part of a resistance to sport's absorption into the capitalist market economy (Gruneau, 1984).

Nevertheless, despite the IOC's best efforts, over the years, Western Europeans and North American amateur sport communities developed an underground economy to keep athletes competing while the rules of amateurism ostensibly were preserved. A
wide range of activities were carried out such as performance bonuses, special clinics and personal appearances, money laundering through track clubs double contracting and even triple dipping expenses, multiple air through track clubs, and secret contracts with sports equipment and shoe companies. These activities were widely utilised, and they helped to increase the sum of money for amateur athletes in Western nations (Strenk, 1988; Martin, 2000). The growth of the underground business as well as the growth of the Games created an environment that has become a spectacularly successful vehicle for commercialism, hence, it became virtually impossible to preserve the amateur code. By 1971, the IOC decided to eliminate the term amateur from article 26 of the IOC charter, and by 1981 the IOC president Samaranch completed the shift to professionalism (Lucas, 1992). The second factor that influenced the economic development of the Olympic movement is development of television technology and its economic utility in advertising for industrial companies. Interestingly, despite the IOC rejection of the commercialisation of the games, the Olympic Games were perceived to be an opportunity for courting financial benefits from companies.

The broadcast income rights transformed the Olympics from an organisation that was run by wealthy aristocrats into a rich organisation that earned millions. The figure below indicates the values of the broadcasting rights that has grown rapidly from around one million in 1960 to over a billion in Sydney 2000.

Figure 3.2: IOC income from television broadcast right

![Figure 3.2](image)

Source: (Toohey & Veal, 2000)
Nationalism, commercialism and professionalism had created an Olympic Games that is large, complex, politicised, commercialised, fragmented and increasingly dependent on television (Toohey & Veal, 2000). In the 1960s and 1970s, the increased income from television broadcast rights created a conflict between the IOC, NOCs and IFs. Questions about the mechanism for distribution of the TV income were raised, and each sport organisation that was involved with staging the Games wanted to secure its part of the bounty. Therefore, it was essential to find a fair way to distribute the income between the IOC, IFs, NOCs, and the organising committee. This period witnessed the creation of Olympic Solidarity, further discussion of this is provided in chapter six.

The Olympic Games grew to be the largest regular event as measured by TV audience in the modern world. With the development of satellite technology, broadcasting ability increased and the Games was transmitted globally to an audience of around half of the world population. The TV income generated from broadcasting transformed the IOC from an organisation that was funded by wealthy aristocrats into one of the richest non-profit organisations in the world (Lucas, 1992). Nevertheless, the influence of television was not solely restricted to the financial discussions. Nixon (1988) sees the presence of television in the Olympic arena as having made the Olympic Games an entertainment spectacle that has stimulated the patriotic feeling of viewers and degraded the integrity of Olympism at the same time. Roche (2000) suggests that with advent of satellite and cable TV in the 1980s, a greater recognition of the importance of TV in sport was evident, and simultaneously weakened the central role of state-based broadcasting of sport. In addition, the sport media's capacity to provide an opportunity for cultural inclusion and for bringing national and international publics together, sharing calendars of common event was also recognised (Roche, 2000). Moreover, both authors note that the TV broadcast of the Games increased the intensity of competing nationalism for which the Olympics provided a suitable environment. TV broadcasts are clearly manipulated in ways which strengthen national identity. For instance, TV broadcasts played a significant role in heightening the tension of the Cold War by showing comparisons between the US and the USSR. In addition, in the case of the Seoul Games in 1988, the American television network NBC edited out much of the Korean culture section.
of the opening ceremony in its broadcast to the USA audience. In contrast, the South Korean TV showed an anti American attitude after a boxing final between an American and a Korean athlete (Roche, 2000).

From a Marxist perspective, the nationalisation of TV broadcasts of the Games creates an advantage for powerful countries that have appropriate technology to personalise media messages to their particular national interest. In contrast, the poor countries will not be able to strengthen their identity with such media messages. Thus, Roche (2000) suggests that the Olympic Solidarity commission should provide resources to enable poorer countries to tailor their programming and show interviews with their own athletes.

The third dimension that influenced the development of the Olympic movement in the post war period is the marriage between the Olympic and multinational commercial companies in terms of sponsorship. The IOC's history cooperation with commercial interests is also contradictory. In the process of preventing the commercialisation of the Games in 1948, changes were made in the Olympic Charter regarding the use of the Olympic logo. The five rings and the Olympic motto “Citius, Altius, Fortuis” (perceived to be an exclusive property of the IOC) and their commercial use was totally prohibited (IOC 1994 Volume II). However, four years later, the 1952 Games in Helsinki witnessed the first attempt at an international marketing programme with companies from eleven countries (Toohey & Veal, 2000). By the 1960s, the Olympics were increasingly intertwined with a powerful international bloc of financial travel, retail, and media interest, potential profits and this was tied to the growth and visibility of the Games (Gruneau, 1984:8-9).

With increasing visibility of the Games during the height of the tension in the Cold War, several hundreds of the world's largest corporations were willing to spend vast amount of money to gain exclusive rights to display one of the most recognised of all logos, 'the Olympic rings' on their goods (Lucas, 1992). By the 1970s, the commercial companies' participation in the Games had increased to 628 sponsors by the Montreal Games.
Girginov (1998) sees that securing the marriage between the IOC and world business in the 1980s was a result of three key events. First, in the case of capitalist Montreal, the 1976 Games almost bankrupted a city and left Western Governments anxious about the future financial support of the Olympics. Second, the example of the 1980 Moscow Games demonstrated that one hugely powerful Communist state could shoulder the financial burden of staging the Games for the sake of ideological gains. Third, there was a need for a new philosophy incorporating Olympic values and commercial principles. In addition, Gruneau (1984) argues that the emergence of the ‘hamburger’ games (Los Angeles Games) in 1984 was not a new phenomenon, rather it is best understood as a more fully developed expression of incorporation of sporting practice into the ever expanding marketplace of international capitalism.

In 1981, the IOC president offered a new vision of the future of the Olympics. This vision could be summarised in the phrase ‘the Olympic Movement should join the real world’. In a process of implementation of this new vision the TOP-I sponsorship programme was established in 1985, the first successful programme of International Sport and Leisure – which was in the IOC marketing plan for the Games in Seoul. The TOP plan from the IOC can be considered to be an attempt by the IOC to reduce its dependency on revenue from television rights. It is also a world-wide attempt to blend the Olympic symbols with multinational companies interested in a global brand name (Girginov, 1998).

The cooperation between the IOC and the TOP sponsor companies created a new culture in the promotion of the Games. It became professional in packaging and selling of the Games, a new phenomenon, and the Olympic movement entered into this entrepreneurial arena with considerable enthusiasm and developing skill (Lucas, 1992). As a result, there was a growing view that the Olympic movement is no more than a gigantic money-maker. Interestingly, according to Klein (2001:29), the 1980s was a period when multinational companies transformed their marketing strategy from promoting a product to promoting a brand. The author clarifies this strategy and suggests that multinational companies were

“no longer simply branding their own product, but branding the outside culture as well by sponsoring events, they could go out into the world and claim bits of it as brand-name outpost”.

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For these companies, the author suggests, branding was not just a matter of adding value to the product, it was about thirstily soaking up cultural ideas and iconography that their brands could reflect by projecting these ideas and images back to culture as "extensions". Culture, in other words, would add value to their brand. Therefore, the Olympic Games emerged in the 1980s as a great opportunity for capitalist expansion.

The growing visibility of the Games, and the increase in the scale and the cost of hosting one of the biggest festivals in the world created a public protest culture in sport. One such protest was anti-globalisation in general and anti-Olympics in particular. For the first time in its history, in 1968 the Olympic Games were held in the 'Third World'. Mexico was selected by the IOC to host the Game despite the fact that it was neither a world player in international politics nor an influential country. Many Mexican citizens believed that hosting the games was wasteful and that it was misguided to outlay such vast of sums of money in the name of sport rather than spending such resources on housing or welfare (Toohey & Veal, 2000). Thus the students protested over this issue and protest become violent in the period preceding the Games. Ten days before the Games on October 2, 1968 the biggest demonstrations occurred. Ten thousand anti-Olympics protesters gathered in one place. Military troops surrounded the square where they were gathered and opened fire on the protesters. It is claimed that 260 demonstrator were killed and over 1200 injured. The Mexican President appealed for calm and order as a result of the mayhem and loss of life.

It could be argued that the selection of Mexico as a venue was bound up with the political and economic interests of the core countries in relation to the peripheral nations. This occurred at a time when the Communist and capitalist countries were competing intensively to win alliance with the 'Third World' countries. Thus, allowing Mexico to host the Games in 1968 could be considered as a part of the core nations political and economic agenda. In addition, it was for the first time in history people were killed in the name of while opposing the Olympics Games. Moreover, these indicators illustrate how the Olympic movement and the Olympic Games were imposed on some members of a society despite their resistance. Thus, it appeared
that entertainment and economic values were overriding the importance of people’s lives.

The 1976 games in Montreal, Canada also witnessed an anti-Olympics protest. The main source of the demonstration was problems associated with the high cost and construction of facilities. However, the protest was much stronger after the Games when it was revealed that the cost was $US 1.6 billion, with a deficit of $US 1 billion (Toohey & Veal, 2000).

The increased importance of sport as a way of showing the superiority of the country, and the massive growth of sport industry created a sports drugs culture. Although the use of drugs as a method for performance enhancement has been known since ancient times, it developed during the Cold War era to an organised culture that was supported by scientific and political institutions (Toohey & Veal, 2000). The best known case in modern history is that of East Germany, where, it is suggested, athletes were ‘forced’ to use drugs by medical doctors. However, it is a naïve observation to suggest doping was extensively used solely in communist countries. Western European nationals also used drugs with different levels of political involvement or complicity. The increasing practices of using drugs in sport with its negative effects were more explicitly acknowledged in the early 1960s, and pressure began to mount against their use in sport. In 1963, the Council of Europe established a Committee on drugs. In 1967, after the televised death of the cyclist Tommy Simpson in the Tour de France, the IOC drew up a list of banned substances and the 1968 Mexico Games marked the beginning of drug testing in the Games. Toohey & Veal (2000) point out that since then drug use and the drug testing at the Olympics have been controversial aspects of the Games. Allegation that the IOC and organising committees of the games suppressed positive results have been rife, especially in relation to the 1980 and 1984 Games. Interestingly even though the testing started in 1968, it was not until 1988 that for the first time drug use was announced and details broadcast throughout the world. The IOC through its Medical Commission has sought to raise the standard of doping testing procedures, but it is still now one of the most controversial issues in the Olympic Games. The efficacy of the commission was sufficiently in question for a new body, the World Anti-Doping Agency (WADA) to be established in 2000.
3.5 From Market Economy to Liberal Consumerism

Two of most influential interpretations of the geopolitical consequences of the end of the Cold War and its impact on the global order, are provided by Fukuyama (1992) and Huntington (1996). Fukuyama's 'the end of history' thesis considers the fall of the Berlin Wall to signal the victory of capitalism over communism, and predicted the transformation of Eastern Europe from state managed communism toward 'liberal democracy'. The theory suggests also that authoritarian regimes will eventually follow a similar transformation. He argues that

the most remarkable development of the last quarter of the 20th century has been the revelation of enormous weakness of the core of the world's seemingly strong dictatorships, whether they be of military-authoritarian Rights, or communism-totalitarian left. From Latin America to Eastern Europe, from Soviet Union to the Middle East and Asia, strong governments have been failing over the last two decades. And while they have not given way in all cases to stable liberal democracies, liberal democracy remains the only coherent political aspiration that spans different regions and culture around the globe (Fukuyama, 1992: xiii).

Moreover, Fukuyama assumed that as a result of the end of the Cold War, liberal democracy, in alliance with the market economy, had the capacity to fulfil the basic human needs of self worth and material well being. The consequences for the post Cold War period would be that all other societies would adopt the liberal democracy principle to successfully participate in a new world order. He states that,

the creation of universal consumer culture based on liberal economical principle, for the Third World as well as the first and the Second. The enormously productive and dynamic world being created by advance technology and the rational organisation of labour had tremendous homogenising power...The attractive power of this world creates every strong dispassion for all human societies to participate in it, while success in this participation require the adoption of the principles of economic liberalism (Fukuyama, 1992:108)

The 'end of history' thesis seems to rest on hegemonic notions similar to that of cultural imperialism and the Westernisation or the Americanisation of the world. This notion has been criticised as relying on a moncausal explanation of the globalisation process. Moreover, Fukuyama's hegemonic theory lacks geographical sensitivity, it undermines the differences between the concepts of 'liberal' and 'democracy', and it ignores the interplay of different cultural civilisations (Dodds, 2000).

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In contrast, Huntington (1996) provides a multicultural thesis in his work on the 'clash of civilisations'. The author argues that, the new global era is characterised by an interaction of seven civilisations (Chinese, Hindu, Islamic, Japanese, Latin American, Orthodox, Western, and possibly African). He considers that the West is not culturally and politically dominant, and that the new world order is witnessing the growth of influence of other civilisations, particularly, the Islamic, East Asian and Chinese. The author indicates that the growth of the East Asian and Chinese economies in particular have already contributed to their growing political confidence. Huntington (1996: 28) considers cultural ethnic, national, and religious identities as central to global politics, arguing that "in this new world, local politics is the politics of ethnicity; global politics is the politics of civilisation". In other words, the author suggests that future conflicts will reflect cultural aspects instead of political ideologies or economic measures. In fact, due to globalisation processes, he argues that non-Western civilisations are challenging the West in its own territories with groups of immigrants who reject assimilation and continue to adhere to, and to propagate, the values, customs and culture of their home societies. If assimilation fails he assumes this will undermine Western identity and civilisation. In the light of the multicultural politics that Huntington suggests, international cultural organisations would be at the centre of international conflicts, since these organisations, in particular sports organisations, represent Western culture. However, although this theory seems to be influential and provides a powerful explanation of global politics, it is criticised as presenting sweeping generalisations about the state of world politics and the process of globalisation. More specifically it is viewed as confusing 'culture' and 'civilisation'. Muslims societies, for example, reflect a huge variation in culture, and attitudes to other groups while ostensibly bracketed by Huntington as deriving from a 'unitary' civilisation (Tibi, 2000).
3.5.1 The End of Cold War 1991-2000

During the late 1980s, East-West Europe relations began to improve. In 1987, the US and the USSR signed a treaty that called for the destruction of their many nuclear missiles. US-Soviet relations improved further in 1989, when the Soviet Union completed the withdrawal of its troops from Afghanistan. Following that other major changes were witnessed within the communist bloc. The Soviet President, Gorbachev worked to decentralise the Soviet economic system, to improve the nation’s poor economy and increase democracy and freedom of expression in the Soviet Union. He also encouraged similar economic and political changes throughout Eastern Europe. As a result, non-communist governments came to power in a number of Eastern European states.

In 1990, with Soviet approval, East Germany and West Germany reunited to form one non-communist country. In 1991, the Warsaw Pact nations agreed to dissolve their alliance. That same year, the United States and the Soviet Union signed the Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty (START). The treaty required both countries to reduce their number of long-range nuclear missiles and bombers by about a third. The cumulative effects of these various means signified the end of the Cold War.

The Persian Gulf War tested the strength of the new East-West relationship. The war began in early 1991 after Iraqi forces invaded and occupied Kuwait in August 1990, and, although the Soviet Union and China did not participate directly in the war, they did not oppose the use of military force against Iraq. The Gulf War greatly strengthened the UN’s role as an international peacekeeping organisation, but it was also seen to be dominated by American interest.

In 1991, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union lost control of the Soviet government after conservative Communist officials attempted to overthrow Gorbachev. The attempt failed, and the Soviet parliament suspended all Communist Party activities. By the end of 1991, most of the republics that made up the Soviet Union had declared independence, and the Soviet Union collapsed.
As a result of the collapse of the communist bloc, some geopolitical observers have refocused their attention on the structure of the global political economy and the possibilities of a changing division of wealth between North and South.

It has been argued that the global political economy remains premised on a form of a global apartheid, in other words, the gap between core and periphery continues to widen in terms of politics, economics and culture. This view presents a different sense of globalisation because it is premised on an assumption of inequality and difference rather than uniformity and mutual benefit in world system (Dodds, 2000).

During the 1990s it became apparent that a number of pressing issues that confronting South-North relations had not been resolved: the political economic consequences of the development, gender equality and human rights, environmental protection, debt reduction, and the protection of ethnic and religious minorities. At the same time, mainstream development approaches had failed to tackle the underlying structural causes of poverty, hunger, and disease. Dodds (2000) and Keily (1998) point out that with the increase of globalisation processes and the end of the Cold War, richer nations have been slow to meet the ‘Third World’ countries’ demands for assistance in solving the socio-political and environmental problems.
Additionally, the Eastern European nations and the republics of the former Soviet Union have begun to compete with Third World countries for aid. The World Bank and other International organisations provide funds for development in the Third World. However, progress has been slow, because 'Third World' countries continue to suffer from rapid population growth and high rates of disease and illiteracy. According to Dodds (2000) Third World derdevelopment has suffered because of three major factors: a reduction of aid and investment from 'core' countries to periphery areas, a rise of racism and anti immigration politics in the North, and an increasing tendency by the powerful states to pressurise the South over debt rescheduling and trade access. In addition, multinational companies' investments in peripheral areas have been exploitative in nature, with minimum wages paid to workers while owners of firms make fortunes in core countries (Klein, 2001). Moreover, the natural and environmental disaster such as aids, earthquakes contribute the social problems of the 'Third World'.

Thus, with the increase of debt of the 'Third World' countries and the globalising impact of economies, a new global economic order is urgently required. In fact the 11th summit of the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) held in 1995 in Cartagena, Colombia, consisted of 113 mainly African, Asian, and South American nations supporting democracy, human rights, economic globalisation, free trade, and denouncing terrorism while also criticising industrial nations for using tactics such as trade restrictions, blockades, and embargo. The Non-Aligned Movement also called for reform of the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank and an end to the domination of the United Nations Security Council by its permanent members. The quest for changes in the structure of the world economy is also expressed through massive protests, especially in western countries over the GATT summits, the World Trade Organisation, or World Bank conferences.

Observers of the global political economy also note that globalisation processes in the 1990s witnessed the emergence of powerful multinational organisations, international agencies and multinational corporations that have challenged the capacity of states to formulate legislation. The management of national economies has had to be carried out in a context in which the wishes of state elites coexist with the demands of the international money market, international obligations, and
Chapter Three

globalised flows of capital. Issues such as inflation, environmental damage, drugs, and unemployment, are trans-boundary and a solution therefore requires international cooperation. However, despite this the inter or trans-national action, nation state remains the most important actor in world affairs (Huntington, 1996).

In the 1990s, in many Western countries, local policy discourse developed around the creation of multicultural or cosmopolitan societies where different people from 'different civilisations' live in one place without any form of discrimination. Giddens (1998) sees this cosmopolitan nationalism as the only form of national identity compatible with the global order. He points out that Germany and other European countries have been forced to examine their national identity to meet this development. This open-minded view of globalisation is challenged, as other political parties particularly the far right that see cosmopolitan policies as a threat to their own national identity. In fact, according to Dodds (2000), Western countries have established stronger rules to prevent immigrants from North Africa and Eastern Europe in particular, from entering their territories, as well as regulating their activities within the state. Immigration and the polarisation of political opinion on such problems, is considered to be many of the major problems that face Western societies in 1990s (Dodds, 2000).

Other major developments at the end of the Cold War include the emergence of 'regional' organisations. Although, it has been historically indicated that these organisation have failed to meet their expectations of their regions, nevertheless, they emerged in the 1990s as a significant dimension in negotiating stability and order between regional forums and global or multilateral bodies. The North American Free Trade Association, the European Union, the Nordic Council, the Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation, the Organisation of African Unity, the Arab League, and el Mercado Comun del Sur in South America play important roles in the global political economy. It is argued that regionalisation is complementary to the growing the role of United Nations in supporting collaboration in international affairs (Dodds, 2000).
3.5.2 The Olympic Games in Post Cold War

Since the 1980s, when the IOC decided to integrate the commercial sphere into the Olympic movement its attitude towards sport and politics has changed markedly. During the Cold War period, the IOC was preaching to NOCs to separate sport from politics. However, during the Samaranch Presidency, commitment to this ideology changed to that of seeing sport as an integral part of society, and therefore sporting bodies had a duty to come to terms with public authority (Girginov, 1998). In the 1990s with the increasing of the globalisation processes, which, it was argued, undermined the 'sovereignty' of the state, particularly in poorer countries, the IOC encouraged NOCs to strengthens relation with national governments. Generally, sport became associated with the economic objectives of government policy in many nations (Oakely and Green, 2001). In fact the international recognition of sport as part of politics was formally acknowledged by the UN General Assembly in its proclamation announcing 1994 as the International Year of Sport and Olympic Ideals.

The IOC's place in global politics was more openly evident in the 1990s. It increased its joint activities with international diplomacy and articulated with its cultural politics operated by nation-states, international governmental organisations (IGOs) and international non-governmental organisations (INGOs). As suggested by Roche (2000), in the 1990s, the IOC became a fairly energetic player in the contemporary system of international governance. The involvement of the IOC in global governance is illustrated in its co-operating with the UN to promote the Olympic Truce during the Nagano Games in 1998, its support for a conference relating to national and international policies for young people organised by Portugal and the UN, its association with the forum debate regarding the reports prepared by various UN agencies such as UNESCO, the ILO (International Labour organisation), the WHO (World Heath Organisation) and UNICEF. In addition, an agreement was reached between the IOC and the ILO to pursue join efforts to support social justice and human dignity and encourage activities which will contribute to the elimination of poverty and child labour, the IOC also supported the WHO's annual 'Day against smoking' (Roche, 2000). It could be argued that the IOC increased its joint activities with such organisation in the 1990s as a response to criticisms regarding the
commercialisation of the movement. It is also worth mentioning that most of these activities occurred in 1998 when the IOC bribery scandal breakout. By the year 2000, the IOC had created a new project called Olympic Aid aimed at generating funds during the Games to help children in refugees’ camps who had affected by natural disasters (IOC, 2000). This is indeed an element of IOC strategy to strengthen the ethical image of the movement.

The end of the Cold War and the collapse of the communist bloc also affected the sports sphere. Communist states went through a process of transition from totalitarian regimes to democratic states and changes were introduced into sport organisations in the process of democratising them. With these changes, according to Girginov (1998), came migration of athletes and experts from Eastern Europe to Western professional leagues in larger numbers. Such changes have affected elite sport locally, and internationally, and have undermined the political and economic balance in the whole Olympic family. In response to this situation International Sport Federations and the IOC have been quick to offer concessions, and support, and have established a special fund to assist sport organisations. Girginov (1998) argues that this assistance was directed at keeping the communist models of sport production as intact as possible and thus the funds provided, he argues, did not contribute to the process of political transition of sport organisations. However, Girginov (1998) concluded that with the end of East-West ideological rivalry, the IOC was able to promote, without any reservation, the communist model of sporting practice. In support of this observation, Green and Oakely (2001) illustrate how, so called, ‘established states’ USA, Canada, Australia, the UK, and Spain have similar strategies in developing elite Olympic athletes through a network of sport institutes, and they note an increased governmental involvement in this process of athlete production.

The bidding process to host the Games that is based on competition between cities was developed and modified in the 1990s to counter the controversial issues that affected the image of the Olympic movement. The Salt Lake City scandal in late 1998 indicated that the prizes accruing to the hosts of the Olympic Games may have been too tantalising, fostering corruption, and bidding cities were known to have bribed IOC officials in their attempt to gain favour (Cashmore, 2000:204). The scandal was
considered to be a major problem facing the Olympics in the 1990s because it was believed that the corporate sponsors would turn away from investing in Olympic related activities if the moral image of the Olympic movement was corrupted. In a respond to this scandal, the IOC called for reform in order to rebuild the image of the movement that had been affected and the Ethics Commission was established in 1999 to follow and evaluate IOC activities (DaCosta, 2002; Roche, 2000).

In supporting a multicultural and cosmopolitan approach, it is suggested that the Olympic movement’s interest in cultural aspects of policy is increasing (DaCosta, 2002). In the Barcelona Games in 1992 cultural festivals gained more recognition. In Sydney 2000, indigenous Australian culture was used extensively in the Opening Ceremony to show support for the local culture (Toohey & Veal, 2000). However, it is noted that this interest in their local cultures is limited to cultural festivals and exhibitions, while in relation to sport activities only very limited non-Western sports have been introduced throughout the history of the games, and indeed more Western sports have continued to be introduced.

In relation to the Olympic sport programme, the 1990s witnessed attempts to strengthen women’s position in terms of sport events, and male sports events were reduced in order to increase women events. For instance, modern pentathlon and weightlifting included women’s events for the first time in the Sydney 2000 games, and accordingly male events were reduced (Toohey and Veal, 2000).

In relation to commercial aspects of the Olympic movement, it is evident that in the modern era Entertainment and leisure have grown as a result of economic development, and the Entertainment industries have expanded to serve leisure needs of an increasingly affluent and increasingly leisured population. Free-time activities have become increasingly significant in economic terms and sport is seen as part of this growing entertainment industry. The Olympics have also developed to become the most potent tool of city ‘boosterism’ used to achieve or maintain the status of ‘world class’. Staging the Olympics is seen as way for some cities to develop the necessary infrastructure such as roads and airports. The Barcelona Games in 1992 was a classic case in using the Games for developing the city (Roche, 2000).
The commercialisation of sport involves examination of sport as both a source of profit and also as a vehicle for transmitting capitalist values. In addition to sport goods manufacturers, such as NIKE and Adidas, that have a clear interest in the growth of particular sports, there is a growing number of multinational corporations for whom sport is part of a global marketing strategy for non-sport goods and services. This is evident in the TOP sponsorship programmes introduced in the 1980s to the Olympic movement. Furthermore, according to Cashmore (2000), all capitalist enterprises have an interest in the capacity of sport to contribute to the assimilation of capitalist values in general, and consumerist values in particular. In addition, individual sport clubs and the IOC are in a competitive environment competing to secure market growth for their organisations.

With the increasing commercialisation sport has transformed from an amateur activity undertaken by small self help groups, into a global business, bolstered by advertising power on television by the vehicle of sponsorship. In parallel with this transformation goes the development of sport as a popular cultural phenomenon that celebrates sporting heroes alongside film and rock stars. The Olympic Games has developed to become the most significant of the world's sporting events which is therefore at the vortex of a hugely dynamic economic and cultural phenomenon. Thus, it is no longer just athletes and sport enthusiasts who have an interest in the survival of the Games. They are joined by mass media organisations, advertisers, sponsors, venue owners, and host professionals such as managers, marketers, agents, coaches physiotherapists, psychologists, and academics who depend for their livelihood on the resources flowing. There is now an Olympic industry (Toohey, and veal, 2000). If the Olympic spirit had been damaged by the IOCs' decision to allow corporate sponsors into the Olympic movement, the 1992 Olympic Games witnessed the IOC decision to permit the USA athletes to include a basketball team which comprised highly-paid professionals from NBA (National Basketball Association). This decision permitted some of the world's finest professionals from the NBA, whose capital values exceeded the gross national product of some small nations, to play in the Games, for some this increased the status of the Olympics as an openly professional tournament (Cashmore, 2000:204).
In the relation between television and Olympic sports, the advent of satellite and
cable TV systems and their market penetration and growth though advertisement,
has begun to shift the balance of power in favour of commercial TV broadcasters and
away from national public service broadcasters. In the 1990s this raised major
problems of regulation in relation to public access to the Olympic Games as a cultural
phenomenon (Roche, 2000).

3.6 Summary

In this chapter we have divided the history of the Olympic Games into four political
periods. The imperialist era (1500-1914), the late imperialist and inter war period
(1914-1945), the Cold War era (1945-1990), and post- Cold War era (1991-2000).
Each of these periods has been discussed in terms of the major changes that
occurred and how it has this impacted on the Olympic movement. It is evident that
in the global sphere there are a wide range of changes and developments that have
affected and influenced the way in which cultural activities are carried out and
interpreted. Thus, in this chapter, major changes in the political, economic and
cultural context have been selected as representing the principal influences on the
development of the Olympic Movement. In addition, attention was focused on 'core'
'periphery' relations and the role that the IOC played in this network of global
interaction. Issues of imperialism and Western hegemony in sport and resistance to
this hegemony from the developing countries were identified. The chapter thus
provides a historical background against which global changes and how they have
influenced the development of the Olympic Movement.
4. Introduction

This study aims to examine the emergence of Olympic Aid as it extends over time. The analysis will focus on the aims and values of the sport aid projects, the rationale for developing such a programme within the IOC, and the changes that have occurred to projects over time. The investigation seeks to understand the origins of the Olympic sport aid project, the major proponents involved, and the interests that it represents. In addition, the analysis will assess the mechanisms through which particular programmes were developed and for what purposes they were adopted as well as identifying different action organisations which had interests in the development of sport aid. In carrying out such a complex task the researcher will need to identify methodological implications and justify how specific methods are utilised in the research project.

Methodology concerns the link between theory and methods, and as such implies clarifying the basic assumptions about ontology and epistemology, which the research embraces. These assumptions will structure and limit the nature of methods adopted in particular ways. This study adopts a critical realist position in relation to the epistemological and ontological concerns, and employs a qualitative content analysis approach consistent with this position and derived from Altheid’s (1996) account of Ethnographic Content Analysis (ECA). This chapter will therefore seek to define the features of critical realism; their implications for research methods; and its relationship to ECA. In addition, the chapter will examine issues of adequacy of theory in conceptualising the Olympic sport aid policy. Moreover, the procedural
implications of ECA and the application of ECA to the content of this study will be discussed along with validity and reliability issues related to the research protocol.

Table 4.1: Hierarchy of methodological issues

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<th>Hierarchy issues</th>
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<td>Research method for exploring specificities of cultural diffusion</td>
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<td>Validity and reliability</td>
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4.1 Research Paradigm and Ontological and epistemological concerns

A critical realist approach is defined by March (1999:13) as containing six major assumptions: a) that the world exists independently of our knowledge of it; b) that there are (deep) structures that can not be directly observed; c) that there is necessity in the world – objects / structures do have causal power, so there is a need to make causal statements; d) it proposes that peoples discursive knowledge about ‘reality’ (which exists independently of their knowledge) will have a construction affect on the outcomes of social interrelation; e) structures do not determine outcomes, rather they both constrain and facilitate actions and may be modified by individual action; f) social science, thus, involves the study of reflexive agents who are capable of constructing, deconstructing and reconstructing structures.

Taking into account these assumptions, an investigation of the emergence of the Olympic sport aid policy and the analysis of discursive construction of the key actors
will require the formulation of some notions that will guide the understanding of the social structural context which produce and shape the aid programme. Initially, the critical realist ontological position perceives that there is a world/‘reality’ out there that contains structures as well as deep structures that can not be directly observed and our knowledge of that world is limited. Structures such as cultural diversities and civilisations (e.g. the East and West, Occidental and Oriental), subcultures and ideologies (communism, liberal capitalism) do have a relationship with the everyday social life. For example, the ‘reality’ of the concept of globalisation of modern sport can be directly evidenced, by illustrating the internationalisation of sport and by the spread of sport institutions (e.g. IOC, IFs, NOCs, ) that have come into existence in different parts of the world, and by the increase in international sport events (e.g. the Olympic Games, the World Cup, Grand Slams). However, the deep structures that underpin the spread and diffusion of modern sport globally can not be observed directly. Thus, to understand transformative forces that have motivated the promotion of sport globally, the researcher depends on key actors’ perceptions and their discursive constructions to understand the process in which modern sport has diffused internationally.

Critical realists consider that structure and agents are the important factors that together determine outcomes of a social phenomenon. They perceive a dialectical relationship between structure and agency. The outcomes of social phenomena cannot be explained solely by reference to structures; rather social phenomena result from strategically calculating agents who are located within a political and broader social-structure context (Marsh, 1999). To make this clear we consider the IOC as a structure that can not carryout technical sport assistance programmes to the newly independent countries by itself, it needs agents who develop strategic mechanisms to implement such programmes and to assist the development of sports. Those agents were initially located in the broader social context of the postcolonial era when the imperial power ended military control over the colonised territories and the cold war conflict emerged. It is important to point out that those agents involved do not control the social context, but they do interpret that context and their interpretation affects their strategic calculations. The relationships between these structures and agents behaviours cannot always be explained in terms of causality,
but they are interpreted, hence, the researcher should go beyond what is appearance e.g. what people say and do (Marsh & Smith, 2001).

Unlike the positivist approach, the critical realist approach perceives the role of theory in social research to be a dominant discourse that it is used to establish social relationships in what we observe and interpret the results of the findings. (Marsh & Smith (2001: 532) point out that

The role of theory in realism is to conceptualise observable behaviour by using theory to infer the underlying structure of a particular social situation...theory provides a way of constructing a narrative that helps us identify and explain the underlying structural relationships. Indeed it is impossible to make any sense of the world without some sort of theoretical framework.

Therefore the theories which address globalisation processes e.g. cultural imperialism, modernisation, dependency and figuration, are used to evaluate the relationships between the agents involved with the Olympic sport aid phenomenon. It is noted that the ontological position that underpins these theories are based on division between contrasting aspects of social phenomena. For example, the modernisation approach is based on differentiation between modern and tradition cultures (e.g Guttmann, 1978: From ritual to record), the cultural imperialism thesis is centred on differentiation between global and local or penetration and resistance (Houlihan, 1994 a), the dependency approach is differentiating between developed an developing countries (Darby, 2001) and the figuration approach is based on classifying between the insider and the outsider of the social figuration (Maguire, 1999).

Thus, this study uses the framework as a reference to understanding the global interaction between societies, and nation states involved in the Olympic Sport Aid policy, the ontological position is to underpin the differentiation between the aid 'providers' and the aid 'recipients'. In addition, the classification of nation states involved is also based on Wallerstein's world system model of 'core' and 'periphery'. The 'Western' nations, such as Western Europe, North America, and Australia, are considered to be the 'core' in which they are often the providers of aid besides being the nations in which the Olympic movement and the philosophy of 'amateurism' was first developed. The countries of the Eastern Europe bloc, however, are considered
to be 'semi peripheral', although they are also providers of sport aid but have joined the Olympic movement in later stages and had a different perception of the 'amateur' sport and had different ideology toward sport and physical culture in society. The third group are the nations from Africa, Asia and Latin America, which are considered as the recipient of aid to be 'peripheral' states¹.

Such a classification has been widely used in research concerning the global diffusion of sport, however, it is criticised that as possibly not being methodologically accurate to assume that nations in the world can be simply classified in such a generalised manner using political (military power), economic (GNP per capital), and cultural 'popularity'. There is a greater deal of variation in terms of political ideologies, economic productivity, cultural specificity as well as historical background. For example, Japan and the United Arab Emirates, although they are classified to have a high GNP, in terms of culture, they are considered to be part of the Orient or non-Western. In addition, the success 'semi-periphery' (Eastern bloc) and periphery such as China and CUBA in Olympic Games in terms of performance is higher than some 'core' or Western countries.

Figure 4.1: Gross Domestic Product Per Capital (GNP) for 1995

![GDP Per Capital Map](image)


¹ Core - Periphery classification see also (Wallace, 1990; Green & Oakley, 2001; Jarvie, 1994)
Therefore (Lucas, 1992) suggest that there are no fully developed nations in the world; some are more developed than other. Maguire (1999: 91) suggests that in global sport there is no rank order among nations in terms of performance, the 'core' countries may not always dominate the medal tables, nevertheless he contends that, the West may be challenged on the field of play by non-core countries, the control over the content, ideology and economic resources associated with sport still tends to lie in the West.

It is for these respects, the 'West' is considered to be the 'core' within the Olympic movement. However, such classification may be also criticised that that it contradicts with fundamental principle of Olympism that calls for equality for all its members.

Textual qualitative data is the window on which the investigation depends to conceptualise the social context of Olympic sport aid. Thus, there also is a need to consider epistemological and ontological assumptions in social research that utilise textual qualitative data (e.g. documents and letters) and examine its compatibility with the research paradigm adopted for the study. Altheid (1996) developed an approach (generally used in media studies) for qualitative analysis. It is formulated in three main assumptions: first, social life or 'reality' consists of a process of communication and interpretation regarding the definition of situations. The symbolic order that people join as infants infuses their own view of self, others, and future. This assumption takes into consideration generally the environment in which a person was brought up, educational and the ideological background experienced and lived, influences individuals’ views of the world and reality. For example, the Western perspective and their interpretation of 'Olympism', 'amateurism' 'sport aid' may be different from the non-Western perspectives due to differences in their ideological and educational background.

Second, it is this communicative process that breaks the distinction between subject and object, between internal and external, and joins them in the situation that people experience and take for granted. Through communicative discourse of the individual, the identification of 'self' and 'others' 'we' and 'them', West and East, coloniser and colony, and aid provider and aid recipient may be identified. In
addition, people's activities are part of a social world and they are "reflexive" or oriented in the past to what has gone before as part of the relevant process. The researcher tries to be aware of this process by being reflective of the overall process. However, this orientation could also be argued to be reflexive of theoretical foundations, including assumptions about science and order.

Third, the notion of process is key because everything is socially constructed even our values, morals and personal commitment. What we consciously believe and do is tied to many aspects of "reality maintenance" of which we are less aware, that we have made part of our routine "stock of knowledge". Given this assumption, a scientific research project is also considered to be socially constructed in the sense that research methods and data are derived from a theoretical position about how the world operates and knowledge is basically influenced by social context. However, concerning last part of Alheid's (1996) approach in seeing reality as socially constructed should not be taken for granted, it could be argued that concepts of God, the universe, future, life, human soul, life after death, and feelings cannot be explain solely by the notion of process and social construction. There is the concept of faith and belief that play a part in seeking knowledge, for example, aspects of religion.

Critical realists also consider the historical approach in social research. Since a significant part of the current research deals with events that occurred in the past and the researcher is not necessarily fully aware the social condition of that period of time, there is a need to be careful about approaching historical documents. Scott (1990) outlines that assumption that the researcher should be making while approaching historical fact and pointed out:

History is not what happened, not what "truth" is "out there" to be discovered and transmitted, but what we know about the past, what the rules and conventions are that govern the production and acceptance of the knowledge we designate as history... History is inherently political. There is no single standard by which we can identify "true" historical knowledge... rather there are contests, uses, and meanings of the knowledge that we call history... this process is about the establishment and protection of the hegemonic definition of history (cited in Tuchman, 1994: )
To understand the historical development of Olympic sport aid, the study will merge the ethnographic and textual approaches in examining how cultural interpretations are acted on and given meaning. This type of analysis moves back and forth between texts/documents and the social context in which the document was produced (Denzin, 1994). The study relies on textual material to articulate complex arguments about the sport aid commission merging the ethnographic strategies that link social context to textual materials. For example, Cold War conflict is a major element of the socio-political context in which the Olympic aid policy was developed. Thus, the textual statements need to be examined taking into account such a socio-political context. In other words, historical accounts of the development of the Olympic movement and its political, economic, and cultural perspectives constitute the guidelines that will assist the understanding of the statements gathered from archive materials of Olympic aid policy.

4.2 Theoretical Adequacy

4.2.1 Globalisation, Olympism and Sport Aid

What constitutes a globalised culture? Is there any international cultural activity which could be described as globalised? In order to describe certain activities as being globalised some premises have to be evident to suggest the global nature of the activity. In exploring the Olympic sport aid programmes, it is noted that several characteristics define the nature of its function. Since its initial phase, Olympic aid has involved an expansion of its activity beyond the boundaries of particular nation-states, what we could call an 'internationalisation of sport aid'. Nevertheless, its activities are taking place in a global arena rather than merely regional and they are organised, planned, and coordinated on a global scale. Institutions such as IFs, Olympic Continental Associations, NOCs, National Sport Federations (NSFs) and individuals from different parts of the world whether from core or peripheral countries, are involved in planning and implementing of sport aid programmes. In addition, the Olympic Solidarity involves some degree of reciprocity and interdependency in a sense that localised activities situated in different parts of the world are shaped by one another. Moreover, Olympic Solidarity facilitates the growing interconnectedness of different regions and the local becomes systematic
and reciprocal to the global, in fact the selection of certain sport aid programmes is related to the particularity of local needs. In addition, these programmes are utilised at the local level to achieve local aims. Therefore, given these characteristics it could be suggested that Olympic sport aid is a global phenomenon. Therefore, understanding the process of creation and establishment of the Olympic aid policy, there is a need to be aware of issues beyond the Olympic institution. In the same vein understanding the diffusion of Olympism to the newly independent countries, we must refer to the global interaction between the ‘core’ nations and the ‘peripheral’ states.

A variety of factors determines the reasons for certain cultural activities being globalised while others are not. These factors could be associated with political or economic interests that are complex and interwoven and interconnected. Therefore, in conceptualising a global phenomenon like Olympic Solidarity one needs to employ theories that can capture the global nature and provide an insight into the social phenomenon.

In sport globalisation literature that is specifically concerned with conceptualising the relationships between ‘Core and Periphery’, such as (Arbena, 1993; Bale, 1996; Darby, 1997; Maguire, 1999), the central themes examined are Western driven globalisation, uneven cultural exchange, cultural hegemony of the dominant centre and resistance to the subordinate recipients. These issues are important for the current research because the concept of aid and solidarity are used throughout modern history between colonial powers and their colonised societies. In the imperial era the concept of aid and solidarity was used for example by missionary schools to promote Muscular Christianity (Darby, 1997; Martin, 1991). The concepts developed to be used by colonial governments as foreign policy strategy (e.g. the US and the USSR and other European aid programmes), in addition, some inter governmental organisations, such as UNESCO and the United Nations associated these concepts with development projects of the ‘Third World’ (Dodds, 2000; Hoogvelt, 1997; Keily, 1998). Aid and development concepts are extensively used by NGOs that are concerned with humanitarian aid to the poorest societies (Petras and Veltmeyer, 2001). This illustrates the multiple aid discourses that are associated with the notion of global aid.
In connection with the diffusion of sport, Girginov (1998) argues that the diffusion of sport into the global arena occurred in three general models: legitimised exchange, introverted diffusion, and the imposition of new patterns of development. The current study argues that Olympic Solidarity is one of the mechanisms that has played a significant role in sport's diffusion from the core countries to the peripheral area, particularly in the newly independent countries. It is the key process of internationalisation of sport to a global sphere, and is still the major tool of the development of sport and Olympism to date. This invites us to question the process by which Olympism was diffused in Africa. The following sections are intended to assess the use of theories which treat globalisation, namely: modernisation, cultural imperialism, dependency, and figuration theory in conceptualising the Olympic sport aid commission in the initial phases and Olympic Solidarity in the later phase. The focus is to examine the international relations between the three constitutional elements of the world system (core, semi-periphery, and periphery) in the context of sport aid and Olympic Solidarity.

4.2.2 Globalisation approaches and Olympic sport aid

The modernisation thesis is an approach to explain the globalisation processes. It is concerned with assessing how 'traditional' societies reach 'modernity' (Rostow, 1960). The development process of institutions and organisations whether political (parliaments), economic (corporations) or cultural (sport institutions) are given consideration in terms of power distribution and decision making. The theory assesses the use of technological innovations, management techniques, division of labour, and economic activities to carry out human tasks. It perceives that change in societies is accompanied by the decline of traditions. One of the characteristic ways to illustrate such transformation is the change of a society from 'ritualism' to 'secularism' and the domination of the “scientific” view of human behaviour (Gruneau, 1988, 1993). Guttmann (1991) and Wagner (1990) argue that in the last two centuries 'mundialisation' or the modernisation process has produced a more secular and more rationalised interconnected world and sport is part of such a transformation.

Gruneau (1988) suggests that the development of sport is a rational response to the demands of urban and industrial societies, and that modern sport provides a model
for society in transition from 'traditional' to urban 'civil society'. The spread of scientific reasoning in sport training and the use of medicine and a health orientation in sport are part of a larger process of transformation. Sport development is seen to be an effective tool for a transformation from traditional institutions to modern regularised forms of social organisations. Roche (2000) notes that the mega-event (Olympic Games and Expo) has served as celebratory tools for the production of modernisation. Technological achievements and industrial production were popularised through these events, and the events were thus a representation of modernisation. This investigation assesses the rationale by which Olympic institutions were established in peripheral areas and identifies the nature of the programmes developed and the messages do they transmit.

Cultural imperialism has become one of the staple catchphrases of the field of international relations. It has been noted that by the 1950s and 1960s the global system had undergone a period of transformation, colonisation, the formal possession of an Empire had largely disappeared and the emergence of new independent self-governing countries was becoming one of the most visible features of the 20th century. Globalisation literature had indicated that despite these transformations, global economic and political inequalities, in forms that were prevalent during the period when imperialism was in its prime, still persisted. However, given these global transformations, the radical Marxist account of imperialism became less suitable in conceptualising the nature of the global system and this paved the way for the emergence of neo-imperialism theory, which focuses on the notion of imperialism as a process by which Western nations are able to maintain their dominance by dictating the terms upon which world culture and trade are based in global interaction. Hence, cultural imperialism is defined as the

sum of the process by which a society is brought into the modern world system and how its dominating stratum is attracted, pressured, forced and sometime even bribed into shaping social institutions to correspond to, or even promote, the values and structure of the dominating centre of the system (Schiller, 1976: 6; cited in / Mohammadi, 1997:49).

Schiller’s definition indicates that the creation of institutions is a fundamental step of the cultural imperialist process. Hence transnational corporations and non-
governmental organisations become key actors in sustaining economic and cultural relations between the centre and the peripheral societies. Mohammadi (1997) points out that imperialism did not maintain its rule merely through suppression, but through the export and institutionalisation of European and American ways of life, organising structure, values and interpersonal relations, language and cultural products that often remained and continued to have an impact even after the imperialists had gone home.

In examining the Olympic sport aid phenomenon we consider the concepts of cultural imperialism derived from Galtung (1991); Houlihan (1994 a); and Mohammadi (1997). Galtung (1991) identifies five types of imperialism (see table below) and argues that imperialism should be examined by looking into the interaction between the centre and the periphery to assess how this interaction is organised to create global exchange in terms of values, ideas, products and technological equipment.

Table 4.2: Galtungs' five types of imperialism

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<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Centre nation provides:</th>
<th>Periphery nation provides:</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Economic</td>
<td>Processing, means of production</td>
<td>Raw materials, markets</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Political</td>
<td>Decision models</td>
<td>obedience, imitators</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Military</td>
<td>Protection, means of destruction</td>
<td>discipline, traditional hard ware</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Communication</td>
<td>News, means of communication</td>
<td>events, passengers, goods</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cultural</td>
<td>Teaching, means of creation autonomy</td>
<td>learning, validation – dependence</td>
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Galtung (1991) suggests that cultural imperialism is evident in education and he calls it 'scientific imperialism', pointing out that the division of labour between teacher and student is clear, and the centre "always provides the teacher and the definition of that worth being taught (from the gospel of Christianity, to the gospel of technology to the gospel of Olympism" (Galtung, 1991:303, *italics added*). The periphery always provides the students and learners. The author goes further and suggests that the picture of imperialism is enhanced when these aspects of imperialism are added by the brain drain and the body drain, whereby 'raw' brain (students) and 'raw' bodies (sport talents) are moved from the periphery to the centre and 'processed' (trained) with ample benefits to the centre.
Mohammadi (1997) examines some of dynamics of cultural contacts between colonies and colonisers such as map-making (boundaries between states), concepts of nation building and nationalism, missionaries and the export of religion, education systems, administrative structure, language, travel and tourism, and technology that spread from the core to periphery. The author considers these dynamic contacts were the carriers of cultural imperialism that impacted on the colonised societies. Although the author does not examine sport per se, it can be argued that sport represents a vehicle for all dynamic contacts identified by (Mahammadi, 1997). For instance, sport strengthens the concept of nationalism and nation state, it exports the philosophy of Olympism, it promotes a specific educational practice, it transmits and establishes a standardised form of administrative structure, it employs a specific language, it provides a touristic travelling attraction, and sport has a wide range of technological equipment that is introduced to colonised countries. Hence, sport may be seen as a carrier that bears many faces of imperialism.

Houlihan (1994 a: 187-8) constructed a useful analytical framework in which to locate the body of empirical data which has been generated by the research into the nature and organisation of domestic sport. This framework centres around four groups in whom it is possible to identify distinctive relationships between external culture and the importer and recipient. The author further suggests conceptualising the diffusion of culture in terms of 'reach' which refers to the depth of penetration of a global culture into the local culture, and the 'response' which refers to the reaction of the recipient's culture. He also advocated that the local response should be considered, the conflictual, participative and passive responses. The framework suggests tracing the spread of global sport culture along the lines of colonisation in order to identify the processes of the centre periphery axis.

Gattung (1991), Mahammadi (1997), and Houlihan's (1994) notion of imperialism will guide the analysis of the Olympic sport aid. The investigation considers the interaction of IOC individuals from the established or the core countries within the Olympic movement and the late comers from the semi-periphery and periphery countries. The analysis will assess how the interaction is organised to form the aid programme and will identify the dominating figures within the structure of the aid commission. The investigation will also seek to assess the characteristics of the
Olympic aid programme as a dynamic cultural contact which carries Western cultural patterns that are promoted in peripheral areas. Moreover, the analysis will seek to trace the direction of aid and assess whether it is targeting societies along the line of the imperial power's interests.

The cultural imperialism thesis has long been a fundamental strand in terms of theorising the development of globalisation in general. The notion of a postcolonial era suggests that direct military domination of colonial powers has vanished and been replaced by a 'soft' domination through international organisations, whether they are economic or cultural (Hoogvelt, 1997; Dodd, 2000). Galtung (1991) describes soft imperialism as being a 'professional imperialism' as opposed to military imperialism which he refers to as 'amateurish imperialism'.

In addition, the study is also theoretically informed by dependency theory. This perspective criticises the above traditions of modernisation and cultural imperialism (Jarvie, 1994). From the perspective of the periphery, globalisation often appears to refer to the process and flows that benefit the rich industrial 'centre' nations at the expense of other regions, such as southern and central America and the Sub-Saharan Africa and Asia. It is concerned with examining the uneven way that global society has developed due to imbalances and unequal structures of trade, finance, power, and decision-making between nation states. Underdevelopment of the 'Third World' is described as being produced by development in the 'First World'. In other words, interaction between 'core' and 'periphery' involves an expropriation of economic surplus by the core countries from the poor ones, resulting in capital accumulation in the more developed nations and stagnation and impoverishment in the poor countries (Dodds, 2000; Hoogvelt, 1997).

Three models of dependency between the 'core' and 'periphery' relations are suggested: colonial dependency, which emerged with the era of imperialism when land, raw material and slave labour were monopolised by the colonial 'master'; financial dependency when the industrial countries undertook a huge investment in the developing world; and technological dependency, which emerged in the post World War II period. Cultural dependency is manifested in the replacement of 'indigenous' culture by other foreign ones, and indeed sport cannot be isolated from such web of dependencies. Darby (1997) illustrates the nature of dependency in the
spread of football in Africa and the interchange of power balance within FIFA during the Havelange presidency. He suggests that exploitive features can be associated with the development of football in Africa. Klein's study of Dominican baseball showed the impact of the diffusion of American sport in Dominican society as in exploitation of talent migration, undermining the local league for the benefit of super American league. Bale & Sang (1996) explore talented migration to increase the competitive level of Western tournaments and sport festivals. They also consider the exploitative nature of the sport industries, with companies such as NIKE using cheap labour in developing countries in terms of low salaries and working conditions.

Global sport and leisure is seen to be largely, though not exclusively, operated through multinationals or organisations dominated by the industrial world, and they actively work to underdevelop the 'periphery' by excluding it from the centre of political decision-making processes and from the economic rewards derived from the world sports/leisure economy.

The last approach that informs the study is the figuration thesis developed from Elias 'civilisation processes'. It perceives globalisation processes not recent in origin, but they are long-term historically developments processes. The globalisation processes involves multidirectional movement of people, practices, customs and ideas and moncausal approach in explaining these processes is rejected. Instead the figuration theory proposes the double-bind process results in interaction between West and Non-Western societies. The historical spread of 'civilised' Western patterns of conduct occurred through colonisation settlement of occidentals, or through assimilation of the upper strata of other nations, on the contrary, non-Western patterns of conduct also spread into the West as result of such interaction. Thus, the analysis of global sport should consider that counter-flow processes in terms of issue related to the diffused product.

Figuration also perceives globalisation processes as a form of diminishing contrast and increasing varieties (Maguire, 1999). The interaction between the external customs and norms of Western and non-Western societies in globalisation processes may lead to a decrease in conflicts and increasing varieties of cultural practices, and sport is seen to component of such processes. Maguire (1999) observes, although the globe can be understood as an independent whole but in deferent figurational
fields there are established (core) and outsiders (peripheral) groups and nation states each compete for dominant position and the social figuration are always in flux and change. Figuration theory suggests that the manner in which established or insiders (in the case of this research is aid provider) and the outsider (aid recipient) groups, may be active in interpretation of cultural forms, could function to 'fuse' new unique patterns of conducts what he terms 'increasing varieties' or emergence of new styles of practice. The analysis of the Olympic aid process focuses on the diffusion of Olympism and changes that occur in constructing the sport aid policy as out come of struggle between established and outsiders groups within the Olympic sport aid figuration.

The rejection of monocausal explanation of globalisation process, figuration theory suggests considering an interweaving process of intended and unintended factors that determine social outcome. The investigation has to take into account both intended and unintended factors. For instance, Green and Oakley (2001) noted that the German Democratic Republic although the political ideological practices were inextricably interwoven with the action of 'powerful' individual, nevertheless, the state failed to achieve their intended goals of high participation rates. In a global level, the shift of international power balance in post World War and the rise of revolutionary sport model in colonies were not intended outcome of the centre groups. Therefore, attention should be given to such factors.

The figuration theory in analysing globalisation process, suggest that a link between sportisation and globalisation. It sees the crucial point of departure is that an understanding of global sportisation process formation is bound up with inter-civilisation exchange. Sport cultural product are diffused and transmitted to other societies which adopted them as their own sport. This can be evident in the diffusion of football to Latin America. Brazilians consider football as local culture conduct representing the meaning associated with their culture and not associated with the country of origin. This process Maguire describes it as a 'commingling' of culture. However, the commingling of culture in terms of 'core' 'periphery' interaction depends on several factors: the form of colonisation; the status of the location within political, economic, and military network of independency; and the historical structure of particular state. In this case the meaning attached to Olympic aid will
be considered in term of identifying the discourse of the ‘aid provider’ and the ‘aid recipient’.

The use of modernisation cultural imperialism, dependency and figuration approaches is based on three main foci. First, it is related to the diffusion of Olympism and modern sport through Olympic aid by examining the rationale for creating such a policy, the prime movers, and the aims which they plan to achieve.

The second focus is to examine the interaction between IOC members from the core and periphery in constructing and modifying the Olympic aid policy and to see if they reflect the socio-political and economic global order. In other words, what were members’ views of the world in constructing the sport aid project? The third dimension will be focussing on types of resistance or response from the recipient states to the aid programmes, whether this response is total rejection, or hybridisation of the aid into local interests, or whether recipients absorbed the products promoted by the aid programme. The table below provides an illustration of how these theoretical orientations are articulated.
<table>
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<tr>
<th>Globalisation Approaches</th>
<th>Main focus</th>
<th>Issues to be investigated</th>
<th>Categories from documents</th>
<th>Analysis aims</th>
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<tr>
<td>Modernisation theory</td>
<td>Non-Western follows the foreign model in achieving modernisation and modernity The spread of modern institutions Scientific reasoning in sport practices Development projects</td>
<td>The promotion of scientification rationalisation of sport Specialisation and Labour division Development for whom? Commercialisation of sport Undermining tradition sporting culture</td>
<td>Building sport facilities Help to affiliate to ISFs and establishing sport institutions Technological aid Olympic standards Corporation with commercial organisations</td>
<td>Identifying types of courses offered: technical, and managerial. Identifying type of knowledge promoted Sport administration and sport management skills Standardisation of NOCs activities Capitalism and consumers values promoted (sponsorship, advertisement, spectotorship, sport tourism)</td>
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<td><strong>Analysis aims</strong></td>
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<td><strong>Dependency theory</strong></td>
<td>Assessing the nature and the structure of dependency between core and periphery</td>
<td>Neo-colonial forms of economic and cultural exploitation. What is the nature of periphery dependency through the aid programme? Periphery talent migration Periphery international prestige dependency on western culture</td>
<td>Technical and administration scholarship Financial dependency to carry out sport activities Information dependency / teachers and sport experts Technological dependency / sport equipment</td>
<td>Identifying area of dependency created from aid policy (e.g. periphery athletes funded by OS perform well in Olympics) Olympic education dependency Periphery sport talent migration and financial dependency</td>
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<td><strong>Figuration theory</strong></td>
<td>Civilisation process (progress or regression) Social phenomenon are in constant flux Network of interdependency between global and local Historical phases of global diffusion Multi-directional approach</td>
<td>The nature of power struggle within the figuration What where planned and unplanned consequences of the aid project? What changes occurred in the structure of aid?</td>
<td>Olympic sport aid administrative structure Integration of newly independent countries Voting system</td>
<td>Examining the power relations between agent involved Identify changes within the strategy of providing aid (e.g. more NOC involvement) Tension – balance of power Claims of interdependency</td>
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4.3 Data analysis: methods concerns

4.3.1 Textual data

Documents in general can be defined as "any symbolic representation that can be recorded or retrieved for analysis" (Altheide, 1996:2). There are different forms of document that capture human experiences, some are in textual form such as reports, diaries, notes, letters, minutes, booklets, and personal biographies, others are in technological form such as video, pictures, sound record, and others such as pieces of art and archaeological sites are known as material culture (Hodder, 1994).

According to Altheide (1996:2)

> Documents are studied to understand culture or the process and the array of objects, symbols, and meaning that make up social reality shared by members of a society.

However, their significance for the research act depends on the researcher's focus. In other words, the document will not be transformed into "research data" without the researcher's eye and questions.

Using documents in a research project has its own difficulties, the concern of the current research is the process through which text depicts 'reality' rather than whether a text contains true or false statements, in this sense the researcher must be quite clear about what documents can be used for. As pointed out by Atkinson and Coffey (1997:47) "documents are 'social facts' in that they are produced, shared and used in socially organised ways. They are not however, transparent representations of organisation routine, decision making processes, or professional diagnoses. They construct a particular kind of representation with their own conventions". In other words, documents cannot explain day-to-day activities that involve interaction between agents involved in social situations.

In addition, documents cannot be regarded as providing objective accounts of a state of affairs or an organisation. They have to be interrogated and examined in the context of other sources of data such as historical books, and interviews. However, this does not mean that documents cannot be relied upon solely as primary data for
a research project. Wellington (2000) points out that documents are the subject of systematic research in their own right and they are treated as social products which are objects of analysis.

Gaining an understanding of the meanings of historical documents is a challenging task (Tucman, 1998). Given the fact that the historical documents are produced by individuals who lived in different historical time and culture, the researcher may face difficulties in understanding the concepts raised or he/she may misinterpret the author's intentions. However, this drawback is mitigated by a thorough and extensive review of the historical context surrounding the social phenomenon (such as the undertaken in chapter three of this thesis). Historical review assists the researcher in understanding and conceptualising the meanings of documents and the statements they may contain.

Documents are the major sources of data in this study for several reasons. The study is historical in nature and evaluates the initial stages of creating the Olympic sport aid policy which dates back to the 1960s. Agents involved in establishing the policy may no longer be alive or they may not remember details of the events, thus, interviews are problematic. In addition, the study is transnational in nature, it involves actors from a range of different countries, and thus were actors still alive, and access for interviews for example, might be problematic. Relying on documentary sources was seen to be an appropriate approach in conducting this investigation.

4.3.2 Assessing Documents

Document analysis refers to "an integrated and conceptually informed methods, procedure, and technique for locating, identifying retrieving, and analysing documents for their relevance, significance, and meaning" (Altheide, 1996:2). Therefore, there is a need to create a certain framework that guides the analysis process and to assess the significance of documentary sources (see research protocol). Wellington (2000) and Bryman (2001) identify four criteria to assess documents that have applicability to any document analysis. These criteria are:
• Authenticity

This refers to the origin and the authorship credibility of historical material. The authorship criteria are useful in the current research in several ways. The classification of authors of documents into groups identified earlier of core, semi-peripheral and peripheral nations provides an indication of the relation of the individual to the nature of divisions of Olympic sport aid. Understanding and conceptualising the nature of relationships between individuals based on the groups reflects the international relation in a global context between the 'three pillars' of the world system. In addition, knowing the origin, position and background will eventually assist the explanation of interest and motives that drive individuals to take certain position regarding the construction of the aid programme. In addition, knowing individual backgrounds of key actors is essential in the ethnographic content analysis adopted for this research.

• Credibility

This refers to the extent to which a document is sincere and undistorted. The documents utilised in this research were gathered from the IOC official archive centre and existed in different formats namely, letters, reports, minutes, and memoranda. Certain issues are important in assessing credibility: for example, whether the author of the document was telling the truth or whether the writer was aware of all factors influencing the policy under scrutiny; whether she/he is mistaken in the information provided. As we indicated earlier the critical realist perspective adopted for this research does not seek to find the 'truth' but rather to develop an adequate account (Marsh, 1999, 2000). However, we must not take the information provided at face value, there is a need to use different strategies to verify the credibility of the document. A comparison between different types of documents that contain information on the same subject can be employed to verify the chronological sequence of events with other secondary sources such as historical books. However, the focus of concern here is not history as stated through 'facts' about 'events', but rather to 'culture' 'values' and 'beliefs' of those from the 'core', 'semi-periphery' and 'periphery' in relation to the role of Olympic aid. The aim of these strategies is not to provide a triangulation approach of data but rather a way of identifying multiple
discursive constructions of the aid policy within the organisation among different individuals or groups.

- Representativeness

This refers to the extent to which material gathered represents different perspectives involved in the construction of the social reality, and is related to the question of generalisation. In addition, this criterion refers also to 'typicality' which means whether the documents available can be said to comprise a representative sample of the totality of the documents as they originally existed. This is difficult to achieve in the current project since there is no record of the total population of documents existing in the archives. There may be some randomly missing, or some documents may have been systematically excluded.

Figure 4.2: The distribution of correspondence between IOC members and employees according to core, semi-periphery and periphery classification 1961-1980

However, according to May (1997) the question of typicality depends on the aims of the research and for instance, 'untypical' of documents may also be of interest. The researcher classified the direction of communication for each of these correspondences, it was noted that documents from individuals from core countries to the semi-periphery were not well represented. This may pose questions about the relationship between those two ideological blocks in the development of the aid project, or may mean that there was less correspondence in these categories (which is also of real interest). Moreover, correspondences between members from the peripheral states and between periphery and semi-periphery are also unavailable since copies were not logged within the IOC archive.
In relation to the representativeness of the documents there are important sets of caveats should be born in mind. First, as indicated above files may have been 'cleaned' – potentially alarming information removed. Second, the files contain a predominately core to core communication, and it is evident that such communication often incorporate language which would not be used when communication was from the core to the periphery (see for example quotations cited on pages 194, 196, and 205) Third, one might reasonably expect periphery-to-periphery communication to incorporate language not used in the periphery to core communication (in particular the language of 'resistance'). Periphery to periphery communication is however absent from the IOC's files, and thus the language of resistance is not surprisingly not evident in the correspondence. Such language one would expect to find in other sources such as the correspondence (periphery to periphery) associated with events such as the GANEFO Games.

- Meaning

This criterion is concerned with the assessment of the documents themselves, with establishing what the document tells us. Searching for meaning is considered to be the most important criterion for research and certain approaches need developing to seek an understanding of the document, taking into account the social context. Searching for meaning is not limited to a process of reading a text and understanding its content, it also includes the examination of documents themselves in terms of context, authorship, intended audience, intension and purpose, vested interest, style tone, and presentation and appearance (Willington, 1996).

Hodder (1994:398) points out that text can say many different things in different contexts and the text is an artefact capable of transformation, manipulation, and alteration, used and discarded, reused and recycled 'doing' different things contextually through time. The meaning of which may change over time and which may often be involved in antagonistic relations between groups. Past and present meanings are also continually being contested and reinterpreted as part of social and political strategies. He goes further and suggests that there is no 'original' or true meaning of a text outside specific historical contexts.
Given this position, the social context surrounding the document in question, must be understood if one is to grasp the significance of the document itself even independently from the content (Willington, 1996). Therefore, Hodder (1994) suggests that the identification of context involves searching for similarities and differences within patterns of material depending on the application of appropriate social theories. In addition to theories, researchers must also allow what Altheide (1996) calls the 'emergence of meaning', which refers to gradual shaping of meanings through understanding and the interpretation of documents themselves. Meanings and patterns seldom appear all at once rather they emerge or become clear through constant comparison and investigation of documents over a period of time. Bauer (2000) suggests that three strategies could be carried out for this purpose: first, constructing a text as an open system in order to pick up trends, and changing patterns; second, comparison between documents to reveal differences or similarities; thirdly, the reconstruction of a 'map of knowledge' as it is embodied in texts. Therefore, if the researcher is to construct the knowledge of the phenomenon, there is a need to go beyond the classification of text units or categories and work towards networking them to represent their relationships.

In the process of searching for meaning, the following list of criteria and questions were used to guide the analysis of every document. These questions assist in the understanding of the data as well as in verifying the credibility of the information provided in the documents.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Criteria</th>
<th>Questions to guide the analysis</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Authorship</td>
<td>Who wrote the document? What is their position within the organisation? Is there any bias? What is his / her background if available?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Intended audience / recipient</td>
<td>Who was it written for? Why them? What assumption does it make?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Intentions and purposes</td>
<td>Why was the document written? With what purpose in mind?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Production</td>
<td>Where was the document produced and when? What were the political, social, and cultural situations in which the document was produced?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 4.4: Continue

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Criteria</th>
<th>Questions to guide the analysis</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>• Genre, style and tone</td>
<td>How direct is the language? Is it written to inform, to persuade, to convince, or to provoke</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Context/frame of reference</td>
<td>When was it written? What was the political, social and cultural situation at that time? What come before and after it? How does it relate to previous documents and later ones?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: (Wellington, 2000)

4.3.3 Ethnographic Content Analysis (ECA)

According to Altheid (1996), Ethnographic Content Analysis (ECA) is basically a blend of traditional objective content analysis with a form of participant observation. The approach is different from traditional quantitative content analysis in the sense that the researcher is constantly revising the themes or categories that are distilled from the examination of documents. ECA follows a recursive and reflexive movement between concept development, sampling documents, collection, data coding, data, and analysis and interpretation.

The aim is to be systematic and analytic but not rigid. Categories and variables initially guide the study, but others are allowed and expected to emerge during the study, including an orientation to constant discovery and constant comparison of relevant situations, settings, styles, images, meanings and nuances (Altheid, 1996:16).

The ECA approach employs initial categorisation, but there is a greater potential for refinement of those categories and the generation of new ones with the development of understanding of the data. ECA is also oriented to documenting and understanding the communication of meanings as well as verifying theoretical relationships.

The ECA approach employed in this study allows a high degree of researcher involvement in all phases of the investigation. It allows a highly interactive relationship of the investigator with concepts, data collection, analysis, and interpretation. However, this interactive nature is controlled in terms of establishing systematic procedures that guide the processes carried out throughout the development of the project. In addition, it is important to point out that the ECA does not discard the QCA totally, but also involves collecting numerical and narrative...
data, and does so whilst avoiding the positivist convention of forcing predefined theoretical categories for collected research data. It allows inductive and deductive reasoning strategies to be utilized in conceptualising the data. Table 4 indicates major differences between the QCA and ECA in all phases of a research project.

Table 4.5: Qualitative (QCA) and Ethnographic (ECA) Content Analysis

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Research Goals</th>
<th>QCA</th>
<th>ECA</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Research Goals</td>
<td>Verification</td>
<td>Discovery; verification</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reflexive research design</td>
<td>Seldom</td>
<td>Always</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Emphasis</td>
<td>Reliability</td>
<td>Validity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Progression from data collection, analysis, interpretation</td>
<td>Serial</td>
<td>Reflective; circular</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary research involvement</td>
<td>Data analysis and interpretation</td>
<td>All phases</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sample</td>
<td>Random stratified</td>
<td>Purposive and theoretical</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Restructured categories</td>
<td>All</td>
<td>Some</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Training required to collect data</td>
<td>Little</td>
<td>Substantial</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Type of data</td>
<td>Numbers</td>
<td>Numbers; narrative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Data entry point</td>
<td>Once</td>
<td>Multiple</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Narrative description and comments</td>
<td>Seldom</td>
<td>Always</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Concept emerge during research</td>
<td>Seldom</td>
<td>Always</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Data analysis</td>
<td>Statistical</td>
<td>Textual; statistical</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Data presentation</td>
<td>Tables</td>
<td>Tables and text</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: (Altheid, 1996)

In general, content analysis, whether it is qualitative or quantitative, has some advantages in social research. It is very transparent in the sense that it allows a re-applicability of the research project if the coding schemes are clearly defined, it allows a certain amount of longitudinal analysis by giving a chance to track changes in a social phenomenon over time; it is flexible in the sense that it can be applied to a variety of types unstructured information; and it allows the researcher to gain information about group of people that access to whom may be difficult (such as in this case IOC members).

4.4 Data collection and Sampling

For the purpose of data collection the researcher visited the British Olympic Committee library, the Olympic Study Centre in Lausanne (Switzerland) and the International Olympic Academy in Olympia (Greece). These three institutions were the main sources of data collected for the project. The documents which relate to
the Olympic aid project are in a number of places, therefore, different searching strategies were used, searching by the sport aid subject, named IOC members involved in the aid programme, Olympic project in peripheral states, and searching for key events such as IOC sessions and meetings, conferences and the GANEFO Games.

Table 4.6: Summary of the types of documents collected

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of documents</th>
<th>Quantity</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Minutes of meetings</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reports</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Correspondence in English</td>
<td>190</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Correspondence in French</td>
<td>101</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Correspondence in German</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>355</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As noted in table above the archive materials collected exist in different formats (correspondence, reports and minutes of meetings) written with different structures by different authors. This diversity of documents provides a form of triangulation, which enriches the research data. For example, personal correspondence may give more insight into key actors' perceptions than the meeting minutes. However, the diversity of documents means fragmentation of information and makes it more difficult to trace themes. Therefore, an organising procedure had to be established to overcome this problem and hence increase the level of reliability and confidence while going through the coding process. This procedure was as follows:

- The documents were first divided into two groups: group one containing archive material dated from 1961 to 1969 concerned with the creation of the Commission for International Olympic Aid (CIOA); group two related to the emergence of Olympic Solidarity 1969-1980
- Archive materials were organised chronologically in order to help to identify the chronology of historical events
- Each document was reviewed in terms of the authorship, the audience or recipient, title, date of production, themes that it contains, and the language in which it was written.
- While reviewing some key themes / categories were developed.
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- French and German documents were translated into English by a professional translator
- All archive materials were scanned, checked for accuracy, and prepared for a certain format to be imported into QSR NUD*IST computer software

4.5 Coding and Categorising

As pointed out earlier, the ECA follows a recursive and reflexive movement between concept development, sampling, coding and analysis. The aim is to be systematic but not rigid in conducting these processes. Altheid (1996) suggests that a researcher must construct a research protocol that guides the coding procedures. Generally speaking, the protocol is a way of asking questions, identifying items, categories or variables that guide and assist the decision-making in relation to the material to be collected. In addition, it is a procedure taken to assess the reliability of the coding and categorising process in qualitative research. Reliability in a coding-based research project "refer to the degree of consistency with which instances are assigned to some categories by different observers or the same observer on different occasions" (Silverman, 2000:9).

Table 4.7 below provides a general operational description to each category developed to guide the coding process. The computer package QSR NUD*IST helps to provide more confidence in the reliability of the coding process because it allows a retrieval of original documents with which statements were coded. Inductive and deductive reasoning were utilised in the process of analysis, thus, theoretically based categories and empirical data derived categories were distinguished by a symbol (*) from the categories that were theoretically generated. It is important to point out that theoretical categories were developed not for the aim of testing theory but for the purpose of generating theory from the data. For example, the classification of 'core' 'semi-periphery' and 'periphery' states, the Cold War, paternalism and colonial discourse, resistance and integration were issues that theoretical based and incorporated into the analysis of the data.
Table 4.7: General description of the categories developed

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Themes</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Aid aims</td>
<td>Goals and aims the aid policy was designed to achieve</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Government relations</td>
<td>Correspondence with governmental officials, aristocrats or elite individuals, and governmental organisations e.g. UNESCO.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-Governmental</td>
<td>Correspondence with organisations such as IFs, Commonwealth, media and other trans-national organisations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Organisation relations</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fear of aid Commission</td>
<td>Expression of suspicion about the aid commission's work and opposing its creation and function</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cold War*</td>
<td>Issues raised by members indicating Cold War conflicts between core and semi-periphery / capitalism versus communism.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conservatism</td>
<td>Separation of Olympic matter from politics e.g. IOC members opposed to dealing with sport ministers in Africa.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paternalism/ superiority*</td>
<td>Ensuring the authority of the IOC over NOCs activities / restriction of NOCs/ hierarchy and class division between groups</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Financial issue</td>
<td>Issues about the strategy of funding for the Aid Commission. (e.g. source of funds, donation, and loans)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nairobi / Baden</td>
<td>Correspondence and information about the first IOC meetings to be held in Africa concerning the aid project</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baden Meeting</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Affiliation/ Integration</td>
<td>Affiliating African and Asian sport organisation to IFs and the recognition of their NOCs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brazzaville Games</td>
<td>The first African Games organised by African governments and the problem of recognition from the IOC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Schemes of assistance</td>
<td>Types of activities proposed to assist the NOCs in developing sport</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Permanent General</td>
<td>Correspondence and information related to the Permanent General Assembly of NOCs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assembly</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Language of colonialism *</td>
<td>Sentences or words used by core members to describe the peripheral societies e.g. unorganised people, coloured sport,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Television revenue</td>
<td>The distribution of Olympic income generated from broadcast rights</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nationalism*</td>
<td>Members request for national representation within the movement (identity)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unification of the</td>
<td>Negotiations of enhancing relations between IOC, IFs and NOCs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>movement</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Voting system</td>
<td>Issues related to the participation in decision making</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Types of assistance</td>
<td>Suggested activities to implement the Olympic aid policy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Support of aid</td>
<td>Member supporting the initiation of the aid policy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Resistance of aid*</td>
<td>Member responses to the Olympic aid policy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Italian support</td>
<td>Italian Olympic Committee providing sport assistance on behalf the IOC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gender issue*</td>
<td>Looking if issues related to women sport were raised</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Requests</td>
<td>Issues members from Africa and Asia requested from the IOC for example, changing aid structure, types of assistance, information</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The correspondence reviewed showed the direction of communication network in the construction of the Olympic sport aid. For example, the IOC members communicated with officials from core countries, IFs, NOCs from Africa and Asia, the United Nations, and the Commonwealth Games organisation. These were the constituencies interested in developing sport in the periphery states. Therefore, the analysis focused on understanding the nature of relations underpinning these organisations in creating a global sport assistance programme.

The analysis was also undertaken at different levels. The initial level classified the document into three groups of nation states based on the world system model. The second order analysis involved inductive and deductive categories that have been defined above. The third order of investigation was to explore the categories identified in terms of:

a) the diffusion of Olympism which is concerned with the spread of Olympics and the global ‘flow’ of modern sporting cultures
b) recipient response to the Olympic message, whether was one resistance or adoption of the Olympic values and culture
c) integration which is in this study concerned with incorporation and involving the aid recipients in the institution’s managerial board
d) Cooperation which is related to collaboration of aid providers and recipient in promoting Olympic values

The fourth level involved examining the four processes based on global political, economic and culture interaction between aid providers and aid recipients. This allows the global Olympic sport aid system to be conceptualised and provide a theoretically informed account or what is defined in critical realist terms as an adequate account.
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First order (Agents)

Core
North America, Western Europe & Australia

Semi-periphery
Eastern Europe USSR & the communist bloc

Periphery
Africa, Asia, and Central & Latin America

Second order (Themes)

CIOA 1960-1969
- CIOA aims
- Cold War*
- IOC authority
- Government relation
- NGO relations
- Nairobi Meeting
- Fear of Commissions’ work
- GANEFO games
- Paternalism discourse*
- Collaboration
- Friendship games
- Affiliation/integration
- Financial issues (NOCs donations & loans)

Olympic Solidarity 1969-1980
- CONI support
- General Assembly of IFs
- PGA of NOCs
- Regional Games (Africa, Asia, Latin America)
- Olympic Aid Budget
- Television revenue
- Schemes of Assistance (Ideological and technical)
- Cold War
- UNESCO
- Unity of the Olympic movement

Third order (Themes)

Diffusion of Olympism and Modern Sport
- Response to Olympic message
- Integration into the Olympic movement
- Co-operation in promoting Olympism

Fourth order

Political
Economic
Cultural

Global Olympic Aid System

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4.6 Computer assisted analysis

In terms of scientific research, the use of computers is evident not just in positivist quantitative research, but also in qualitative research. Electronic data processing devices, which were perceived by many social scientists as a tool for nothing more than statistical analysis of numerical data e.g. qualitative content analysis of textual materials, have been developed as an indispensable tool for the storage, retrieval and manipulation of qualitative data (Kele, 2000). In fact the field of computer assisted qualitative data analysis has rapidly developed in qualitative methodology. Several computer software packages have been created such as ETHNOGRAPH, QUALPRO, TAP, MAX, WINMAX, NUD*IST, ATLAS and many more others (see, Richards and Richards, 1994), but the most widely used in social research are ETHNOGRAPH and NUD*IST (Kele, 2000).

It is worth mentioning that developing an understanding of the meaning of texts cannot be performed with the help of computer software, but the computer assists in a variety of mechanical tasks which are involved in the analysis of textual material. The prime aim for the use of Non-numerical Unstructured Data Indexing Searching and Theorising (NUD*IST) for the project was to assist the researcher with the management of the heterogeneous and fragmented data. Kele (2000:285) points out that

computer software packages are tools to machine tasks of ordering and archiving texts, and represent for data administration archiving rather than tools for data analysis.

However, Richards and Richards (1994) suggest that, in addition to computer assistance in the management of data, they can also be used in the discovery and management of unrecognised ideas and concepts, as well as the construction and exploration of explanatory links between that data and the emergent ideas to make fabrics of arguments and understanding around them.

The basic features of the computer software program utilised in this project are:

- Indexing systems of documents and addresses of text passages which can be used to retrieve indexed text segments;
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- Construction of electronic cross-references that can be used to go back and forth between text passages and other passages that are linked together;
- Facilitation of the storing of researcher's comments in the form of 'memos';
- Features for defining linkage between index words;
- The use of categories and filters that can restrict the search for texts segments;
- Facilities for retrieval of texts segments with specified relations to each other;
- Facilities for retrieval of quantitative attributes of a database.

Like any other method in social research, it is not a straightforward process. Computer assisted methods in qualitative research have their own problems and difficulties. Kele (2000) identifies some potential methodological problems associated with the use of computer software in research projects. The author points out that

There is a possibility that the computer could alienate the researcher from their data, and enforce analytical strategies that go against the methodological and theoretical orientation that qualitative researches see as the hallmark of their work (Kele, 2000:294)

As pointed above different computer software programs are designed for specific methodological approaches (e.g. ethnography grounded theory) thus, using certain packages that may not be considered appropriate for the researchers' approach would lead to a methodological error.

In dealing with vast amounts of data, Kele (2000) points out there is a danger of software for textual data management being overwhelmed by the sheer volume of information that becomes available when using computer technology. The amount of time and effort required to prepare the data and enter them into the program is considerable. Recruiting individuals to speed up the scanning process dealt with this problem. The time and money spent in this process was worthwhile since the data can be revisited for future research projects as well as being available for the examiner for credibility evaluation.
The use of software programs in qualitative research is also problematic in a sense that the researcher may not develop sufficient skills to utilise effectively most of the facilities that the program offers. This problem requires a researcher to allocate enough time to learn to use the software to an appropriate level to achieve his/her own aims. In summary, however, it was felt that the time, recourses and effort dedicated to scanning and coding the data was rewarded by the flexibility which it offered the researcher in developing the analysis and in understanding reflexive treatment approach to data analysis require by ECA.

5. Conclusion

This chapter has outlined how the key issues in respect of methodology have been dealt with in the study. The ontological and epistemological premises on which to approach the study is founded are identified. The range of theoretical perspectives to be considered is highlighted, together with an indication of what types of social phenomena will constitute ‘evidence’ in relation to those perspectives.

The evaluation of the theory involves the construction of inductive and deductive categories from the data. The protocol for undertaking categorisation is classified. Finally, the mechanics of categorisation via NUD*IST are cited. The following two chapters deals in details with empirical findings obtained following the processes outlined above.
CHAPTER FIVE

THE DIFFUSION OF OLYMPISM IN AFRICA AND ASIA
– THE POSTCOLONIAL EXPERIENCE

5. Introduction

This Chapter examines the emergence of Olympic sport aid policy and more specifically the role of the Commission for International Olympic Aid (CIOA) in promoting Olympism as well as integrating the newly independent countries from Africa and Asia into the Olympic ‘family’ in the 1960s. The Chapter seeks to identify the process of cultural flows, the intentions and ‘mind sets’ of the actors involved, and the power relations evident in constructing, modifying or restricting Olympic aid policy as evident in archive correspondence both between the IOC and the individuals from ‘core’ countries (generally aid donors), the ‘semi-periphery’ (aid donors as well) and ‘peripheral’ countries (recipients of aid). The principal method to investigate this process is a form of qualitative content analysis, using a protocol drawn from the ethnographic content analysis assisted by the application of NUD*IST software for managing qualitative data in documentary research based on coding and categorising techniques.

The analysis of Olympic diffusion, which is developed, provides evidence through which to evaluate frameworks of explanation drawn from the perspectives of cultural imperialism, modernisation and dependency, and figurational analysis of globalisation. Key issues at the centre debate surrounding globalisation discourse in terms of cultural diffusion is that of homogeneity and heterogeneity and whether the cultural flow is mono-causal or multi-causal. As Appadurai (1990:295) observed, that ‘the central problem of today’s global interaction is the tension of cultural homogenisation and cultural heterogenisation. The evaluation of Olympic sport aid in this chapter is to highlights the global cultural flow processes through aid sport in the postcolonial era which was marked by end of military colonialism.
5.1 Post-colonialism and Western Hegemony

From a post-colonial perspective, globalisation has a specific use to help us to think about the nature of colonised societies, which have experienced forms of domination, and how globalisation has helped to shape or influence European colonialism and Euro-American imperialism. Post-colonialism is a view that refers to the conditions of societies 'after' and 'beyond' colonialism. It shows the interwoven the postcolonial present with a connection to the colonial past. People's articulations of cultural identity, many of their assumptions, and their organisations and institutions are implicated in the colonial as the other side of the coin of the colonial past. Therefore, globalisation, in the postcolonial frame, does not mean 'universal' globalisation in its various historical forms, but is employed to show how narratives or discourses supplement and display 'centre' – 'periphery' differentiation. Globalisation is viewed as aiding the potential to think through cultural consequences of colonising processes. The diffusion of sport into colonised societies is considered as part of a wider influence of European Imperialism on the 'indigenous' societies of colonised nations.

5.2 Global Order and the Emergence of International Aid

The post World War II period witnessed the continuing decline of British and French hegemony in global politics and the rise of the super powers the USA and the USSR. This bi-polar politics created a system of global political blocs divided between capitalism and communism. Non-western societies, however, besides the Cold War politics, witnessed the growth of nationalist and anti-imperialist movements. Espy (1979) suggests that in UN conferences the issue of colonialism became the primary concern of non-western societies rather than the Cold War. However, the policies of the super powers, particularly of the Soviet Union, had been transformed to compensate for the growing body of nations emerging in 'peripheral' areas in the 1960s due to decolonisation and independence movements (Dodds, 2000).

The brutality of the Second World War destroyed much of the European economy. The need to reconstruct and rebuild Europe led to the emergence of the concept of
aid in international relations. An America politician Marshall George Catlett¹, while serving as Secretary of State in President Truman's Cabinet, proposed the European Recovery Program known also as the Marshall Plan. The plan encouraged European nations to work together for economic recovery after the war. Aid to Europe began in April 1948, when the UN Congress established the Economic Cooperation Administration (ECA) to administer foreign aid. It is suggested that American aid through the Marshall Plan played a significant role in the rapid economic recovery of Western Europe, the growth in industrial production after the Second World War was largely funded by the United States. It sent about 13 billion U.S. dollars in food, machinery and other products to Western Europe (Tipton and Aldrich, 1987).

In support of the policy of reconstruction in Europe, the United Nations created a programme known as the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration (UNRRA). The US Marshall Plan immediately replaced this program and imposed more stringent requirements in the administration of aid on the part of recipient countries. For instance, the recipients of US aid were forbidden to borrow from the International Monetary Fund (IMF). Importantly, a critical development of the Marshal Plan was its connection to the division of Europe. In two famous speeches in 1946 Churchill had called for the creation of the ‘United States of Europe’ but also asserted that the ‘iron curtain’ was descending between the East and West. The aid program was intended to prevent Soviet expansion in Western Europe. It was used to secure aid for Greece and Turkey and to supply food to West Berlin when the communists blockaded that city. In 1949 the US imposed a series of severe restrictions and outright embargoes on exports to socialist countries of goods, which might have increased their military power (Tipton and Aldrich, 1987).

With regard to ‘Third World’ states, the idea of aid and development in the post World War II period, was more consciously advocated as a way for non-Western societies to become more like the ‘West’ or ‘Occidental’. The context for this strategy of development was the beginning of the end of empire and inauguration of the Cold War between the super powers. The content of this strategy was economic growth

¹ Marshall, George Catlett (1880-1959), served as secretary of state from 1947 to 1949 and as secretary of defence from 1950 to 1951, he was the first to negotiate the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) his role in European reconstruction after World War II earned him a Nobel Peace prize in 1953.
through a partnership between the private and public sector, which was premised on the belief that the nation state was a sovereign body (Kiely & Marfleet, 1998). In other words, it was believed that Western governments through multinational companies and transnational organisations could easily penetrate the markets and economies of weaker nations. Thus, aid policy towards Third World countries was also perceived along lines of political struggle. Tipton and Aldrich (1987: 158) point out that

...increasing nationalist agitation in the colonies and the Cold War changed the attitude of US and western European leaders. The danger of communists gaining control of nationalist movements led to economic aid being viewed as a weapon in the Cold war. Aid might be to preserve politically secure the income of poor countries, resulting in increasing trade and advantage for rich countries as well.

This aid policy was intensified during the 1960s. The US, with its larger and more efficient industry than ever, needed trading partners and investment opportunities outside North America. Most US investment in terms of aid went to England, France, West Germany, Italy and Netherlands in the late 1940s and early 1950s. In 1961, the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) was created and twenty nations, including USA, Canada, and USSR, formed the OECD to promote the economic growth of member nations and to aid developing areas. This approach was evident within UN sub committees, which sought to support such collaboration with newly emerging countries to allow them to develop and participate in the world economy. According to Tipton & Aldrich (1987) in the 1960s aid policies became big business and the aid amounts dramatically increased from 8.4 billion US Dollars per year in 1960 - 1962 to 16.6 billions in 1969-71. The growing bureaucracies of the international agencies largely administered these amounts of money and the rapid decolonisation process of African and Asian states paved the way for multinational organisations to play a significant role in international relations.

It is suggested that at the beginning of the postcolonial period, the decolonisation process was part of integrating the newly independent countries into the world system, with the emergence of the supper powers and the creation of the United Nations as a governmental organisation that would govern the world politics, committed to promoting the co-operation between nation states in a peaceful
environment. This was done at all levels, political, economic, and cultural. In contrast to these peaceful collaborations, Dodds (2000: 56) noted that the west adopted a geographical view that the Third World had to be saved from the enduring evils of communism. In some cases this concern resulted in armed intervention in various parts of the world as was the case in the Dominican Republic in 1965, Vietnam 1968, Cambodia in 1970 and Angola. In addition, countries such as, Taiwan and South Korea received extensive financial and military assistance throughout the 1950s and 1960s because they were considered to be under threat from the Soviet Union and/or China.

Table 5.1: Independence year by country in Africa and Asia

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Independence Year</th>
<th>Countries</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1947</td>
<td>India</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1948</td>
<td>Burma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1950</td>
<td>Indonesia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1951</td>
<td>Libya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1956</td>
<td>Morocco, Sudan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1957</td>
<td>Ghana, Malaya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1960</td>
<td>Dahomy, Madagascar, Chad, Central Africa Republic, Congo (Brazzaville) Congo (Kinhasa), Ghana, Ivory Coast, Somalia, Mauritania Nigeria, Niger, and Upper Volta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1961</td>
<td>Sierra Leone, Tanganyika,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1962</td>
<td>Algeria, Rwanda, Burundi, Uganda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1963</td>
<td>Zanzibar, Kenya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1964</td>
<td>Zambia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1965</td>
<td>Gambian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1966</td>
<td>Botswana, Guyana, Malawi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1980</td>
<td>Zimbabwe</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: (Harkness, 1974)

Taiwan for example derived 5-10 percent of its national income from American financial aid in the 1950s. However, the African states were not given such importance in American assistance in the early 1960s. On the other hand, the Soviet Union assisted most of the liberation movements in the 'Third Word' as a counterbalancing influence against the US, Britain, France, Portugal and Holland (Said, 1993: 292). According to Connor (1991) and Galtung (1991) this situation created a foundation for a 'neo-imperialism' in which there was a transformation or replacement of direct military imperialism by economic and cultural imperialism. In other words, a form of control without military presence (Hoogvelt, 1997).
5.3 The Emergence of the Commission for International Olympic Aid (CIOA)

As indicated in chapter two, the diffusion of sport in African and Asia has been driven to a certain extent by the expansion of European imperialism. In this section we explore the diffusion of Olympism through Olympic aid policy. We examine key actors’ perceptions and assess strategies developed by which the newly independent countries could be attracted and integrated into the Olympic 'family'. In doing so, it is necessary to reflect on international political relations between the colonising countries and the colonies in the period of the creation of aid policy. We argue that the Aid Commission was part of the political struggle between 'core' and 'semi peripheral' and 'periphery' to generate a place in the new global political order post World War II as identified above (See chapter three).

Initially, the idea of promoting Olympism in newly independent countries in the 1960s was proposed to the IOC by members from European countries. The USSR, driven by its foreign policy aims to gain influence in Africa and Asia by supporting national liberation movements in their quest for freedom, increased sporting interaction as part of its 'neighbouring sport policy' (Riordan, 1988; Peppard and Riordan, 1993). In 1961 at the IOC session held in Athens, Andrianov the IOC member from the USSR proposed the creation of an Olympic Aid Commission. Two specific functions were identified: one was to draw sportsmen from Africa and Asia into the Olympic movement without any discrimination, as well as to enlarge IOC membership by electing members from the newly independent states if states complied fully with the Olympic Charter. The second function was to promote Olympism in these newly created territories. Andrianov the IOC member from the Soviet Union member pointed out that:

The IOC, solemnly thereby, affirms that one of its important tasks of the present time shall be to draw sportsmen from countries of Africa and Asia into the world Olympic movement without any discrimination on the ground of politics, religion, or race, to render every aid and assistance at its disposal to the Olympic movement and amateur sport in these countries, and feels confident that such an aid shall make a great contribution towards further development of world sport and the Olympic movement and strengthening the friendship between the youth and sportsmen of all countries (Andrianov &
In the same vain Jean de Beaumont, an IOC member from France proposed an idea of creating funds to assist the development of sport in Africa and Asia as part of a process of integrating them into the world sport. Jean de Beaumont did not take to account the independence war that was going on in Algeria and he suggested that France had already taken decolonisation steps pointing out that:

In the note sent by USSR to all the NOCs and the IFs, we are told of decolonisation. I must say, France did not wait for external intervention in order to carry out decolonisation in every field, especially in the field of sport when France developed sport in French speaking African territories (Jean de Beaumont, 1961: Doc 02)

The integration of the ex-colonies to the world system in the postcolonial period was seen to be through cultural exchange. In this period the western interest targeted the newly independent countries, particularly the Sub-Saharan African territories which were last to gain their independence from French, British and Belgium colonies. From the Western perspectives whether promoted by ‘core’ or ‘semi-periphery’, integrating peripheral nations into international sport organisations and the IOC was perceived as an expression and a symbol of granting freedom and independence. It is interesting to note here that, although sport mega-events were used during the colonial era to symbolise the great Empires (Roche, 2000), with for example, the Friendship Games as well as the British Empire Games (subsequently called the Commonwealth Games) were perceived here as signs of decolonisation. The expression of freedom and independence of the colonies was associated with their acceptance or participation in Western sporting cultures. This view was complementary to peripheral orientation of sport, since sport in the newly independent countries was associated with struggle for freedom and they needed to be recognised as nations within the international arena. In addition, the peripheral countries, especially the Sub Saharan African managed to achieve remarkable results (e.g. Ethiopia and Kenya) in the 1960 Olympic Games in Rome, and the notion of beating the master in their own games had help to popularised and dramatised

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modern sport and boosted the sense of national identity in most colonies which were undermined by imperialism.

The proposed Olympic sport aid targeted the creation of Olympic institutions (NOCs), recruiting sport representatives from Africa and Asia to the IOC, initiating a conference to examine the development of sport and the Olympism and the establishment of special aid funds for the Olympic movement in newly independent countries. This assistance was also seen to be realised by exchanging sport experts and sport delegations, sports literature, as well as exhibitions of films and physical education tapes.

5.3.1 Olympic Sport Aid and Imperial Connection

The CIOA was officially created in 1962 in the Moscow IOC session. At this session Commission members noted the technical and financial difficulties that they would face due to the complex nature of the proposed programme and its wide-ranging activities. The Commission had to seek external means for carrying out substantial tasks. The IOC sought European imperial governments' support, particularly, from France and from the USSR. The governments' involvement had two main functions: providing financial and moral support, and provision of sources of information. Jean de Beaumont's was able to call for unconditional support from the French government. He pointed out that,

Upon my return to Paris, to put my mind at rest, I immediately contacted Mr. Maurice HERZOG, High Commissioner for Youth and Sports, to know whether he would back me financially in our support program for newly independent countries... He promised me his unconditional support (Jean de Beaumont, 1961: F. Letter05 to C. Andrianov).

Mr Herzog also requested de Beaumont to travel to Africa under the banner of Olympism to promote sport in former French colonies and all travelling expenses were to be paid by the French government (Jean de Beaumont, January 22: Letter 01d to A. Brundage). The IOC president Brundage supported such collaboration with the French government and pointed out.

3 Herzog was a minister of the High Commission of Youth and Sport in France, become an IOC member in 1970.
Chapter Five The Diffusion of Olympism to Africa and Asia

I spoke with Commissioner Herzog, on this subject, the last time I saw him. It was suggested that it would be advantageous to all concerned to have Olympic Committees organized in these countries under proper auspices, and that his department should be interested in seeing that this was done. I am glad to learn that you will have his moral and financial support (Brundage, 1962: Letter 03 to Jean de Beaumont).

Upon this request, de Beaumont was given an official mission by the IOC to inform the newly independent states about the principles of the Olympic movement and 'amateur' sport, targeting specifically the ex-French colonies (Brundage, February 4, 1962: Letter 04 to IOC members).

Table 5.2: List of IOC members who requested financial support for the CIOA

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Country</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Messrs. V. Stoitchev</td>
<td>Bulgaria</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A. Massard</td>
<td>France</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Willi Daume</td>
<td>Germany</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marquess of Exeter</td>
<td>Great-Britain</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Giorgio de Stefani</td>
<td>Italy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alexandru, Siperco</td>
<td>Romania</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>J. Jewett, Garland</td>
<td>USA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C. Andrianov</td>
<td>USSR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Comte Thaon di Revel</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


The CIOA was also associated with Western imperial governments in exchanging information about sport development in former colonies. Western officials were requested to evaluate the possibilities of creating NOCs in Africa since the newly independent countries' political views were dominated by anti-imperialist movements. The German ambassador Mr. W. Klingeberg was requested to report about the sport situation in Congo, and Colonel M. Crespin from the High Commission of Youth and Sport in France was asked to evaluate and suggest African candidates that may be suitable to for IOC membership or invitation as African delegates to the IOC session in Nairobi4 in 1963. This session was organised to show to Africans that they were welcome in the world sport system and to show them that they were 'equal' members of the Olympic family. It was pointed out that:

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4 Nairobi IOC session was also seen as way to response to a Eurocentric criticism directed to the IOC. However, the session was cancelled and moved to Baden-Baden due to S. Africa visa problem.
Concerning the choice of African observers that will be present at this session, Mr. Brundage is in favour of the original idea, in other words to await the suggestions of the High Commissioner for Youth and Sports. These suggestions will have the advantage of providing a maximum of guarantees concerning the recommended personalities (M. Muewly, February 11, 1963: F. Report 03, to Jean de Beaumont).

The invitation forwarded to the African delegates to attend the Nairobi IOC session was restricted by the condition that the African delegates could not be under political mandate or be government representatives such as ministries of sport, but rather national sport federations leaders were preferred. Given the political environment dominated by anti-imperialism and the high morality of independence and the desire of self-governing. The IOC initiative to separate sport and politics in the promotion of Olympism in Africa had been intended to impose the 'amateur' sport concept, and in its initiative to select African sport leaders, it can be seen that the IOC sought to ensure that the sport organisations were 'politically neutral' in order to facilitate the penetration of Olympism as well as to re-establish relations between the imperial powers and the colonies through sport institutions which were ‘threatened’ by the independence movement.

The creation of the CIOA and the desire to promote Olympism was part of a wider Western interest in promoting sport in Africa and Asia. Jean de Beaumont pointed out in a request for collaboration with UNESCO that,

Now, the world has seen itself enlarged by a new dimension: that of developing countries. The I.O.C. would like to offer these countries some tangible evidence of brotherliness in sports through practical, technical and financial aid...It would appear that many countries in Europe and America operate individually insofar as aid to sports is concerned, both for Africa and Asia. It will therefore be necessary to make a list of all these activities with a view to coordinating them, in order to avoid losses of time, energy and money; they would be overseen by an international and a political organization (Jean de Beaumont, October 4, 1962: F. Letter 22, to Mr Mehau UNESCO).

As mentioned earlier the international relations post World War II witnessed the development of international ‘governmental’ organisations such as the UN, UNESCO, and IMF. Consequently non-governmental organisations also began to play an important role in international interaction between countries of the 'core' and
'periphery'. The IOC perceived the growing Western interest in promoting sport in African and Asia through aid initiatives taken individually by American and European governments as an opportunity to establish an environment for itself in which it could play the leading role in the development of global sport. The IOC wanted to control the growing sport aid and suggested that it should be the co-ordinator of all sport related aid to the newly independent countries to avoid overlap and waste of time and money. By doing that the IOC wanted to expand its activities from an organisation that was concerned only with organising Olympic festivals to an institution that was concerned with the development of global sport. It would thus take its place in the global system of cultural governance, just as in the political and economic spheres of other international organisations such as UNESCO and World Health Organisation (WHO). However, as far as sport was concerned, most of the individual sport aid provided was carried out as part of governmental foreign policy, which aimed to spread the political ideologies of the donor country whether from the 'core' nations or from the 'semi-periphery' (Bale and Sang, 1996; Hazan, 1987; Houlihan, 1994; Peppard and Riordan, 1993; Riordan, 1988). This suggests that sport diffusion to newly independent countries was associated with social communist and liberal capitalist political ideologies.

The IOC in response to the growing Western interest in Africa and Asia or what we can describe as the scramble to Africa, took the initiative to recognise NOCs in most of the newly independent countries. The majority of Sub-Saharan African countries were given recognition just after their independence in the 1960s which reflect dramatic shift of IOC policy toward the peripheral countries.
The CIOA through de Beaumont's initiatives played a significant role in facilitating the affiliation process of African and Asian newly independent countries into IFs and hence in the creation of Olympic institutions. The other reason for rapid recognition of the newly independent countries was the fear that they would join the Afro-Asia Solidarity movement and the Non-aligned movement which were emerging as political group in global arena and sought to create the GANEFO Games (see chapter three).

5.3.2 Olympic Aid and Cold war Conflict

The Cold War conflict between communism and capitalism was part of the agents' conceptualisation of Olympic sport aid. The CIOA was also perceived as a potential tool in which competing ideologies could increase their influence and their hegemony over the international space. The USSR's suggestion of creating aid programmes and its interest in promoting Olympism in Africa and Asia was considered by some to be as part of its political propagandising of communist ideology and a way to gain influence within the IOC as it had done within the United Nations. Lord Luke the IOC member from Great Britain have clearly pointed out that,

There is another confidential point, which needs to be watched (but not mentioned in public) - it is my private opinion that the U.S.S.R. are only keen about this effort in so far as it is part of their political objective of extending
their influence in Africa, and they see in the I.O.C. a means to that end. We must not forget that the overwhelming influence of the U.S.S.R. in the United Nations affairs has been accentuated by their support of the African states, and we have to beware that too much influence on the I.O.C. of increased African membership could have the same effect. In the same way the U.S.S.R. is jealous of the effort the U.S.A. is making in Africa through various forms of aid. Therefore, to sum up, we are fairly close to political issues in our new-found African venture and we must therefore treat them carefully (Lord Luke, August 28, 1962: Letter 09a, to Jean de Beaumont).

The Cold War conflict was also indicated by de Beaumont when he pointed out that that the aim of CIOA was 'to prevent some countries from doing what we hope to do ourselves in international basis' (Comte de Beaumont, April 19, 1963: Letter, 28 to Lord Exeter). This perception of the Olympic Aid Commission was founded on the politics of the Marshal plan which divided Europe into two blocs and in which the West was determined to prevent and protect the 'peripheral' area particularly in Sub-Saharan Africa from communism. However, the IOC hoped that it could control the aid project and felt it could avoid political conflicts if the process was handled carefully in promoting Olympism the newly independent countries.

Thus diffusion of Olympism in Africa and Asia in 1960s was generally driven by competing East-West ideologies of the Cold War. Otto Mayer stated that,

I would also like to emphasise the fact that the French were the first to encourage sports in 'Black Africa' particularly in the newly independent countries, and thus avoid that others might claim those laurels. I am thinking of the Russian member of the I.O.C. who is in de Beaumonts' commission, who did not even deign to answer any of the 3 letters that De Beaumont sent to him( Otto Mayer, 6th January, 962: F Letter, 11 to Gaston Mayer, L'equipe)

The discussion above indicates that since the break-up of the colonial empires and the growing enthusiasm to reinforce a peaceful co-existence with ex-colonial territories and the rise of the East -West contest over development and politics in the periphery countries, sport (and Olympism in particular) had gained much attention from the 'core' and 'semi-periphery' countries seeking to promote it in 'developing' countries as a process for competition for global hegemony (See chapter three).
5.3.3 Olympic Aid Managerial Structure

In evaluating the key actors involved in the creation of the Aid Commission it should be noted that it comprised mostly members of Euro-American origins. A number of those actors representing Africa were of Western origin, Angelo Bolonaki was Greek and Reginald Stanley Alexander came from a British background, he was though born in Kenya and had Kenyan citizenship. Hadj M. Benjloun (Morocco) and Ahmed Touny (Egypt) were the only 'indigenous' members from Africa. No one from Sub-Saharan African was involved in the creation of the Aid Programme although it initially targeting this area (See table 5.3).

The CIOA played a significant role in the affiliation of the newly independent countries to IFs. De Beaumont in his visit to Dakar acted as a liaison between the African National Sport Federations and the IFs for the purpose of speeding up the procedures to create NOCs in those countries to allow them to participate in the Olympic Games in Tokyo in 1964.

Table 5.3: Key actors actively involved in the CIOA work in the early 1960s as evidenced by analysis of the IOC correspondence files.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Position</th>
<th>Involvement period</th>
<th>Elected in IOC</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Avery Brundage</td>
<td>USA</td>
<td>IOC president</td>
<td>1961</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Otto Mayer</td>
<td>Switzerland</td>
<td>IOC chancellor</td>
<td>1961</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conte de Beaumont</td>
<td>France</td>
<td>CIOA Chair</td>
<td>1961</td>
<td>1951</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Constatin Andrianov</td>
<td>USSR</td>
<td>CIOA V. president</td>
<td>1961</td>
<td>1951</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lord Luke</td>
<td>G. Britain</td>
<td>CIOA member</td>
<td>1962</td>
<td>1951</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sondhi</td>
<td>India</td>
<td>CIOA member</td>
<td>1961</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Angelo Bolonaki</td>
<td>Egypt</td>
<td>IOC member</td>
<td>1961</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ahmed E. Touny</td>
<td>Egypt</td>
<td>CIOA secretary</td>
<td>1961</td>
<td>1960</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R. S. Alexander</td>
<td>Kenya</td>
<td>CIOA V. president</td>
<td>1961</td>
<td>1960</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hadj M. Benjelloun</td>
<td>Morocco</td>
<td>CIOA member</td>
<td>1962</td>
<td>1961</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M. Muewly</td>
<td>Switzerland</td>
<td>CIOA Assistance</td>
<td>1962</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>W. Klingenberg</td>
<td>German</td>
<td>Ambassador in Congo</td>
<td>1961</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Morice Herzog</td>
<td>France</td>
<td>Minister of HCSY</td>
<td>1961</td>
<td>1970</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The IOC requires a country to be affiliated to five IFs before an NOC can be officially recognised. However, despite the IOC's interests in integrating the newly independent countries into the Olympic movement, the Africans were restricted in terms of participation in the administration of the IOC. Brundage requested de
Beaumont to explain this arrangement in his meeting with African delegates in Dakar.

Another point that must be explained is the organization of international sport and that the countries will not participate in the I.O.C. itself, but that their National Olympic Committees will be recognized so that they may participate in the Olympic Games (A. Brundage, April 16th 1963: Letter 27 to Cont de Beaumont).

Kruger & Riordan (1999: 19) and Roche (2000) point out that despite the IOC interest in integrating the African countries into the movement they were to be denied equal voting rights. The weighted voting system was introduced in order to prevent the IOC from becoming influenced by various ideological powers as had been seen to be the case in the United Nations (where membership implies representation and voting rights).

The IOC sought to regulate the way in which sport aid should be provided in order to ensure that the funds would be utilised solely for the development of sport and the spread of Olympism. The IOC chancellor Otto Mayer suggested that the aid should be in form of educators and sport equipment. He pointed out that,

One thing I regret not to agree is, when Jean de Beaumont intends to get money to send to those people what are they going to do with that money? Can you imagine non-organized people, knowing practically nothing - or not much - about sport, receiving suddenly money for what? What those people should receive, as Count de Beaumont is going to get some, are: educators in sport, trainers and material (I am thinking i.e. material for gymnastics etc.) That money should be used for that only: material sent from Europe and instructors sent from Europe or USA, but certainly not cash money which will disappear in the pocket of some clever negroes! The first thing is to find intelligent people there who would listen FIRST to what Count de Beaumont tells them (Otto Mayer, January 25, 1962:Letter 02, to Avery Brundage).

It is understood from the statement above that the aid process was formed in a structure that is regulated via a top-down process. The ‘core’ as the provider of aid through making sport technology and technical instructors available for projects, was the ‘top’ and the ‘periphery’, as the recipient of such technology and sport knowledge the bottom in this hierarchical arrangement. It could be argued that this aid structure proposed here was a form of a ‘tie aid’ in which the recipient of aid is required to deal with the donor country. In this case the sport aid had been pre-identified to be
coming from Europe and the US. Such structure emphasises the unidirectional "flow" of culture, technology, and values from the donors to the recipients (i.e. the newly independent countries). The IOC here is seeking to regulate the type of culture and technology to be diffused to the peripheral societies. In addition, the restriction of liquid asset flow (cash money) from the donor to the recipient gives an advantage to the donor in enhancing its economy through the distribution of its technology.

Paradoxically, while the promotion of sport in Africa was undertaken with a commitment to promote international harmony and peace, in practice, the promotion of sport and Olympism often had tendencies to divide the continent. The sporting games promoted, often emphasised the division: the Friendship Games for former French speaking ex-colonies, and the Commonwealth Games for former English speaking colonies, both games supported by the former imperial countries, are examples of this reinforcement of divisions (Sudgen & Tomlinson, 1998). In addition, one of the proposals to solve the apartheid problem in South Africa was based on a suggested reorganisation of the sport geopolitics of the countries involved in the racial issue. Jean de Beaumont suggested that Rhodesia and South Africa since they were ruled by whites, could be assimilated into the region of Oceania under the name of 'Australafrika' (Jean de Beaumont, October 2, 1965: Doc 11, to IOC). This proposal, which would have reorganised the sporting political geography of Africa was however, rejected by the IOC.

5.4 The IOC Holds Back CIOA Activities

Although the initial idea of helping the newly independent countries in sport development and the creation of Olympic institutions was strongly supported within the IOC, resistance to the Commission's work emerged at first within the IOC itself. The conservative members, who had been described by Meuwly the secretary of the CIOA as the 'old crowd' (Bolonaki, Massard, Brundage, Mahamed Taher, and Franz-Joseph) strongly believed in the autonomy and the independence of the IOC and the protection of the 'amateur' code from political and economic intervention, and they vehemently opposed aspects of the work of the CIOA in its primary phase (M. Meuwly, January 18, 1963: Letter 16, to R.S. Alexander). The Aid Commission was instructed that all its correspondence must be approved by the IOC President and be

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conducted under his supervision. The Commission was asked to remove the word 'Olympic' from its title, changing it to Comité D'Aid Finaccier Sportif International (Brundage, 1963: Letter 21, to Jean de Beaumont). In addition, the Commission was instructed not to use the IOC letterhead in its correspondence. Moreover, the Commission was told not to appeal for financial support from governments, and instructed to hold off its activities until the result of a meeting with newly independent countries African delegates allowed them to be reviewed. It was pointed out that,

..... the C.I.O.A. must not appeal to any town for assistance, whether in France or abroad. For now at least, and unless a different decision is taken in Nairobi, I suppose we must respect the Executive Board's decision (Otto Mayer, June 22nd, 1963:F. Letter 67, to Jean de Beaumont).

The suspicion of the Olympic aid project on the part of this group within the IOC can be explained with reference to the following factors. The first is related to the mistrust of governments whether from 'core' or 'periphery'. Jean de Beaumont's initiative to create links with governments as indicated above, requesting financial support from European and American cities (See table 3), and suggesting collaboration with UNESCO and other governmental organisations to carry out the aid project, was perceived as involving the IOC in political issues which eventually would jeopardise the IOC's independence and the IOC would, as a result, be under political pressure.

As you know, the IOC is very jealous of its independence. I sent a questionnaire to the members of the Executive Board, who voted unanimously not to combine our meeting with any other organization. One fear was that the UNESCO would not be free from political pressure (A. Brundage, December 20, 1962:Letter 14, to Jean de Beaumont).

The difference of opinion here between the Anglo-American actors and the French position promoted by Jean de Beaumont is explained in large part by the strong tradition of a dirigiste state in France\textsuperscript{5}. This division is also evident in considering the role of the state in the Olympic movements. In 1965, the French NOC included government officials on its executive board and this was seen as a normal procedure for creating an environment for the FNOC to become the leading authority of sport in

\textsuperscript{5} Different models of sport systems: high state involvement in France and 'liberal' autonomy in the US.

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France. However, the recruitment of government officials was considered by Brundage as leading to domination of the government over Olympic meters (A. Brundage, July 16, 1966: Letter 39b, to De Beaumont).

Secondly, the CIOA, despite the promises of financial support from governments did not manage to generate enough funds to carry out the planned aid activities. Thus, members were worried about promising aid without being able to deliver on the promise.

The Executive Commission does not approve the aims of such as it has been defined. It considers that though this Commission can give MORAL support to developing countries, it should on no account pursue its projects for financial aid (Otto Mayer, February 19, 1963: F. Letter 43, to Jean de Beaumont: emphasis added in original).

The President of the I.O.C. was worried by the risks implied by certain projects of the C.I.O.A. for financial aid, and specifically recommends that the Commission should not awaken in less privileged nations hopes which it may never be possible for the C.I.O.A. to fulfil (M. Meuwly, February 11, 1963: F. Report 3, to Jean de Beaumont).

Thirdly, there was fear that the Aid Commission work would overlap with existing aid projects concerned with promoting ‘amateur’ sport in the newly independent countries, on the part of organisations such as the IAAF, UNESCO, Commonwealth, the International Recreation Association, the High Commission of Refugees, as well as other European and American aid organisations. It was suggested to coordinate with other international organisations to avoid conflicts especially with IFs, which were considered to be at the core of the technical matters of global sport and whose work must not be affected.

The last reason was that the Executive Commission of the IOC in 1963 was concerned about the problem of the Asia Games in Djakarta, where the Israeli and Taiwanese teams were denied visas to participate, and following which Indonesia was excluded from the Olympic movement. The IOC decision was criticised as reflecting an imperialist stance against Indonesia who retaliated putting forward the initiative to host the first Games of the Newly Emerging Forces (GANEFO). Thus, any collaboration with European governments would emphasise such criticisms and affect
the image of the IOC as defender of 'amateur' code as well as undermining its rejection of mixing sport and politics. The IOC also feared that the newly independent countries from Africa and Asia would join the GANEFO Games instead of the Olympic Games if the CIOA were allowed to carry out its strategy supported officially by imperial governments (Espy, 1979: 84; Guttmann, 1984).

5.5 Recipient Response to the Olympic Message

In the mid 1950s and the 1960s the 'periphery' emerged as an international political block. Peripheral states began to arrange themselves institutionally by creating organisations that could defend their interest at international level and negotiate their own governance within the context of the super power struggle for hegemony and decolonisation (Dodds, 2000). This period witnessed the creation of an Afro-Asian Solidarity organisation in Bandung 1955, the Non-Aligned Movement in 1961, and the African Unity Organisation in 1963. In the sport sphere, however, it was witness to the creation of regional games namely: the Asian Games and Pan American games in 1951 and the GANEFO games in 1963, which aimed to strengthen the spirit of the Afro-Asia Solidarity. Sub-Saharan Africa saw its creation of bodies concerned with governing sport, the African Football Federation in 1957, African Sport Confederation which was an umbrella of individual confederations of athletics, volleyball, basketball, and swimming. The Pan-African Games was created in 1965 and the High Sport Council of Africa created in 1966 which became the body responsible for the organisation of the African Games.

African states were fuelled by nationalistic and liberal movements and the need to re-establish the pan-African identity that was undermined by colonialism. It is suggested that most of the newly independent countries saw sport as an opportunity to rebuild their sense of identity. Most of the sport-related organisations were influenced by a political ideology of unity (African unity, Afro-Asian solidarity, Arab unity). Thus, sport received a considerable interest from the leaders in some states. However, the resistance by the 'periphery' to the Olympic message took different forms nationally and internationally. Although states from the 'periphery' accepted Olympism and modern sporting culture, they were also committed to their own political agenda within the global sport arena. For instance, the majority of newly
independent countries that did not yet have recognised NOCs, did not reply or refused the invitation to the IOC session, which was planned to be held for the first time in Olympic history in Sub-Saharan Africa in Nairobi in October 1963.

Table 5.4: African states' responses to the IOC invitation to attend the Nairobi meeting

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>States with recognised NOC</th>
<th>Response</th>
<th>States with no recognised NOC</th>
<th>Response</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dahomey</td>
<td>Pending</td>
<td>Congo Leo</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Liberia</td>
<td>No reply</td>
<td>Chad</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ethiopia</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Gambia</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ghana</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Ivory Coast</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kenya</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Mali</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nigeria</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Senegal</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sudan</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Algeria</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tanganyika</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Cameroon</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uganda</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Bechuanaland</td>
<td>Refused</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Basutoland</td>
<td>Refused</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Guinea</td>
<td>Refused</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Swaziland</td>
<td>Refused</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Central Africa</td>
<td>No reply</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Congo Brazzaville</td>
<td>No reply</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Somalia</td>
<td>No reply</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Sierra Leone</td>
<td>No reply</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Gabon</td>
<td>No reply</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Upper Volta</td>
<td>No reply</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Madagascar</td>
<td>No reply</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Mauritania</td>
<td>No reply</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Niger</td>
<td>No reply</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Togo</td>
<td>No reply</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Zanzibar</td>
<td>No reply</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total: 32 Countries; 15 acceptances; 12 no reply; 4 refusals; 1 query (Meuwly, 1963: Letter 34)

In the context of the Nairobi meeting as well, the Kenyan government denied visas to South African delegates as a protest to the apartheid and racial policy and the IOC transferred the session to Baden-Baden. The IOC president Mr. Brundage was very upset by such political interference with sport issues and he stated that

Despite the kind invitation of the Mayor of Nairobi, this change was necessitated by the refusal of the Government of Kenya to issue visas to all the delegates invited to this meeting. The International Olympic Committee will, we trust, never permit anyone to decide who will or will not attend its meetings (Brundage, August 23, 1963: Doc 08, to IOC members and NOCs).
In the process of promoting Olympism in African, the IOC required that African sport be organised according to the Olympic standards and ideals. The creation of NOCs in the newly independent countries was considered to be a problem by the IOC chancellor Mayer, since the African people did not hold the right attitude toward the Olympic spirit and sport organisations were dominated by governmental officials. Therefore, it would have been a mistake to give Africa a free to hand over the Olympic matter (Otto Mayer September 10, 1961: G. Letter 2, To Wegner Klinsberg).

The IOC emphasised the code of amateurism and the independence of sport and institutions from political influences. In contrast, African states constantly involved government officials in the leadership of sport organisations. Otto Mayer for example stated that

*I am well informed that sport in the newly independent African countries of the French expression is in the hands of Government people and all the names and addresses we have are 'Ministers'. I think this is an important problem we should have to look over when we shall meet with the International Federations next year in June in Lausanne, which is concerned only with African affairs (Otto Mayer, September 14, 1962: to Miguel de Capriels).*

In fact the first African games was organised through governmental channels and some NOC representatives like Alexander (KOC) were not invited. South Africa and Rhodesia (Zimbabwe) were also not invited to participate in the Brazzaville Games. It is important to point out here that the South Africa issue and the politics of apartheid and racial discrimination dominated sport organisation agendas in the 1960s and it was the burning issue within the Olympic movement in dealing with the African continent (Guttmann, 1984) (Wagg, 1995). The resistance by the periphery to the discrimination policy took the form of threatening to boycott the Olympic Games. The boycott policy finally resulted in the exclusion of South Africa from the Games in 1968\(^6\) and complete exclusion in the 1970 (Macintosh et al., 1993).

The most widely recognised resistance by the 'periphery' to the politics of imperialism was the GANEFO Games, which emerged to challenge the global space of sport mega-events. It aimed to unite the newly emerging nations and to emphasise their

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\(^6\) The USSR had supported the African countries for the exclusion of S. African from the Olympics (see Girginov, 1998)
presence the world scene (Eshby, 1979: 80-87). The resistance was expressed from its title known as the Games of the Newly Emerging Forces (as opposed to the Old Imperial Forces). Although the Games were established based on the aims Afro-Asian Solidarity and the universal participle of Olympism, the organisers rejected the concept of amateurism and manifestly involved politics in sport, claiming the IOC to be an institution in the service of imperialism (Kanin, 1981; Pauker, 1964; Sie, 1978; Simri, 1983). The IOC and IFs jointly fought vigorously to prevent its success. Individual athletes or federations were threatened with expulsion if they participated in those Games. Such processes can be regarded as form of protecting the global space from any competing forces.

In terms of the African regional games, the IOC hesitated to recognise them. It could be argued that this was due to the heavy involvement of government officials in sport organisations in the newly independent countries, and its fear that the African Games would be organised with similar political goals to those of the GANEFO Games.

The fear of the political ideology of peripheral states was also evident within the IOC after the successful integration of Asian and African countries within the movement. It was feared that their involvement in the administration would, if majority voting were to decide, undermine the political power of the existing leaders of the IOC. Jean de Beaumont pointed out that,

You certainly did not overlook the fact that the IOC will soon record the adhesion of 120 countries, including some 40 new countries mainly from Africa and Asia. These countries endeavor to participate in the administration of the Olympic movement. But it would be illusory to think of indefinitely multiplying the number of IOC members, thus turning the IOC into a parliament under the ascendancy of different ideologies, that is without any authority nor real powers. Furthermore, I believe it is necessary to make more and more place to capability, in one way or another. That is why I am sending you herewith a draft of reorganization on a regional basis which would obviously lead to modifications in our Statutes (Jean de Beaumont, October 2nd, 1965: Letter 38, to IOC).

In fact the political motives of the 'periphery' were reflected in the media suggesting that the African and Asian countries sought a new world sport order. R.A Alexander pointed out in referring to such issues that,
I refer to the newspaper cutting which I enclosed with my letter to you dated 2nd July, 1968. I now enclose another cutting from the East African Standard dated 29th July, 1968; you will notice that our colleague Mr. Touny was at this meeting which decided to replace the present International Olympic Committee (R.S. Alexander, July 30, 1968: Letter 51, to A. Brundage).

The periphery countries were basically not satisfied with the IOC position in relation to issues of their concern. For example, the conflict over the apartheid participation in the Olympic Games, the IOC initial rejection to recognise the African Games, and the prevention of affiliated members to participate in GANEFO Games, and the IOC initiative to separate between Africa and Asia sport and politics were all issues that caused tension between the IOC and African and Asia NOCs.

In addition, the IOC emphasis on requesting the newly created Olympic Committees to apply the Olympic amateur rules was seen by some African leaders as 'outsider interference' to internal state matters. Colonel Okwechime indicated that the Council of Africa was determined to stamp out this "back-door" interference by the outsiders (The Sunday Post, July 24, 1966:35). Basically, sport institutions were perceived as informal roots in which could affect the sovereignty of the independent states.

This processes indicates though that the African and Asian NOCs have accepted the 'universal' humanism values of the Olympic movement, and the modern sport culture more generally, they were not passive recipients but were active in interpreting the cultural message diffused. Sudgen & Tomlinson (1998) suggest that the Africans perceived the international sport institution as a medium through which to register their presence in the international arena both on and off the playing field. In addition, the quick acceptance of periphery countries of modern sport and the promotion of regional Games could have been due to the fact that modern sport was a quicker mechanism or a tool to apply a sense unity of the colonially divided societies instead of traditional Games that represented local specific traditions and not shared by other societies.
Chapter Five The Diffusion of Olympism to Africa and Asia

5.6 Olympic Sport Aid Transformation of Periphery

In assessing the mechanisms which the Aid Commission designed to promote sport in the newly independent countries from Africa and Asia in the 1960s, we note that modernisation notions influenced the rationale for creating the Olympic aid project. Modernists authors have written 'blue prints' suggesting how societies of the periphery could reach the condition of modernity by creating institutions similar to those in rich countries, introducing new technology and scientific reasoning in social phenomena (Hoogvelt, 1997). It was also perceived that the rich countries should put forward effort to aid the poor states in developing their resources and improving their living conditions. Initially, the aim of the IOC Aid policy was to re-establish the friendly relations between the privileged countries and the impoverished nations and hence contribute to the social development.

The diffusion of Olympism as a modernising tool for the ex-colonial societies had emphasised creation of Olympic and sport institutions as a basis for re-establishing friendly international relations and hence improving social and human conditions. The IOC President Brundage indicated in relation to the missionary role of the CIOA to the ex-French colonies that,

Le Comte Jean de Beaumont, is chairman of a special commission of the International Olympic Committee for liaison with the new African countries, which were formerly colonies of the French Republic. His committee has the duty to inform the sports authorities of these countries about the principles of the Olympic Movement and amateur sport; to help them organise national federations and then National Olympic Committees; to assist them in establishing national programs of physical training and competitive sports, and in general to introduce them into the Olympic family which operates without distinction of race, religion, or political allegiance (Brundage, February 4, 1962: Letter 04 to IOC members).

Jean de Beaumont also points out that the central of the Aid Commission aims is,

...to further the moral action of the IOC in a more practical and direct manner by offering help to all the countries who need help; to explain how one gets organised, how one trains, how one follows the rules and by-laws of the IOC. Particularly how one helps oneself, and also how one enters into the large family of amateur Olympic sport, by avoiding any discrimination on racial, religious or political grounds, aiming only (at) the development of the human being towards a harmonious accomplishment of the individual, being quite
understood that it is the best man who wins and who gets applauded (de Beaumont, April 5, 1963: Doc 04, speech in Dakar).

In these two statements above, the explicit ideological notions promoted in the spread of Olympism which were seen to be appropriate for the modernisation of the periphery societies, a 'secular' (political) ideology that operated without any distinction of race, religion or political allegiance, however, here it is important to point out that the discrimination policy in terms of race, political ideology, and religion was part of the colonial administration strategy to divide the natives or indigenous societies, the Cold War sport politics also was fuelled with division of communities, as response to such process, most of the sporting movement emerged in the periphery called for unity of their societies rather than fragmentation. Second is the idea of competitive sport or striving for excellence under the Olympic motto of “Citius, Altius, Fortius”. In achieving its goals the CIOA adopted the approaches to facilitate the promotion of Olympism in Africa:

a) to facilitate international sports meetings, which are instructive and exhibitional in character,

b) to promote as frequently as possible training for technical staff (e.g. Managers, Coaches, technicians) and athletes in foreign - mostly European and America - training centres,

c) to arrange the sending of experts in technical sport matters to newly independent countries

d) to make available sporting educational material such as films, slides, books,

e) to help the organisation of regional games and conferences,

f) to arrange loans in constructing of sporting facilities and make available the necessary sport technology and equipment that is needed for the development of sport (Commission for International Olympic Aid Status, 1962: Doc 05a).

Donnelly (1996b) and Gruneau (1988) have argued that modern sport has been widely viewed as a cultural by-product of technological and social changes with the development of urban societies and these changes are said to undermine the basis for older “pre-industrial” forms of sport practices while creating the conditions necessary for the emergence of modern sport. It is clear that the diffusion of Olympism promoted by the CIOA was part of a movement to create conditions for modern sport to penetrate into the ex-colonies. In assessing the above aid mechanisms it should be noted that, modern sports promoted through the aid project were characterised as being competitive and exhibitional in nature. They also

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focused on *achievement* and allowed *few* people to *participate* and had *larger* numbers as *spectators*. In addition, the performance was seen reflecting or fostering *national identity*. Such a model of sport is different from the community-based popular recreational culture which had existed in colonial societies and which were designed to accommodate a larger number of people participating with less emphasis on performance level or achievement (Kang, 1988).

The CIOA promotion mechanisms included the process of making training available to managers, coaches, technicians, and athletes from the peripheral states. Such training introduced modern management techniques such as administrative structure, specialisation of functions, the division of labour and the use of technological innovation. The modern management techniques were intended to replace the traditional forms of organisations that were decentralised and based on social hierarchy which emphasised collective duties and obligation rather than individual rights (Gruneau, 1988).

In addition, the CIOA mechanisms included the diffusion of sport knowledge and a scientific view through the promotion of educational material and sending of sport instructors. The rational notion in scheduling of training phases, competition preparation, technical skills training, sport nutrition programmes, health measures, statistical sporting analysis, and the tracking of athletes' performance were seen to be *modern* sport systems to replace the 'native' views of 'tradition sport' which are described by Guttmann (1978) to be associated with community, rituals, and religious conducts. Furthermore, the educational medium also allowed the penetration of values from the donor to the recipient. For example, the notion of 'amateurism', 'individuality', Olympic fundamental principles, 'secularism' and many other concepts associated with urban and industrial societies could be transmitted through the education [which in most cases was not familiar to the recipient].

The CIOA also fostered the promotion of sports technology. The major concern was to create an infrastructure that would allow the development of sport in newly independent countries. The use of technology is one of the modern sport features that created a tie between the 'donor' and the 'recipient'. The recipient was restricted
to borrowing that technology which was produced by, and therefore reflected the nature of, the 'donor'.

The introduction of sport institutions and the creation of NOCs with distinctive patterns and widely accepted rules of conduct, can be seen as part of the process of transforming indigenous societies that had had a physical culture without written rules and performance 'sports'. In addition, the CIOA promotion of Olympism was bound up with the promotion of modern concepts of the division of labour and specialisation, administrative structures, modern management techniques and technological innovations. Thus, promoting modern sport as based on 'rationality' and a 'scientific' worldview would contribute to the modernisation of the society in the newly created states.

Nevertheless, the IOC in promoting such goals had accepted uncritically the hierarchical global structure without questioning how relations between the 'core' and 'periphery' had evolved during the colonial era and the factors that had created a massive imbalance between the industrialised and less industrialised countries.

5.7 Postcolonial Dependency and Olympic Aid

The promotion of Olympism and sport in the newly independent countries in African and Asia through aid policy created a dependency structure between the 'core' and 'periphery' in which the 'periphery' was heavily dependent on outside sources for internal sport development. Given the fact that Olympism and modern sport promoted by the CIOA were considered to be elements of 'global' culture that were foreign to the societies in the newly independent countries, this inevitably established a subordinate position on the part of the recipient. The periphery provided only students of sport to learn and the core provided teachers or experts, giving the 'core' a dominant position standardising the content and the condition of global cultural and economical exchange.

Although, governments in the newly independent states had created national sport federations to promote modern sport in their territories, they never invested heavily in human resources training and in the creation of sport facilities. In these early days, National Federations were dependent on external support to carry out their
Chapter Five The Diffusion of Olympism to Africa and Asia

sport promotional tasks. This is evident in the proposal put forward by the Moroccan federation requesting equipment and training sessions from the IOC as part of CIOA mission. Their representative pointed out that,

It would be desirable that during the holiday months of July, August and September training courses be set up, either at Bellevue in Rabat or preferably in Casablanca by professors of the National Sports Institute (N.S.I.) of Paris. The Federation would organize the recruiting of deserving individuals wishing to take a serious interest in Boxing, for purposes of attending these training courses. We therefore, count on the I.O.C. to intercede on our behalf with interested organisms so as to obtain that these professors be made available on a voluntary basis or with any charges being taken care of by the Committee. ...... Concerning any financial aid from the I.O.C. that might be available, we place our trust in the hands of the I.O.C. to secure as much funding as possible for the Moroccan Sports Federations or Associations (Lahoucine M'sika, 25 May, 1962: F. Letter 13, to De Beaumont).

This extract underlines the fact that the Moroccan sport federation was dependent on the IOC to negotiate with Morocco's former coloniser to provide sport experts for training courses. Interestingly, the sport federation placed its trust in the IOC through the CIOA to secure funds for constructing sport facilities in Morocco. This illustrates that the peripheral countries' sport federation leaders were enthusiastic in promoting sport in their societies but they were relying on the 'core' countries financially, technically, educationally, and technologically to spread sport in their region.

With reference to loans, as already indicated, loans were one of the central means designed to assist the newly independent countries in sport development. But it was suggested that no aid would be provided in cash. Therefore, loans provided would be spent in buying equipment and building sports venues. The recipient NOCs on other hand, had to provide a reimbursement guarantee from their governments. It can be argued that structural relation created a condition of financial and technological dependency, which eventually undermined the periphery's ability to negotiate the content of the aid and the securing of their interests in trade.

The CIOA also suggested that athletes, coaches, administrators and physicians from Africa or Asia could be taken to training centres in cosmopolitan states for the purpose of instructing them about the latest sport knowledge. It could be argued
that this fostered on part of the ‘core’ sport institutions and organisations the ability to be innovative and creative in standardising ways in which sport would be globally promoted. On the other hand, the peripheral member states’ institutions became consumers of foreign cultural products, the production of which they did not participate in, and from which they benefited little in terms of financial exchange. Besides, this fostered the migration of peripheral states sport talent (body drain) to the ‘core’ countries, in ways analogous to the ‘brain drain’ process of individuals with industrial skills migrating from the periphery to the ‘core’ in 1960s (Wallace, 1990). This migration enhanced the competitive level and the attraction of the ‘core’ sport festivals, and the global appeal of their sport competitions. Furthermore, the aid provided a chance for multinational sport companies to penetrate into the weaker peripheral territories and secure new markets for their products, monopolising sales in the absence of competitive markets.

The arguments provided here should not be seen to suggest an exploitative structure between the ‘rich’ and ‘poor’ countries within the IOC assistance schemes. In fact the promotion of sport was an interest of ‘peripheral’ elites whether from governmental or non-governmental organisations concerned to strengthen national identity in the newly independent states, to gain international recognition, and as a form of development. We have referred to this when we discussed the recipient resistance to the Olympic aid message.

5.8 Relations between the CIOA and the IFs

The formation of the CIOA was a contentious issue with regard to the IOC relations with International Federations (IFs). The CIOA was established to promote Olympism and assist the development of sport in the newly independent countries but this was regarded as interfering on the territory of the IFs which already established promotional programmes promoting the global development of sporting participation. Fear of overlap between the work of the CIOA and the activities of the IFs was clearly illustrated by Jean de Beaumont in his letter directed to IOC members after a critical review of the written draft of the CIOA rules (status) produced by A.Touny (IOC member from Egypt). He stated that,
Let there be no mistake about it, this would be a completely new activity for the IOC. Up until now it has been the owner and father of the Olympic Games, has laid down the non-technical conditions for them, and, particularly has upheld the Olympic ideals throughout the world. If the C.A.I.O. rules are accepted, it leaves this idealistic activity and proposes to go right into the fields of the International Federations. If it sticks to pressing on for the creation and fostering of National Olympic Committees, this is its rightful field of activity, but to work otherwise than through the International Federations on their ground is a most serious decision to take, which may have the widest repercussions. The rules must, therefore, not only be considered by the Executive Board of the IOC itself, but also the discussions must take place with the International Federations, and it would seem that the meeting in Lausanne in June would be the appropriate occasion (De Beaumont, January 25, 1963: Letter, 18 to IOC members).

Jean de Beaumont understood the interdependency and interconnected relationships between the IOC and IFs in terms of promoting sport globally. The IFs lacked financial resources to effectively develop their programmes and the Aid Commission had no technical experts to conduct specialised work related to the specific needs for every sport. He acknowledged the work that had been done in Africa by the IAAF and suggested that the IOC should contribute to IAAF efforts financially through the television rights revenue.

The need for help with the coaching of the less athletically developed countries has been fully appreciated by the IAAF for many years, but a lack of finance has prevented any action. With the contribution from the IOC for the television rights at the Olympic Games, the IAAF is formulating a scheme now for carrying out this work. Naturally it would welcome any help that an outside body like this commission could give it, but clearly it would be wrong to do it other than through the IOC and the IAAF machinery. For instance, the commission is not technically competent to pick coaches for athletics. The IAAF alone knows where the need is greatest between their different members, and to have an outside body with no knowledge of world athletics sending in coaches would undoubtedly lead to serious friction and a great deal of over-lapping. The proper procedure surely is for the Commission to support the IAAF coaching scheme financially, and add if they like the condition that the money can only be used for athletically weak countries, although this would be a purely academic point, as these are the very ones which the IAAF is planning to help (De Beaumont, January 25, 1963: Letter, 18 to IOC members).

Further, De Beaumont considered that approving the CIOA status rules without ensuring an agreement with IFs would lead to further clashes between the leading
sport organisations that could be harmful for the future of international amateur sport.

This point must be cleared up now before the rules are agreed, for if an official Olympic body drew up rules for itself in the middle of the International Federations' sphere of control without the closest collaboration and agreement with them, a series of major clashes could well result. At any time this would most harmful, for the future of amateur sport depends upon the closest working together of the IOC and International Federations, but particularly now that their relationship is so good and has been further cemented by the contribution of the IOC from the television fund. As I say the whole of this must be thrashed out at the meeting with the International Federations on June 6th (ibid.)

Similar concerns about interference in the sphere of activities associated with the IFs operation in promoting sport, were expressed by the IAAF in a meeting with the CIOA secretary, Myriam Meuwly, on 11 Feb 1963. She wrote in a report directed to Jean de Beaumont after her meeting with the president of IAAF expressing his concerns that,

the prime and most essential objective of the C.I.O.A. is to stimulate by its action the establishment of National Olympic Committees wherever necessary;
That its task is to deal with 'Olympic' problems and not with technical or educational aspects, which are matters for the International Federations to deal with;
That the I.F. are attached to their prerogatives in this field and that it is important not to hurt their sensitivities by an interference of the C.I.O.A., and therefore of the I.O.C., in a field which appertains to them; That the statutes of the C.I.O.A. should be revised with this view.
(M. Meuwly, 11 February, 1963: F. Report 04, to De Beaumont)

In addition, the president of IAAF, the Marquess of Exeter, also pointed out that,

any coaching or technical help given to these countries must be channeled through the International Federation concerned, for they alone knew the priority of needs and also were qualified to pick suitable coaches (IOC meeting, date unknown: Doc, 05).

From the statements above, we can understand that although the IFs did not oppose the establishment of the CIOA, they were concerned about the area of operation of the newly created Commission. The Olympic aid project, it was felt, should be limited to its activities dealing with Olympic related issues and problems such as the creation of NOCs. The educational and technical aspect of sport was seen to be the preserve
solely of the IFs. Clearly, there was a fear that the Aid Commission may overlap with the IFs existing programmes of sport development in Africa.

It is interesting to note that, although, the IOC and IFs shared the concept of amateurism and the ideology of the role of sport in societies, here in the promotional process of sport in general and in Africa in particular, they were compartmentalised into two areas or functions, namely, Olympism and the Olympic Games, and the educational and technical aspects of sport. This implies that the spread of sport and the spread of Olympism were separate issues in relating the global 'sportisation' process. This is relevant due to the fact that only the IOC recognised Olympic sports were seen as celebrating the Olympic ideology and principles. Other international sporting cultures such as rugby, cricket, baseball, karate, kickboxing, and other sport cultures are not considered to represent the principle of Olympism, but nevertheless they may share concepts of fair play, and the bureaucratisation of sport organisation.

However, despite the separation of respective spheres, collaboration between sport organisations was seen to be essential because of the lack of resources to support the 'sportisation' process, despite the growing interests of Western government to promote sport in Africa. Some of the IFs had no means to promote their respective sport.

As I was communicating to the Marquis of Exeter the declarations of certain I.F. saying that they were unable to promote their respective sports within less privileged nations,... he declared that the C.I.O.A. should then offer its cooperation to the I.F. in the form of surveys to be carried out and, if the C.I.O.A. can have access to funds, in the form of subsidies for the exclusive use of countries in need. On this aspect, it would be highly desirable for Count Beaumont to meet the I.F. on the 6th June in Lausanne to communicate his ideas to them ((M. Meuwly, February 11, 1963: F. Report 04, to De Beaumont).

The IFs' concerns had been taken into consideration in the Aid Commission Status that had included articles that ensured collaboration with IFs (IOC, date unknown: Doc, 05a). The initial area of collaboration between the CIAO and IFs was in providing information in respect of which African countries had affiliated and which had not.
You may be interested to know that Mr. Houichi, during his stay in Dakar, also received requests for affiliation from the boxing federations of the following countries: Gabon, Congo (Brazzaville), Congo (Leopoldville), Chad, Madagascar, and Burkina-Faso to which he gave all the necessary information, and I am certain that all these federations will soon be members of the A.I.B.A., who will welcome them warmly. You can always count, my dear Count, on the collaboration of the A.I.B.A. in the work you are doing for African countries (R.H. Russell, May 10, 1963: F. Letter 56, to De Beaumont).

The IAAF also agreed to provide information to CIOA

In the short term, the Marquis of Exeter readily agrees, in his position as a President of the I.F. of Amateur Athletics, to provide the C.I.O.A. with the information they require concerning the newly affiliated national federations in Africa, in order for us to complete, if need be, the list of African Delegates in Nairobi with representatives who are members of national athletics federations (Myriam Meuwly, 11 Feb, 1963: F. Report 04, to De Beaumont).

The CIAO also acted a link between African sport leaders and IFs in the process of affiliating National Sport Federation of the newly independent countries. During the Friendship Games in Dakar in April 1963 which De Beaumont and Brundage attended as symbolic of IOC support for the African sport development movement, Jean de Beaumont as a Chair of the CIAO had a chance to meet with delegations of all twenty four African countries participating in the Games. He had been requested to facilitate the affiliation process of some African countries to the IFs. He had approached the International Handball Association, International Amateur Boxing Association, and International Swimming Association to speed up the affiliation procedures. In the case of Niger, De Beaumont wrote to K.Abe a representative of the swimming federation and the International Amateur Boxing Association to look at the matter of its affiliation. He stated that:

In the course of the individual meetings which I held with each one of the delegations, the people from Niger told me that they were a little worried because their National Swimming Federation had applied for affiliation with your International Federation and had yet received no answer. Would you kindly look into this matter and write directly to: Mr. HIMA DJIBIRILLA, High Commissioner for Youth & Sports, Ministry of National Education, NIAMEY - Republique du Niger (De Beaumont, May 7th, 1963: Letter 29, to K.Abe, FINA).

He also wrote to the boxing federation pointing out that

With this view, the Niger representatives asked me to intercede directly with your International Federation on the matter of the application for affiliation
sent to you by the National Boxing Federation of this country. Apparently, a first request was sent to you in December 1961, and a reminder was sent in March 1963, and no reply was given. Furthermore, it seems that the Nigerian Delegation paid the amount due for this affiliation to a person who accepted it on the behalf of your International Federation, during the Dakar games. I am hereby giving you the name and address of the Nigerian representative who formulated the request. I would be grateful if you could contact this person directly: Mr. HIMA DJIBRILLA, General Commissioner for Youth and Sports, Ministry of Education, NIAMEY — Republic of Niger (De Beaumont, 7 May, 1963: F. Letter 53 to R.H. Russel IABA).

Burkina Faso (Upper Volta) de Beaumont wrote to A. Wagner the secretary of International Hand Ball Federation and requested the possibility of admitting a non-citizen to be a chair of a national sport federation

With this view, the Burkina Faso Delegation asked me to intercede with your International Federation on the following point: 'In an African country (Burkina Faso, in this particular case), is it possible that the Chair of a national sports Federation is a Frenchman, and not a national citizen? The representatives of Burkina Faso would be grateful if you could send them an official answer on this subject, without however mentioning the origin of this question. This letter should be sent to: Mr. Albaret, Technical Advisor, Ministry for Youth and Sports (De Beaumont, May 7, 1963: F. Letter 51, to A. Wagner IHF).

However, the response to de Beaumont from the IHF was negative:

we answered Mr. Albaret from Ouagadougou (Burkina Faso) and told him that — according to our statutes — it is not possible for a French person, rather than a national citizen, to be the President of an African handball federation (A. Wagner, 19 May, 1963: F. Letter 60, to De Beaumont).

Jean de Beaumont also approached the IHF to request the affiliation of the Dahomey Hand Ball Association which had requested affiliation but had not received reply from the IHF.

It seems that the Dahomean Handball Federation received no reply to their application for an affiliation to your International Federation (letters dated November 1962 and March 1963). There is some concern about this in Dahomey, and I was asked to intercede with you on their behalf. I would be grateful if you could look into this matter and contact the following person directly: Mr. Eugène Bocco Chair of the Dahomean Olympic Committee (De Beaumont, May 7, 1963: F. Letter 52, to A. Wagner IHF)
It is interesting to note that Jean de Beaumont’s requests to IFs to look into affiliation matters of African countries, providing names of representatives for the newly independent French colonies, implied that De Beaumont was not concerned with the fact that these representatives were government officials and may involve or associate amateur sport in Africa with independence and anti-colonial politics. However, the recruiting of government officials to lead the national sport organisation was strongly opposed by the IOC when African representatives were to be invited to the Nairobi session that was planned to be held in October 1963. The rejection of government officials as Olympic representatives became even stronger when the GANEFO movement was created.

Further, it could be argued that the rationale for Jean de Beaumont’s interest in assisting the African countries in their affiliation to IFs was part of the aid commission’s objectives to speed up the process of creating NOCs since an NOC could not be recognised by the IOC unless a country was a member of five different IFs. This condition was also a structural factor in the diffusion of modern sport into Africa and Asia. It ensured that the newly independent countries would be obliged to accept five different ‘Western’ sports in order to secure membership of the Olympic family.

During the Dakar Friendship Games a number of African countries were interested in becoming affiliated to IFs, illustrating the interest of African delegates in joining the world sport system before the Aid Commission had approached them. Interestingly, most of the sport leaders attending the Games were government officials whose governments were involved in the liberation struggle against colonialism. Nevertheless, they were participated in the Friendship Games organised by the colonial government of France.

5.9 CIOA Relations with UNESCO

Two months after the official creation of the CIOA in Moscow June 1962, the IOC member Lord Luke reviewed the CIOA status and sent a letter to De Beaumont suggesting important points that had to be taken into consideration in carrying out the Olympic aid project. He pointed out that the USA had a similar aid project in their peace pioneers campaign and the International Recreation Association was also
active in the same sphere, thus, wasted effort may occur if no coordination was organised. Lord Luke also suggested that UNESCO be asked for information about Africa and it be informed about the creation of the CIOA (Lord Luke, August 28, 1962: Letter 09a, to De Beaumont).

Jean de Beaumont following Lord Luke's suggestion for creating a network of relationships and coordination with other organisations with an interest in promoting sport in Africa and Asia, wrote to UNESCO, in particular to Mr Maheu the General director of UNESCO, explaining the purpose of the CIOA and suggesting collaboration in the aid project in order to avoid ant wasted of time and money. He pointed out:

...It would appear that many countries in Europe and America operate individually insofar as aid to sports is concerned, both for Africa and Asia. It will therefore be necessary to make a list of all these activities with a view to coordinating them, in order to avoid losses of time, energy and money; they would be overseen by an international and a political organization (De Beaumont, October 4, 1962: F. Letter 22, to Mr Mehau UNESCO).

Given the growing interest in sport in both the core countries and the peripheral states, the IOC wanted to secure its leading role in world sport by suggesting becoming a coordinating body of the various fragmented sport aid projects. The IOC had neither financial source nor technical sport experts to carry out the project in the newly independent state.

Jean de Beaumont desperately tried to convince Mr. Mehau to support his mission. He further indicated that, UNESCO and the CIOA had similar objectives and were driven by the same spirit of promoting friendship and unity in the world.

It appeared useful to define here our program, given the fact that your Organization has objectives which, though they are more wide-ranging than ours, are imprinted with the same principles of friendship and solidarity which we pursue. Furthermore, we would like to be sure, before launching this project so dear to our hearts, that it is approved by the UNESCO, that it does not encroach on any of its enterprises but rather blends in with the spirit that animates your organization (ibids and De Beaumont, November 20, 1962: F. Letter 25, to CIAO members).

UNESCO had welcomed de Beaumont's request and it was suggested that the collaboration would be through the International Council for Physical and Sport
Education (ICSPE) which could possibly co-operate with CIOA in making available experts for evaluation of needs in the new countries. The role of the ICSPE as seen by Mr. Pierre Francois (UNESCO representative) was,

a role in which a role which englobes coordination amongst international sports organisations, research, documentation, the smoothing out of politically-based conflicts, etc.,

He also suggested that

the C.I.O.A., whose aim is a concrete continuation, in Africa and Asia, of a movement for international exchanges in the field of sports, establish contacts with this organization (De Beaumont, November 20, 1962: F. Letter 25, CIAO members).

A few days after the successful meeting between De Beaumont with UNESCO representatives, De Beaumont wrote to IOC President Brundage to ask his opinion about collaborating with UNESCO in promoting sport in Africa and Asia and in smoothing the difficulties that arose from political interference in sport meetings, in particular, on the visa and political discrimination issues. He also asked him about joining the IOC and ICSPE meeting related to sport and politics (De Beaumont, November 26, 1962: Letter 12, to A. Brundage). Burndage rejected such collaboration fearing UNESCO political interference. This view was also shared by the Marquess of Exeter (the president of IAAF) who expressed the view that the CIOA could accept a donation from UNESCO but without any control over its activities.

the Marquess of Exeter would not be opposed to the C.A.I.O. receiving an important donation from the Sports Department of UNESCO (International Council for Sport and Physical Education Secretary - Mr. R.-William Jones) under the express condition that the C.A.I.O. could make use of it without any control from UNESCO. This condition, however, difficult to be fulfilled, is none- the less possible and should be studied. The Marquess of Exeter would agree to talk it over with Mr. Brundage who is strictly opposed any cooperation with UNESCO (M. Muewly, March 14, 1963: Letter 25, to The Lord Burghley).

Jean de Beaumont also in the process of establishing a network, corresponded with Mr. Yul Brynner (special commissioner of the High Commission for Refugees) in Switzerland to suggest collaboration in international education. The Refugee Commission had earlier proposed to establish an International Education Centre for developing countries. De Beaumont suggested avoiding confrontation and
encouraged collaboration since the CIOA and the Refugees Commission had had similar objectives:

Since this commission also has its seat in Lausanne, and, like the International Education Centre, has its attention turned towards new countries, it seems that a confrontation of the programmes of these two institutions would be both appropriate and encouraging. Furthermore, it might provide an opportunity for future exchanges and cooperation (De Beaumont, February 4, 1963: F.Leter 40, to Yul Brynner)

Tracing the relations between the CIOA and UNESCO illustrates that in the 1960s the colonial powers in Europe and America were extremely interested in establishing relations with the newly independent countries and created aid policies that encouraged the development process in all spheres including sport practices. These aid policies were not only carried out through governmental organisations, but were also supported by International Governmental Organisations (IGOs) such as UNESCO and the High Commission of Refugees as well as Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) such as the IOC and International Federations. One common thing between these aid initiatives was that they were assisting the diffusion of a Western cultural product (modern sport) to the newly independent countries. They targeted the so-called 'underdeveloped' societies under the principle of brotherhood, friendship and solidarity.

5.10 The Political Economy of the CIAO

The Aid Commission objectives of promoting Olympism and assisting the development of sport in the newly independent countries, were welcomed by most members of the IOC whether from core, semi-periphery and periphery. However, the financial responsibilities to carry out such a task were difficult to handle. Initially, during the Athens meeting in 1961, the USSR proposed that the funds for assisting peripheral countries should be generated from all NOCs and IFs recognised by the IOC. De Beaumont also suggested the creation of funds to be given to newly independent countries to develop sport. Some governments were approached by De Beaumont to fund the aid activities. In the Moscow IOC session in June 1962, several strategies were suggested to seek financial resources as well as governmental
support. It was agreed that a circular letter be sent to all NOCs requesting them to contribute 1000 Swiss francs to the sport aid programmes. In addition, some IOC members from the 'core' were asked to approach their cities, and it was also suggested that the IOC could arrange for loans to be granted to countries that showed interest in developing sport. It is important to point out here that at the Moscow session of the IOC 1962, it was agreed that Jean de Beaumont would occupy two positions in the CIAO, as both the head and the treasurer of the Commission. Nevertheless, in the discussion below the researcher explores the perception of key actors in the IOC involved in the aid project of the financial strategies to be undertaken by the Commission and its political and cultural implications.

A) Restriction of the flow of liquid assets

Some of the members of the IOC from the core countries in the formation phase of the Aid Commission, before its official creation, had strong views of how the Aid Commission should use its financial resources. Otto Mayer was the first to stress the notion that no liquid cash should be provided to the newly independent counties. He pointed out in letters directed to the German Ambassador in Congo that,

Our French member Graf de Beaumont hasn't taken any steps yet. Beaumont wants in the first place to provide money for those people in Africa, an intention which I consider to be a totally wrong approach. To whose hands will the money go? I think it is imaginable where the money will flow to (Otto Mayer, December 10, 1961: G. Letter 02, to W. Klingeberg).

He also stated on a different occasion that,

One thing I regret not to agree is, when Count de Beaumont intends to get money to send to those people what are they going to do with that money? Can you imagine non organized people, knowing practically nothing - or not much - about sport, receiving suddenly money. For what? What those people should receive, as Count de Beaumont is going to get some, are: educators in sport, trainers and material (I am thinking I.e. material for gymnastics etc.) That money should be used for that only: material sent from Europe and Instructors sent from Europe or USA, but certainly not cash money which will disappear in the pocket of some clever Negroes! The first thing is to find intelligent people there who would listen FIRST to what Count de Beaumont tells them (Otto Mayer, January 25, 1962: Letter 02, to Avery Brundage) [emphasis original].

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Chapter Five  
The Diffusion of Olympism to Africa and Asia

It could be argued that Otto Mayer considered providing financial assistance was a wrong approach for two main reasons. The first reason was related to the political climate between the colonial powers and the colonies. In the early 1960s, the political conflict in Africa was at its peak. Independence and liberation ideology dominated the political discourse as well as the formation of African identity, and more importantly the rejection of imperialist rules, thus, providing cash money would eventually going to the pocket of “clever” governments officials who may use that money for their own political struggle against the colonialism or may take the money and not promote sport in their countries. The second reason relates to the Eurocentric view and the perception of the West of colonies and non-Western society. Otto Mayer perceived that African society had no experience in organising modern sport and saw their citizens as disorganised and their officials as poternelly dishonest people. Thus, the money should be used for providing educators and equipment only. The Western stigmatisation of peripheral societies is an issue to which we shall return to later (See section 5.12).

The IOC president A. Brundage was also against the provision of cash assistance to ‘peripheral’ countries. He stated that:

    I concur, however, with Otto Mayer’s opinion that it is coaches, trainers and that is needed rather than cash (A. Brundage, February 4, 1962: Letter 03, to De Beaumont).

Such a decision is seen to have some implications for the relation between core and periphery with regard to the diffusion of culture. It creates a condition in which the core countries exert high control over the cultural diffusion process. The ‘core’ countries exert control over the content of the product promoted and those in the ‘periphery’ have no opportunity to negotiate the terms on which the diffused content should be transmitted and the means and mechanism that should be applied. This approach also supports the unidirectional flow of culture and values from the ‘core’ countries to ‘periphery’ since the core will be the sender of educators and equipment. The restriction of the flow of cash was also seen to have economic implications, further restricting the circulation of capital to the ‘core’ countries. Spending money to buy sport equipment and paying educators from the core countries enhanced the sporting economy of the ‘core’ and at the same time encouraged promotion of Western cultural conduits to ‘peripheral’ societies.
B) Opposing the Generating of Funds from NOCs

The CIAO strategy of requesting funds from NOCs was also strongly vehemently opposed by some IOC members. In the Moscow session, Sondhi, an IOC member from India, doubted the likelihood of the success of such an approach. Lord Killanin also feared that such a strategy could be misrepresented and could cause conflict between the core countries and 'peripheral' nations. He pointed out that,

I have received an official communiqué, signed by the Count de Beaumont, Ref. No. 202, dated 10th July. I was under the impression that this Aid Commission was to endeavor to raise funds from Government sources and not from National Olympic Committees. I do not recall at any time this being approved and, indeed, would have opposed it somewhat strongly as so many countries' National Olympic Committees have very big calls on their own finances and I feel this letter could very well be misrepresented and cause considerable conflict between the richer and poorer countries (Lord Killanin, July 18, 1962: Letter 08, to Otto Mayer).

Otto Mayer also concurred with Killanin and indicated that the reason that some European countries refused to donate to the sport aid project was due to political problems following independence struggle in Africa. He pointed out that,

Personally I must confess that I did not like to send that circular letter as we always said that we were not going to ask money from the NOCs. I met a friend of mine the other day, a member of the Portuguese O.C. who said to me that they decided never to send a cent for African countries! I can understand it after the political trouble they have down there (Otto Mayer, August 1962: Letter 09, to A. Brundage)

Portugal's position in respect to the aid project was expected since they still had colonies in Africa, Mozambique and Angola, and they had boycotted the United Nations conference in Geneva on labour and education in the newly independent countries (Espy, 1979).

However, in the case of the Hellenic Olympic Committee, Mr J. Ketseas stated that the committee could not donate money because it was overloaded the with financial responsibility for the International Olympic Academy (IOA) and suggested that the African nations could benefit from the Aid Commission by sending young sport students to the IOA sessions (J. Ketseas, July 17, 1962:F.Letter 14, to De Beaumont). Avery Brundage's position, however, was simply that he was
unconvinced of the idea of approaching the NOCs for donations but he, nevertheless, saw that there was no harm in trying.

As I told you, I think when I last saw you, I am somewhat skeptical of the success of your appeal for funds to the NOCs. Most of them have little or no money and it will be very difficult to induce them to contribute. Of course there is no harm in trying (Avery Brundage, December 20, 1962: Letter 14, to De Beaumont)

Despite the rejection of some IOC members to the fund raising strategy of approaching the NOCs for donations the CIAO carried out the action and was able to receive funds from the following countries:

Table 5.5: List of NOCs and Cities Donated 1000 Swiss francs to CIAO

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Africa</th>
<th>Asia</th>
<th>Europe</th>
<th>America</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ethiopia</td>
<td>Iran</td>
<td>France</td>
<td>Mexico</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Morocco</td>
<td>Japan</td>
<td>Germany (Frankfurt)</td>
<td>Uruguay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nigeria</td>
<td>S. Korea</td>
<td>Italy</td>
<td>Brazil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Southern Rhodes</td>
<td>N. Korea</td>
<td>Luxemburg</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kenya</td>
<td>Mongolia</td>
<td>Norway</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tunis</td>
<td>Afghanistan</td>
<td>Tchecoslovaquia</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Israel*</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Israel is placed in Europe following the Olympic Continental Games classification

It is noted from the table above that the majority of NOCs that donated were from the so-called 'peripheral' countries of Africa, Asia and Latin America. Many of the core and semi-periphery NOCs did not donate to the sport aid cause. Surprisingly, the USSR and the USA did not contribute to such an initiative despite that fact that some IOC members were specifically requested to approach their governments for financial support (See table below) and despite the fact that these countries had already established programmes that had similar interests to the Olympic sport aid project, promoting sport globally. Interestingly, in the case of the Belgian Olympic Committee, the committee refused to donate and considered it impossible to allocate funds to Africa from the BOC budget. However, the CIAO wrote to Prince Albert (Prince of Belgium) complaining about such behaviour from a rich European country as compared with poorer countries that donated (M. Meuwly, Jan 18, 1963: F. Letter, 31 to Price Albert). Nevertheless, the table above indicates that the 'peripheral' countries were more enthusiastic about the sport aid project than the core countries. The IOC members were surprised with such enthusiasm coming from
some of the poorest countries such as Kenya and Afghanistan. It was assumed that such countries would not have been able to donate to the cause of Olympism at all.

As indicated above, the notion of approaching the richer cities to finance the Aid Commission was also opposed by IOC members. In an IOC meeting minutes it is stated that,

"Count de Beaumont declared himself to be in agreement to leave the financial question in abeyance for the present. He was however persuaded that the new countries would express their gratitude to the IOC which had always been aware of their problems. Mr. Massard was opposed to the idea that International Aid Commission should ask the towns of France, or any other cities for that matter, to collaborate in adopting an African town in order to help in sending out instructors and trainers. Such an action should be submitted first of all to the approval of the French Olympic Committee. Mr. Brundage added that the International Aid Commission should not solicit help from any town, and he asked that its activities should be controlled until after the Nairobi Session (IOC session, 1963: Doc 05)"

Although this strategy had been previously agreed by the IOC president, the strategy appeared to have changed dramatically due to threat of the GANEFO Games and the challenge it represented to the authority of world sport. GANEFO had essentially split the world sport system into two camps the old imperial forces, and the newly emerging forces, bringing politics to the fare in world sport. Thus, the IOC restricted the CIAO and commanded it to drop the term Olympic from the Commissions' title. In addition to the GANEFO issue, it was probably the case that the IOC was concerned about not being able to control the intrusion of sport after the difficult problems of the two Germany, the two Chinas, the South African apartheid struggle, the Indonesian exclusion from the Olympic family, and the Korean threat to withdraw 180 athletes from the Tokyo Games.

With the absence of support from the bigger cities, the CIAO was unable generate enough funds, and following the peak of political problems that challenged the authority of the IOC and IFs in organising world sport, it was suggested that the CIAO should limit its activities to that of an advisory body coordinating the exchange of gifts and equipment between rich cities and poor ones.
The sports needs of Africa are certainly enormous and the C.A.I.O. has no money for the time being. Nevertheless the project of uniting certain wealthy cities to other less privileged cities which would thus be adopted would help to solve this problem for the time being, by exchanges of athletes and gifts of equipment which, as Mr. Touny has proposed, would all take place under the auspices of the C.A.I.O. This project remains in suspense while awaiting the decisions of Baden-Baden but deserves to be taken up again (Baden-Baden IOC session, 16th June, 1963: Doc 8).

It was suggested that the donations gathered from the NOCs be paid into a specific account since the Commission did not have the infrastructure to carry out the aid programs.

Mr. Alexander (Kenya) said that the funds derived from N.O.C. payments intended for the International Aid Committee should be entered in a special account. The Comte de Beaumont (France) stated that as the aid was continuing, the funds would be used. If this were not the case, they should be returned to the NOCs (IOC session, 1964: Doc, 10).

C) Loans for sport development

One of the strategies that the IOC members thought of carrying out the sport assistance programme was the creation of a loan system to be provided to NOCs interested in building elements of sports infrastructure in the newly independent countries. It was suggested in the IOC session in Moscow that,

These financial supports could be materialized by loans, with the favour of the C.I.A.O., to those cities which would express their interest. Those loans would be reimbursable in commodities, with the guarantee not only from the city in question, but also from the corresponding Government (IOC Session Moscow, June 6, 1962: Doc, 02).

The members here wanted the CIOA to be the distributor of loans and funds to cities or NOCs that showed an interest in sport construction. However, they ensured that guarantees would be forthcoming not only from a city or NOC but also from the governments involved. De Beaumont in his speech to African delegates in Dakar explained the aims of the CIOA and suggested how the financial loan system could work in furthering the creation of a sport infrastructure in Africa.

We even think, and it is our ardent wish, that one day we shall be able to realise a more practical aid programme by gathering financial help which, we hope will come from the whole world. This fund, either loans or trust funds, will then be re-loaned by the CAIO and the International Federations to such
collectivities which can offer sufficient guarantees of re-imbursement within a certain number of years. These loans will thus permit to accelerate the building of the necessary sporting facilities within a shorter time (De Beaumont, April 15, 1963: Doc, 04).

Here also De Beaumont stressed the notion the CIAO, as a representative of the IOC and IFs, will have control over the flow and eventually the use of those loans or trust funds. The CIAO and IFs were to be the link between NOCs that showed interest in sport development and the financial sources whether they were institutions such as the World Bank or governments from the core countries. The aim of these loans was to accelerate the process of building sport facilities such as stadiums, swimming pools, indoor courts and to purchase sports equipment since some countries or cities could not immediately meet the expenses involved in creating such facilities (De Beaumont, July 6, 1963: Doc, 02).

In addition, Jean de Beaumont one year after the creation of the CIOA, outlined a plan of how the Commission should conduct its activities. One of the decisions that he perceived to have been taken, was the creation of a fund system to provide loans.

3 – later, the creation of a fund in order to grant loans to such collectivities which are desirous to build sport facilities within a short period and who can guarantee reimbursement (De Beaumont report 6 June, 1963: Doc, 06).

In addition, the CIOA strategy was clearly defined by De Beaumont in a report presented to the IOC session in Baden-Baden concerning the use of loans in the process of promoting sport in the newly independent countries. He pointed out that,

Another plan of ours has been left aside temporarily on the request of the Executive Board of the I.O.C. I am speaking of the Aid Fund which was meant to achieve through guaranteed loans the accelerated building of sporting facilities in new countries. This plan is realizable and yet remains within the borders of the I.O.C.'s mission. Of course, such fund would have to be managed with caution This would be our concern and loans would only be granted after careful investigation on our part and secured guarantees. However, before we make further plans as to the utilization of such a fund, we must first try and create it and then estimate its amount. As soon as the I.O.C. will have given its agreement, we shall proceed with its constitution, through public subscription and through direct and personal call on the Governments of the nations which feel concern with the newly-developed countries (De Beaumont, 1963: Letter 31, to IOC).
It is noted that one of the critical points of the loans strategy to be adopted by the CIAO was to ensure a guarantee of reimbursement of loans, guaranteed that was, not only by NOCs but also by their governments. It could be argued that this was one of the processes by which those from 'core' countries sought to involve the peripheral governments in the global financial systems of loans and debts through sporting links. The proposed loan strategy could also be seen as an extension of the European and American foreign policies toward 'Third World'. The Marshal Aid plan that was granted to Europe was based on the notion of granting loans for the reconstruction of Western Europe, which added fuel to the cold war conflicts with Eastern Europe. In the case of dealing with 'peripheral' countries, however, aid was partly seen as a process to integrate the peripheral states into the global financial world system dominated by the core countries, and partly as a tool to increase political influence. The loans strategy, through involving a relatively small amount, ensured that the peripheral nations would be dependent on the loans provider for a considerable number of years because of sport loans, and other economic projects. Nevertheless, the loan strategy proposed here did not materialise and the Aid Commission stopped this activity due to the lack of financial resources.

5.11 Sport Aid and Paternalism Discourse

As Said (1993) argues, one of the significant debates about the residue of imperialism was the matter of how 'native', 'indigenous', and 'peripheral' societies were described and presented in everyday political discourse. In order to understand the relationship between core and periphery we examine how key actors described the newly independent societies in their discourse in the context of the sport aid program.

As indicated below, we note from the early documents of the creation of the CIAO and the emergence of the idea of assisting the spread of the Olympic movement to Africa and the development of sport in general that the African societies were repeatedly described in subordinate terms. Mr. Werner Klingeberg the German ambassador when he was asked to comment on the situation of sport in Africa and the possibility of creating an NOC stated that,
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Here in Congo where there were no more than 20 educated academics after the too rushed completed independence, it would be wrong to try to organise an NOC at short notice, which would necessarily have to consist primarily of state persons. I have looked at the sport and the sports education in the schools and I am attaching a copy of a speech by the Youth and Sports minister/officer. Congo is still a child of the Nations Unis needing special attention in a political, economical and social way. The sad events and happenings of the recent few weeks, which have certainly also filled the Swiss newspapers, showed with all clarity the chaotic relations (W, Klingeberg, November 21, 1961: G. Letter 01, to Otto Mayer).

The ambassador used education and literacy as criteria to show how the Congolese society was not ready to respond to the Olympic message and that it would be wrong to create an NOC in uneducated society which had rushed too quickly into independence. A future problem was that, state officials governed Congo’s social institutions, thus, governments would eventually control sport institutions. More importantly, the ambassador perceived Congo as a ‘child’ nation that needed special attention in every field of modern urban society, with the West or the imperial powers as the providers of such attention but the political conditions were not yet suitable for such a process. Interestingly, the perception of the German Ambassador was similar to that of de Coubertin when he described the relationship between imperial power and colonies in 1902 in the following term:

“Colonies” are like children: it is relatively easy to bring them into world; the difficult thing is to raise them properly. They do not grow up themselves, but they need to be taken care of, coddled, and pampered by the mother country; they need constant attention to incubate them, to understand their needs, to foresee their disappointments, to calm their fears (quoted in Hoberman, 1986: 39).

Following a similar perception of the peripheral societies, the IOC president considered the mission of CIOA as one of educating the African societies, whose citizens he referred to as ‘these people’, and of integrating them into the Olympic movement.

Mr, Brundage thought that we should keep ourselves out of all financial considerations which might put the IOC in an embarrassing position. The President said that above all it was necessary to educate these people and inculcate in them the Olympic ideal. Any sporting undertaking should be built up from the foundation upwards and the people must be taught to help themselves (CIOA meeting minutes, date unknown: Doc 05).
The statement indicates that the IOC had no financial resources to carry out the sport aid programme, thus, the IOC president suggested that the sport aid should be built from the foundation upward to teach recipients how to help themselves in promoting and developing sporting activities. However, the main aim of such aid programmes had to be to inculcate the newly independent societies into the Olympic ideal.

Paternalism, hierarchy, conservative and racialist discourse are also evident in describing the peripheral societies. As we have seen Otto Mayer expressed his opposition to the flow of liquid assets to Africa because of what the black population might do with such money. He stated that "Material sent from Europe and Instructors sent from Europe or USA, but certainly not cash money which will disappear in the pocket of some clever negroes!" (Otto Mayer, January 25, 1962: Letter 02, to Avery Brundage).

Rationales for sport assistance programmes were conceptualised with the notion of the assumed superiority of the West over the colonies. IOC members refer to the aims of the aid project as a process of uniting the super powers, the developed, and the rich nations with the poor, undeveloped, and the younger societies. Notably the discourse is one of equal partnership ('brotherhood' and 'marriage') rather paternalism ('child') when member of the core are addressing members of the periphery. In Dakar De Beaumont stated that,

The CAIO has also been created to make good wills meet, to favour the encounter of those who can help and those who are in need. It is the meeting of the announcements, of the offers and of the demands. It is marrying the large town with the smaller one. It is the association of the elder brother with the younger brother. It is the experience coming towards the youth (De Beaumont, April 15, 1963: Doc 04, Speech to African delegates in Dakar).

Expression of superiority of the West in terms of development and wealth was also explicit in members' support of the role of the Aid Commission in creating interaction between the core and peripheral societies.

The creation of an aid movement between super-developed countries and towns and under-developed countries (De Beaumont, June 5, 1963: Doc 06, to the IOC Executive Board).
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The C.A.I.O. has no money for the time being. Nevertheless the project of uniting certain wealthy cities to other less privileged cities which would thus be adopted would help to solve this problem for the time being, by exchanges of athletes and gifts of equipment (Minutes of IOC session in Baden-Baden, October, 1963: Doc, 08).

In addition, sport participation levels were also used as an indication of the superiority of the West over the rest, “We had to call on the generosity of the experienced sportsmen in order to meet the unexperienced sportsmen” (De Beaumont, 1963: Letter, 31 to IOC members).

In a review of the CIOA status, De Beaumont rejected that the Commission should only be targeting the newly independent countries, he wanted the Commission to be a global programme that worked for all NOCs that were ‘backward’ in terms of adopting the concepts of amateur sport and Olympism. He pointed out that

My own feeling is that the proper basis is that help should be available to all countries backward in amateur sport and Olympism throughout the world (De Beaumont, January 25, 1963: Letter 18, to IOC).

Basically, De Beaumont here perceived that the countries that did not have amateur sport and Olympic institutions were not developed and the CIOA should target all such countries.

In the statements provided above we see that members of the IOC distinguished and separated the world into two opposite camps. The wealthy versus the poor, the super developed versus the under-developed, experienced versus inexperienced, the larger versus the smaller, elder brother versus the younger brother, the old world versus the new world. Basically what was happening here was that those in (Olympic) authority in the donor countries which were mainly to be located in Europe and America considered themselves to be in a superior position and the colonised societies were always referred to as being in a subordinate position. The statement also implicitly promotes the ‘core’ argument of the modernisation thesis in terms of the countries of the West having a model of development which others would eventually follow when they themselves ‘developed’.
It could be argued that a hierarchical view of the world rather than one based on equality and multiculturalism was the driving force for the promotion of Olympism and in providing aid to African society.

Racist comments are also evident in reference to the sports struggle in South Africa against the apartheid policy. The prejudicial treatment of black South Africa was ignored, and the implication was that black (or coloured) sport people are whingeing. Brundage stated that,

> From the evidence submitted, it seems that as much or more is being done for the coloured sportsmen in South Africa as in any other African country (Avery Brundage, November 22, 1963: Letter 35, to Alexander).

One year before the Mexico Olympic Games where American athletes used a non-violent protest against discrimination to support the Black solidarity movement, De Beaumont warned the IOC president about the effect of such unity or solidarity if the IOC would not maintain its suspension of South African. He pointed out that,

> Nevertheless, it has occurred to me that a solution could be found to this serious problem, especially in view of the stand that the black Americans risk taking in their own country. There is no doubt that the Africans will be solidly with the coloured people of the United States if the IOC does not maintain its decision concerning the suspension of the South African Committee but, by definition, the Olympic Games should be open to all amateurs throughout the world, without racial, religious or political discrimination (De Beaumont, December 14, 1967: Letter 45, to A. Brundage).

Jean de Beaumont here although calling for the application of universal fundamental principles of Olympism, describes the African American citizens as coloured people, a language which marginalised their status as citizens of the US. However, the statement shows that the movement against social discrimination, which dominated the colonial period, was a global phenomenon that spread not only in peripheral societies but also in those of the 'core' nations. The IOC was, in effect, obliged by external forces to reconsider its attitude toward such a movement.

In reviewing the evidence provided above, it could be argued that IOC members although apparently advocating universal values of Olympism, when dealing with colonies did not challenge the pre-existing social structures and conservative ideologies that served to perpetuate a world order, which was characterised by
systematic inequalities and exploitation during the colonial era. Paternalism, conservatism, superiority, hierarchical structures provided a way of viewing the world and stigmatisation of others was part of the members’ discourse in the promotion of Olympism. IOC members perceived Olympic values of equality and non-discrimination as only related to the process of integration of peripheral societies into the Olympic movement on the level of participation, but not, for example, in terms of having the right to vote (Guttmann, 1994, Kruger, 1999, and Roche, 2000).

The marginalisation and undermining of the ‘other’ is the central theme of cultural imperialism. It is noted that the conceptualisation of the aid programme was formed around the notion of ‘hierarchy’, ‘paternalism’ and ‘superiority’ of the aid providers. The aim of the CIOA as identified was to re-establish the relations between the ‘super developed’ countries and the ‘less developed’ states. It was described as a process of marrying the large town with the smaller one, and as an association of elder brothers to younger brothers, ‘peripheral’ societies were also described as disorganised and un-educated and their nations were referred to as ‘young’ and ‘poor’ needing special attention in political, economic and socially. Thus the mission of promoting Olympism was to inculcate the African people with the values of the Olympic movement without taking to consideration the cultural specificity of those societies.

5.12 Conclusion

This chapter examined the diffusion of Olympism in Africa and Asia in the post-colonial period through the sport aid policy, in particular, through the Commission for International Olympic Aid. It aimed to identify rationale for establishing the aid programme and the power relations evident in constructing and modifying or restricting the Olympic aid policy, and the process of sporting cultural flow. Considering the global politics, the creation of Olympic aid policy was part of the Cold War conflict which fuelled the growing interest of European and American to establish political and economic as well as cultural relationships with the newly independent countries in Africa and Asia. Sport was seen as a tool to gain influence in these new territories. The IOC, however, sought to benefit from such growing interest and establish for itself an environment to be the head authority of world sport by organising and coordinating those provided forms of sport aid. The primary
task for the Olympic aid was to promote Olympism, creating sport institutions, diffusing competitive sport that was instructive and exhibitional in nature, and integrating the newly independent countries into the Olympic 'family'.

It has been noted that the majority of members in the CIOA were European in origin and the aid was seen to be in the form of activities and technological assistance provided to the newly created NOCs from Europe and USA such a global process indicates the direction of 'flow' in terms of sporting culture, Olympic ideals, people, from the 'donor' to the 'recipient'. The Olympic aid was perceived by the key actors in a hierarchal manner in which aimed to establish relationship between the wealthy, developed, metropolitan cities, with impoverish, underdeveloped, traditional cities.

Despite the IOC initiative, the aid programme was postponed due to economic considerations, as well as the fear that the Olympic aid activities would interfere with the IFs work in global sport development. It was suggested that CIOA should only be dealing with Olympic issues and the technical aspect of sport should remain in IFs control. Nevertheless, considering the financial structure of the Olympic aid, it was designed in a manner to which the aid process restricted the flow of liquid assets to the peripheral countries, loans and credits were seen to be appropriate ways of funding sport promotion and establishing sport infrastructure.

The periphery response to the Olympic message was not homogeneous. Some supported the Olympic aid policy and donated for the cause and accepted a quick affiliation into the movement, others did not reply to the proposed sport aid. Generally, as far as sport is concerned, the periphery accepted modern sporting culture without any resistance by accepting to participating in the Francophone and the Commonwealth Games, and in fact peripheral leaders promoted modern sport in their societies (e.g. Regional or Continental and GANEFO Games), However, modern sport was re-conceptualised and reinterpreted as a form of anti-imperialism and anti-apartheid policy. The next chapter examines the transformation of Olympic sport aid policy from targeting the newly independent countries into global sport assistance programme under the framework of Olympic Solidarity and assesses its development in the 1970s.
6. Introduction

In the previous chapter we have shown that in the post World War II period, the concept of aid as foreign policy emerged in the context of the reconstruction of Europe. With the rise in tension of the Cold War aid was perceived as reinforcing the barrier which separated liberal capitalist systems and the socialist communist block. In Asia and Africa, with the rise of anti imperialist movements that led to liberation of most colonised states, the Europeans (both East and West) as well as the US revealed an interest in establishing friendly relations with these new emerging states. The prominence of aid policy increased throughout the 1960s in the fields of military, political, and economic policy as well as education and culture and became in effect a ‘business opportunity’ in supporting the developing countries in the modernising of their nations. Cultural interaction, specifically modern sports, was seen as offering a form of mediation between the ‘core’, ‘semi-periphery’ and ‘periphery’ to rebuild or establish positive relations. Some elements of the IOC in this period of intensive development of aid policy sought to be seen as the co-ordinator of European aid to developing countries in Africa and Asia in respect of sport. However, these goals were not realised due to the conservative attitude of some IOC members from ‘core’ and ‘periphery’ who did not want to associate Olympism with governmental projects fearing that the IOC would jeopardise its independence. Thus, Olympic sport or technical assistance was not officially sanctioned until Brundage left office and Lord Killanin assumed the leadership of the IOC.

The aim of this chapter is to trace the transformation of the system of Olympic sport aid from its initial aim of targeting of the newly independent countries in Africa and Asia to the global Olympic Solidarity assistance programme. In doing so, the chapter
will illustrate the geopolitical conflicts which were reflected within the movement with the affiliation and integration of the peripheral countries into the IOC institution. The chapter also explores the relations between the leading authorities of the global sport system of the IOC, IFs and NOCs that were undergoing a process of reformation in the late 1960s and early 1970s. In addition, since television revenue was the financial source of Olympic Solidarity schemes, and thus became a major concern among the Olympic 'family' members, the chapter examines the IOC policy in distributing television income between the IFs and the NOCs. In examining these issues the author aims to establish an understanding of the rationale underpinning the creation of Olympic Solidarity programmes and to illustrate the circumstances in which the Olympic Solidarity Commission emerged and flourished.

The chapter also highlights the nature of the relationship between the IOC and continental regional games in Asia, Latin America and Africa, which were created from the early 1950s and which benefited from the framework of the technical assistance programme of the Olympic Solidarity. Finally, the chapter will examine the mechanism of technical assistance in sport proposed by the key actors who supported the development of Olympism and modern sport in peripheral states through Olympic Solidarity, in order to evaluate the extent to which Olympic Solidarity played a significant role in the spread and development of modern sport culture and Olympism.

6.1. Geopolitics, Nationalism and the Olympic movement

In the post World War II era the IOC emerged as one of the leading non-governmental organisations in the world system in the cultural sphere along with UNESCO. By the early 1950s the IOC had expanded its membership to include the Soviet Union and the 1952 Games in Helsinki were dominated by Cold War politics. By the early 1960s the newly independent countries in Africa and Asia had been rapidly assimilated within the world sport system. However, the IOC's willingness to affiliate the USSR and the newly independent countries brought new challenges and difficulties (Girginov, 1998; Guttmann, 1984). One of the areas of concern for the IOC was 'excessive' nationalism. The IOC member from Kenya, R. Alexander argued
that the IOC itself should be reorganised in a global manner, which, would eliminate
the significance of the changing national borders and political identities that were
occasionally modified with the independence of colonies. He suggested that the
NOCs representatives to the IOC should not be identified by nation states.

I consider it is a pity that any I.O.C. Member has to be identified with a
particular country. The map of the world will go on changing as regards
national boundaries. The Olympic Movement must forever transcend these
boundaries and retain its independence and impartiality. I would prefer that
all members are "Members at Large" each chosen on merit to promote and
protect the Olympic interests in their particular “area” by identifying
membership with countries will, I believe, give rise to tremendous pressures
from each of the 90 countries to be represented. If Africa for example, is to
be treated in this way you can begin to realise how impossible the position
might become1.

I earnestly believe that members of the International Olympic Committee
must in their attitude be truly international and that we must get away from
this identification with specific countries. One danger facing the Olympic
Movement is an excessiveness of nationalism and this certainly should not be
allowed to appear in the governing body itself. A mass of nations, each
represented on the International Olympic Committee will, I am sure, produce
the same result as is happening in the United Nations with power blocks
forming in order to press a certain philosophy (R. Alexander, 7 January,

Alexander’s point of view here challenges two modernist geopolitical concepts, the
nation state (defined by 'political borders') and nationalism. By discarding borders, he
was challenging the concept of the nation state as a form of reference for societies.

States were considered to be the only significant actors in the global space prior to
World War II and the subsequent creation of supranational organisations such as the
UN and IMF. In addition, by refusing nationalism, he neglected national identity as
the sole or primary reference to different societies. He argued that the Olympic
product should not be influenced by the philosophy of the ex-colonial countries that
were seeking to gain space within the international system. The newly independent
states in Africa and Asia were seeking to build their national identity and gain
international recognition by the means of (amongst others) being represented in the
global sport system (Baker, 1987; Sudgen & Tomlinson, 1998). In addition, as we
have seen in the previous chapter peripheral states in their quest for a place in the

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1 This is part of Alexanders’ letter written in 1961 and repeated in 1969, both letter were directed to
Brundage.
new global order in sport, introduced a discourse (around for example the GANEFO Games) that suggested replacing the IOC. It could be argued that the notion of membership which considers IOC members to be representative of the IOC in their respective countries, not representative or delegates of their countries to the IOC was formulated as a response to such nationalism tensions. According to the Olympic Charter, IOC members are intended to be independent and "may not accept from governments, organisation, or other legal entities or natural persons mandate liable to bind them or interfere with freedom of their action vote" (Quoted in Toohey and Veal, 2000:41). Nevertheless, nationalism and national identity in global sport represents an explicit example of interaction between the diffusion of global cultural products and the local specificity (Maguire, 1999). This is bound up with globalisation processes in which Robertson (1992) and Giddens (1990) refers to as the process of 'universalisation' of local and localisation of global.

Interestingly, Alexander was concerned about a parallel between the IOC and the United Nations. This was no doubt influenced by the strategic alliances developed by periphery states in response to a global political system that was dominated by the bipolar political ideologies of the superpowers. A group of states formed themselves a pressure group of G77\(^2\) with the UN in 1964 in order to press the industrial countries for a new international economic order (Dodds, 2000). This tension was heightened by the USSR, in its foreign policy fuelled by the Cold War conflict, supporting the ex-colonies in their struggle with the former imperial powers. Nevertheless, the alliance of peripheral states in this group of 77 suggests a form of negotiated resistance to the domination of the G7 within the world economic system.

Driven by the aim to save the Olympic movement and avoiding the emergent problem of excessive nationalism, the IOC considered omitting the national anthem and national flags from the games as a symbol of victory in order to reduce the tension of hyper nationalism (Guttmann, 1988). In addition, the IOC suggested modifying the national representation process. Avery Brundage promoted that the idea should represent a wider geographical area and proposed an IOC world sport geographical distribution as follows: the Caribbean to be represented by Miguel Moenck (Cuba), Central America to be represented by a member from Panama or

\[^2\] For more information about G77 see www.g7.org.
Guatemala, the Middle East to be represented by Gabriel Gemayel (Lebanon), East Africa under R. Alexander and West Africa represented by Sir Ade Ademola (Nigeria) (Brundage, 4 February, 1969: Letter 54, to R. Alexander). Brundage hoped this would reduce the excessive nationalism within the IOC. It is interesting to note that South Africa or Rhodesia (Zimbabwe) and Europe were not considered in the distribution. In effect by forming such geographical areas the IOC as a multinational organisation was challenging the nation state's role in global cultural space representation. This reflects the elements that globalisation generates challenges to the nation state or the 'hallowing out' of the state.

Another area of difficulty, which resulted from the global expansion of the Olympic movement, was the voting system. The core countries introduced a weighted voting system as a response to growth of IOC membership. Opposition by some IOC members to the voting system that was introduced can be seen in the letter from G. Onesti (President of Italian Olympic Committee) to Brundage indicating that,

> This correspondence concerns the vote of the European members of the Advisory Committee of NOCs. The System of this vote applied by the Secretary General of the IOC and the way in which the members for Europe of this committee have been appointed, in my opinion, raise serious objection, which I consider it indispensable to point out to you (Onesti, 20 Sep, 1967: E.Doc 1 to A. Brundage).

In addition, R. Alexander after two years from such position he pointed out that,

> (ii) I believe that the history of the IOC in the last few years has shown that we are fast moving to a "one country one vote" situation which is what I foresaw 8 years ago and which, in my opinion, will be the end of the basic principles upon which Baron de Coubertin founded the Olympic Movement. (iii) I consider that developments such as these, however well intentioned, will develop an atmosphere within the NOCs that encourages them to ignore the I.O.C. members unless a position is established now for the I.O.C. Members within this general policy. We are quickly planting the seeds of our own self-destruction! (R. Alexander, 7 January, 1969: Letter 52, to Brundage).

It is understood from Onesti's statement that the new voting system was rejected by other members and was seen to raise serious objections from non-European members. Alexander's statement though, suggested that the IOC if it had a one person one vote system would lead to the NOCs ignoring the IOC as the head
authority of world sport system. Consequently, it was argued by some of the members from the 'core' countries that representation of NOCs on the IOC ought to be contingent upon the stage of sports development they had reached. Thus, countries with a strong sporting tradition would enjoy greater influence in forming the Olympic policy. Alan Guttmann (1992:116) points out that such a representation system was driven by a fear that the IOC may be ruled by a majority of small nations of the 'Third World' and that proportional representation was designed to ensure the continued dominance of Europe and North America, perpetuating the Western hegemony in the management of the IOC.

We can also argue that this system was driven by ideological political conflicts given the fact that the communist block and the ex-colonies were dominated by anti-bourgeois and anti-imperialist politics. As a result of the IOC international expansion in the 1960s and early 1970s, the political problems that appeared were mostly related to the representation of countries both from the periphery and semi-periphery. For instance the case of the two Chinas and the two Germanies were geopolitically oriented (Kruger & Riordan, 1999; Miller, 1992, Espy, 1979). In addition, the IOC's recognition of regional and continental games (such as African games and GANEFO Games) together with pressure from the communist block to reorganise the IOC, made many IOC members from the 'core' countries suspicious of what the peripheral states would do if involved in the management of the IOC. Jean de Beaumont pointed out in relation to the growth of IOC membership to 120 NOCs including 40 new countries mainly from Africa and Asia that, "it would be illusory to think of indefinitely multiplying the number of IOC members, thus turning the IOC into a parliament under the ascendancy of different ideologies, without any authority and nor real power (Jean de Beaumont, 2nd October, 1965: LETTR 38 to IOC).

With the global spread of Olympism and increase of its membership consisting of countries from the peripheral continents, several proposals were made for the IOC to re-organise to meet the challenges of the new geopolitical order in the postcolonial era. The USSR also proposed changes to the IOC in areas concerned with NOC representation, managerial and administrative structure of the IOC, revaluation and redefinition of the concept of 'amateurism' as well as in policies related to discrimination issues that were dominating international sport due to the integration
of countries from Sub Saharan Africa (Girginov, 1998). The globalisation process of sport and Olympism led to awareness that there were different interpretations and implementations of the ‘amateur’ philosophy and specially that, the Eastern model of sport was different from the Western model. In addition the rise of professionalism increases the need to redefine the ‘amateur’ code of conduct (Lucas, 1992). Thus, globalisation could be seen to have had multiple consequences often operating in different directions.

6.2. Revival of the Olympic Aid Commission and the Arrival of Olympic Solidarity

The IOC in 1962 in Moscow created a Commission for International Olympic Aid (CIOA) to render aid to the newly independent countries in Africa and Asia in the field of sport and to assist with the establishment of national Olympic institutions in their societies. However, due to the political events surrounding the GANEFO Games and the perception of some members that the IOC would jeopardise its independence if the CIOA were to carry out its policy funded by European governments or be associated with governmental organisations like the UN, the IOC decided to restrain the activities of the Aid Commission in 1963. Nevertheless, the interest in spreading Olympism and promoting modern sport globally remained. In 1964 at the IOC meeting in Tokyo some members were discussing the development of technical support for the promotion of sport particularly in the developing countries of Africa, Asia and Latin America. The IOC planned to revive the Aid Commission but this did not take affect until 1968, when an initiative was taken by the Permanent General Assembly of NOCs (PGA of NOCs), which created a collaboration network among the NOCs concerned with technical assistance in sport. Jean de Beaumont described the suspension of the CIOA and how the PGA of NOCs emerged pointing out that,

The Aid Commission as it was planned when created in 1961, was intended to support the action of the IOC in the field of expansion and promotion of the Olympic ideal and movement. The setting up of this commission, if we look at its extremely promising beginning, it certainly dealt with the needs of the time. It was only after its dissolution which was a mistake, that various National Olympic Committees palliated its disappearance by trying to find solutions, which could meet with their needs. This was how the Permanent General Assembly of National Olympic Committees came to be founded (Jean De Beaumont, March 1969: Letter 55, to IOC executive Orifice).
Chapter Six  The Emergence of Olympic Solidarity

The PGA of NOCs was created by individual collaboration and co-operation between NOCs from the core and peripheral countries. According to Espy (1979) and Hazan (1982) the majority of countries involved were from the communist bloc and the peripheral areas of Africa, Asia and Latin America. On the other hand, the key actors of the PGA as illustrated by Guttmann (1992) were from rich, metropolitan countries namely the Soviet Union, Italy, Great Britain, USA, Japan, and Australia, Africa was represented with the Congo. The chair of the PGA of NOCs was Gulio Onesti, the president of the Italian Olympic Committee (CONI) that played a significant role in the reformation of the relationships between IOC and NOCs. As argued below, the involvement of these countries in forming the PGA of NOCs and hence Olympic Solidarity suggests a complex process of re-establishing IOC and NOC relations involving political and economic factors.

At the 67th Session of the IOC held in Mexico 1968, the IOC created five new committees for the purpose of establishing and developing relations between the IOC and the NOCs, as well as IFs, due to the conflict between these organisations over which should be the primary authority in the world sport system should be. The IOC perceived dealing with other sport organisations in a paternalistic way (Guttmann, 1992). In a meeting of IFs it was pointed out that,

"...the very ticklish problem regarding relations between the heads of the world's sport and ...the disagreement between the three parties: IOC, N.O.C. and I.F.'s as a result, the I.O.C. has been harshly criticised in the press ("the IOC is dying", "declining") which is a blow to its prestige, vis-à-vis public opinion. The IOC is therefore facing a serious situation and steps should urgently be taken in order to safeguard the Olympic movement and strengthen the Olympic ideals. But to reach this end, the parties concerned should forget about differences and re-affirm their unity and harmony, for instance, by calling a joint meeting of the parties (Meeting of the Sub-Committee of the IFs, April 27th, 1968: Doc 13)"

As a consequence of such conflicts among the actors in world sport, it could be argued that, on one hand the emergence of the General Assembly of IFs (GAIF) and the Permanent General Assembly (PGA of NOCs) were partly a manoeuvre for IFs and NOCs to serve their interest in the international sport system. It is important to point out that some organisations had different views on issues concerning international sport, for example, the IFs did not agree with IOC regarding the
problem of apartheid in South Africa, or the distribution of television revenue, and requested a complete re-organisation of the world sports body. Some NOCs also opposed the weighted voting system and representation. Despite this, in order to get to the bottom of conflicts and strengthen its relations with other sport organisations, the IOC created four new commissions: a commission dealing with IOC, NOCs and IFs relations, an Eligibility Commission, a Commission of the Olympic Games Programme, and the Aid Commission. These commissions were to study the major problem that faced the Olympic movement and to work to reform its relations with NOCs and IFs.

As far as Olympic sport aid is concerned the re-evaluation of this area of policy for the benefit of the developing countries took place in Mexico in 1968. The commission consisted of Mr. Juan Antonio Samaranch (Spain), Jean de Beaumont (France), Colonel Raoul Mollet (Belgium), General Clark, Marc Holder (Switzerland), Reginald Alexander (Kenya) and Prince Ahmad Al-Hamed (Kuwait). The members were engaged in the study of assistance to NOCs and agreed that the aid ought to start urgently, indicating that it should be comprehensive, it was stated that,

This scheme of aid for the National Olympic Committees must be essentially technical in character and inversely proportional to the economic power and possibilities for development of each National Olympic Committee. It must be technical, didactic and adapted to the needs of each. The main features of this aid are instruction sports exchanges, advice on sports equipment, translation of regulations into various languages at a very low price, technical guidance and the possibility of providing the National Olympic Committees with trainers prepared to go to their country...This technical assistance service must avoid any paternalism, the National Olympic Committees having to apply to the International Olympic Committee each time they consider it necessary while at the same time maintaining their independence (The Aid Committee: Preliminary work, 1968: Doc 15a).

By re-establishing the technical assistance policy for the benefit of NOCs, the IOC hoped to strengthen its relations with NOCs. The assistance was seen to be technical, pedagogical, depending on the economic position of the recipient and giving consideration to the local need of NOCs as well as avoiding paternalistic attitudes when responding to NOC applications.
In the process of reviving the Aid Commission, two proposals were forwarded to the IOC executive board, one by Samaranch (Spain) and the other by Raul Mollet (Belgium). However, it was suggested that the Aid Commission should not overlap or clash with the already established assistance programme of the PGA of NOCs, which was organised under the title of Olympic Solidarity (OS). Jean de Beaumont pointed that,

Today the Aid Commission, with no means of information or action, without financial help and with very little unity in its role of informant can only act as a strictly advisory body. Such a position, taking into account the activities of the Permanent General Assembly of National Olympic Committees, would certainly avoid the risk of collisions and troubles between the IOC and the NOCs. I therefore, propose that the duties of the Aid Commission be limited to those of an advisory body able to enlighten the Executive Board on various carefully defined problems. In my opinion this is the only role it can fulfil effectively (Jean De Beaumont, March 1969: Letter 55, to IOC executive Orifice).

General Mollet also pointed out that that he agreed with the creation of advisory services for NOCs taking to account

the complexity and cost of the realisation of the plan of the technical aid and the irrevocable setting up by the PGA-NOCs of enormous operation “Olympic Solidarity” which is meeting extraordinary success... I insist once again with the utmost sincerity and urgency that the creation of two similar bodies, dealing with the same subjects and responsible to the same organizations, namely the NOCs, should be avoided. The tasks should be agreeably divided between the IOC and the PGA-NOCs for the maximum benefit of all and the strengthening of Olympism...The PGA-NOCs whose project "Olympic Solidarity" is now in the process of realization, should receive the greatest encouragement and cooperation from the IOC. This could easily be achieved either within Commission No.1. or otherwise by creating a reduced committee consisting of 3 members of the IOC and 3 members of the PGA-NOCs (R. Mollet, 21 March, 1969: Letter 56 to IOC members).

It is understood from these statements that there was a growing interest within the Olympic movement over the global promotion of sport through the technical assistance programme in collaboration with NOCs. However, there was also an ongoing struggle for power between the PGA of NOCs and the IOC over the realisation of this major sport assistance scheme.
In the Dubrovnik meeting of the IOC executive board with NOCs in 1969, the PGA of NOCs requested recognition as an official commission within the IOC structure. The PGA of NOCs’ resolution proposed that in order to reinforce the IOC and NOCs relations, the Olympic rules should include the following article:

"The NOCs constitute between themselves on the basis of equality between all the NOCs, an organisation freely constituted by them.

This organisation aims at:
- Informing the IOC, on its own initiative or at the latter’s request, of the opinion of the NOCs;
- Collaborating in the study and solution of Olympic problems and above all those concerning the activity of the NOCs;
- Nominating the NOC representatives to those organs of the IOC in which they are invited by the IOC to participate;
- Carrying out, in liaison among other with the International Sports Federations, the programme of sports technical assistance in the name of Olympic Solidarity, a programme for which the IOC assumes the patronage and supervision
- Organisations of similar type may likewise be set up at continental level.
- It is clearly understood by the IOC and the NOCs that this organisation shall be in no way affect the right of the IOC and of each NOC to deal directly with each other (PGA of NOCs resolution, 1971: Doc 21).

It is understood from the above suggestions of the PGA of NOCs that NOCs were seeking to obtain power within the Olympic movement, and that this could be achieved by having an opportunity to participate in studying the Olympic movements’ problems and in implementing solutions, to freely select and nominate their representatives to IOC meetings, and to carry out the Olympic Solidarity programmes in collaboration with the IFs. But this would be done with the guarantee that the PGA of NOCs would not affect the right of the IOC to deal with NOCs individually.

In terms of global promotion of sport and Olympism among the NOCs through Olympic Solidarity, the resolution of the PGA of NOCs specified the role of Olympic Solidarity as follows: The programme of sports technical assistance based on the Olympic ideal and carried out by the PGA of NOCs in the name of Olympic Solidarity aims at:
• offering those NOCs who so desire the opportunity of placing themselves at the service of the Olympic movement and of the other NOCs within the framework of a concerted overall programme;
• creating at international level the conditions favourable to a co-ordination of assistance efforts and initiatives and also of actions already undertaken by the various international, continental and regional organisations in favour of the Olympic movement and amateur sport;
• enabling those NOCs so desiring to take advantage, within the framework of this programme and in a form appropriate to their needs, of Olympic Solidarity in order to play a more effective part in the development of amateur sport and of the Olympic movement in their countries (PGA of NOCs resolution, 1971: Doc 21).

The PGA of NOCs is here suggesting the global promotion of the Olympic movement and modern sport but with the active participation of the NOCs. The PGA of NOCs also proposed that in line with ensuring a unity of action and a wider coordination of all the available forces concerned the IOC should:

1. grant, as in the case of the International Olympic Academy, the patronage of the IOC to the assistance programme of the PGA of NOCs;
2. place the carrying out of the "Olympic Solidarity" programme under the supervision of a Permanent Commission of the IOC consisting of 5-7 members of the IOC;
3. accept the responsibility of financing in part the assistance actions realised by the PGA of NOCs within the framework of “Olympic Solidarity”, by attributing to this programme yearly subsidies deriving from the quota accruing to the IOC on behalf of the NOCs from television rights on the Olympic Games (PGA of NOCs resolution, 1971: Doc 21).

It is clear here that the key actors involved in the formation of the General Assembly of NOCs wanted that their organisation be recognised and hence be provided with financial subsidies derived from the television broadcasting rights of the Olympic Games. Up until this stage the PGA of NOCs and the revived Aid Commission were driven by a similar view of promoting Olympism and modern sport globally. Thus, there was an agreement on what should be done but there were also questions concerning who should control the assistance schemes.

The IOC in the course of its 70th Session and of the meetings in Amsterdam in May 1970, adopted the decision that the constitution of the PGA of NOCs could not be considered as having any legal status since the IOC had in its rules, articles assuring
the NOCs’ independence and the right of NOCs to freely constitute an organisation and enjoy equal representation within it. However, the IOC had accepted most of the suggestion proposed and agreed that the PGA of NOCs would be an organ which would have only three functions

a) as an advisory body, which could play a part at the preparatory stage in IOC decisions related to the joint-commission of IOC and NOCs relations,
b) an appointing body, in which it would have task of choosing its own organs and representatives of NOCs in the joint commissions with IOC and IFs, and
c) as organ of management, under the patronage and supervision of the IOC, in which it would ensure the implementation of the sport technical assistance programmes (PGA of NOCs resolution, 1971: Doc 21).

With such decisions it is understood that the IOC was allowing the NOCs to be actively involved in the management of the IOC and the technical assistance programme. It is argued here that this change of IOC attitude, was the initial phase of the democratisation of the IOC in respect to its relationship with NOCs in general and the periphery countries in particular. In terms of the IOC accepting the Olympic Solidarity programme of the PGA of NOCs it was pointed out that,

The fact of granting the “Olympic Solidarity” programme of the PGA of NOCs the patronage of the IOC and of placing its carrying out under the supervision of a Permanent Commission of the IOC is intended, on the one hand to stress the interest of the IOC in the further development of the Olympic movement and in the strengthening of the activities and independence of the NOCs. While on the other hand, this decision will ensure a unity of action and a fuller co-ordination of all available and interested forces (PGA of NOCs resolution, 1971: Doc 21).

The rationale of implementing the technical assistant programme under the Olympic Solidarity schemes as understood from the statement above had four aims,

a) to the further development of the Olympic movement as well as modern sport in a global level,
b) strengthening the NOCs activities which basically lacked internal resources to carry out their sport promotion programmes,
c) ensure independence of NOCs,
d) uniting action in protecting ‘amateur’ sport
Gabor (1988) and Miller (1992) argue that with this aim, the IOC sought to decrease NOCs financial dependency on their respective governments in order to make them less subject to pressure to boycott the Games as well as less subject to be influenced by governments' political ideologies which was the notion that dominated the global system in the 1960s. The IOC also aimed to implement the technical assistance programme for the purpose of uniting action of different forces within the movement and protecting the 'amateur' sport from political interference as well as commercialism and professionalism that were challenging the authority of sport.

6.3. Joining the Aid Commissions

Olympic Solidarity through Permanent General Assembly of NOCs chaired by Onesti continued its technical assistance initiatives and several meetings were organised. Its last meeting was in Luxemburg in December 1971. At the meeting of the Executive Board in Sapporo 1972, three IOC Vice- Presidents re-evaluated the Aid Commission and suggested that the IOC should provide immediate assistance to NOCs in the transitional period between the Sapporo Winter Game and Munich Summer Games. It was suggested that the IOC should consider a plan to create an IOC organisation to deal with assistance for the benefit of the NOCs. It was agreed that the assistance to NOCs in this transitional stage should mainly take the form of targeting those countries organising Continental and Regional Games. The financial means for such assistance would be from the $50,000 collected from by the PGA of NOCs and would be spent in accordance with the wishes of, and only with supervision from the IOC. It was proposed also in this meeting that the three vice presidents should assume the management of the assistance programme and Onesti would act as the coordinator (H.A. van Karnebeek, 6 January, 1972: E. Doc report on Executive Board meeting minutes in Sapporo, the Hague).

In this meeting, it was suggested that the new assistance organisation to be created by the IOC be named the "Olympic Foundation for Assistance to the National Olympic Committees" and its main task would be to ensure the protection and proper utilisation of the funds from T.V. (one third intended for the NOCs) as well as other means offered for assistance to NOCs. The new organisation could be empowered to appeal for collaboration from the NOCs, the IFs, and the IOA as well as individual
technical experts. The Commission should report its activities to the IOC and the IOC would fix its budget yearly. It was also suggested that this organisation would be set up in Italy by CONI and after that be transferred to Lausanne. In discussion about the budget of the new organisation it was agreed that $6 millions from Summer Games and $2 millions from Winter Games would be put aside in the programme and it was proposed that this money would be put into a pool for the benefit of all NOCs and not divided between those countries participating in either Winter or Summer Games. It was also agreed that no cash would be given to the NOCs (H.A. van Karnebeek, 6 January, 1972: E. Doc report on Executive Board meeting minutes in Sapor, the Hague).

Thus, the 1972 meeting marked the birth of the new organisation that combined the Olympic Solidarity programme of the Permanent General Assembly of NOCs and the revived Aid Commission into a single organisation supervised by the three IOC Vice-Presidents. In fact in August 1972 an ad hoc meeting was arranged with NOCs intended for the promotion of the Olympic Solidarity programme. The ad hoc committee met in August chaired by the Raoul Mollet. It was attended by A.G Abraham (Jamaica), J. Berraeasa (Venezuela and IOC -member), A. de O. Saleo (Hong Kong), R. Gafner (Switzerland), G. Heinz (D.D.R), M.K. Kasonka (Zambia). The committee suggested that a joint commission be established by the IOC and NOCs with parity of membership and a minimum of five representatives each. The chairman of this Commission, however, was to be appointed by the IOC from among the members selected by the NOCs themselves. The new Commissions' fundamental objectives were to promote the spirit of Olympism and a variety of activities to ensure collaboration and corporation among the NOCs and the IOC as well as the IFs.

However, Onesti and Mollet seemed to have a different plan for the role of the joint commission. Onesti anticipated that the IOC creation of vast assistance programme would eventually lead to the disappearance of PGA of NOCs. In a letter directed to van Karnebeek, Onesti pointed out that

> in my view the plan to bring to an end the activities of PGA of NOCs could only be concluded provided two at least of the essential reasons for the
existence of these activities disappear; these reasons are: a vast and indispensable programme of sports technical assistance, and permanent and competent form of effective relation with the NOCs. Since the IOC Session at Luxembourg, under your direction, we have attempt to lay the bases for such an activity to be carried out directly by the IOC, based in Lausanne (G. Onesti, 11 October, 1972: Doc 18a, to H.A. van Karnebeek).

On the other hand, Colonel Mollet the president of the Belgium Olympic Committee and the Permanent Secretary of the International Council of Military Sport (CISM) had in mind another approach, to create a global technical assistance programme in collaboration with UNESCO and other international organisations. On 13-14 October 1972 he held a meeting with O. State T. Keller representing (General Assembly of International Federations, IAWL & ICSPE), P. Vagliani (UNESCO), J. Faleze (ICSPE), J.M. Agten (Clearing House Belgium, Sport for All), D. Anthony (ICSPE, Committee for Sport Development. In this meeting it was agreed that the organisations involved in promoting sport globally should collaborate in exchanging information and in particular UNESCO with members from both governmental and non-governmental organisations, national and international sport federations, international organisations of physical education, research bodies, and its organisation of ICSPE could bring together expertise in various fields connected with sport theory and practice e.g. management, facility and equipment, sociology and history, and sport and tourism, for the development of global sport which was seen as a ‘universal product’. The group which met concluded that “Modern sports were proved to be of great human significance and the problem arising could only solved by an openhearted interdisciplinary effort.” (Report meeting on technical assistance, 13-14 October, 1972: E. Doc 18)

The intentions and motives of the above arrangements are explicitly illustrated in a letter of Monique Berlioux when she pointed out that

After reading Mr. Onesti’s letter of 1st October and Mr. Mollet’s of 17th October, I think I can see, too late, Mr. Van Karnebeek’s point of view. Anyway, both of these gentlemen have in mind to set up a big organisation, one relying mostly on UNESCO, and the other by blackmailing the revival of the PGA and I wonder if they will be satisfied with appointment of assistant to technical director to handle the problem (M. Berlioux, 24 November, 1972: E. Doc 23, to Lord Killanin).
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It may well be that the two initiatives above, were aimed at directing the technical assistance programmes of Olympic Solidarity away from the PGA of NOCs and hence reducing its influence within the movement as well as ensuring control of sport assistance schemes. According to Esby (1979) and Houlihan (1994) the PGA of NOCs was formed by a majority from the communist block and African countries, and this was a way to seek power within the IOC. Guttman (1992) however, claims that the key actors of the PGA were predominantly from affluent wealthy countries namely Italy, USSR, Great Britain, Japan, Australia, and the USA. In this group Congo was also represented. This suggests that Olympic Solidarity and sport aid policy in general was a product of a combination of political and economic processes. The political ideological conflict of the Cold War provided the context for the development of the aid policy and technical assistance in sport to most independent countries in Africa and Asia. The sport aid policy was supported by the richer or industrial nations to increase their influence within in 'Third World' societies (Hazzan, 1987; Houlihan, 1994; Bale and Sange, 1996). It could be argued that the diffusion of sport was associated with bi-political ideologies the communist and liberal capitalist ideologies as well as the Olympic philosophy. The economic interest reflected are in the involvement of rich metropolitan countries in forming the Permanent General Assembly of NOCs as a power bloc within the IOC, pushing for NOCs to have more of a role in decision making and to increase their share of television revenue. This had the additional benefit of creating opportunities for economic exploitation in sport since with the global diffusion of sport in developing countries there was a lack of sporting infrastructure. Nevertheless, the development of Olympic Solidarity and the sport aid policy served also the interests of peripheral states in their quest for a place in new sport global order.

In considering the competing proposals the IOC president, Lord Killannin, preferred the integration and inclusion of all competing forces within the Olympic Solidarity scheme. The technical assistance structure was formed with inclusion of members from all five continents representing the different political and economic blocks.
Table 6.1: Olympic Solidarity Key Actors in the late 1970s

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Title</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Lord Killanin</td>
<td>Ireland</td>
<td>IOC + OS president</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Van Karnebeek*</td>
<td>Netherlands</td>
<td>OS Chairman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Giulio Onesti*</td>
<td>Italy</td>
<td>OS Coordinator</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H.R. Banks</td>
<td></td>
<td>OS Technical director</td>
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<tr>
<td>E. Wieczorek</td>
<td></td>
<td>Director of OS of the IOC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bo Bengtson</td>
<td>Sweden</td>
<td>Member</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Walter Tröger*</td>
<td>GER</td>
<td>Member</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Raymnond Gafner*</td>
<td>Switzerland</td>
<td>Member</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peter Ritter</td>
<td>Liechtenstein</td>
<td>Member</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Philip O. Krumm*</td>
<td>USA</td>
<td>Member</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>David McKenzie</td>
<td>Australia</td>
<td>Member</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Harold Wright*</td>
<td>Canada</td>
<td>Member</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Constatin Andrianov*</td>
<td>USSR</td>
<td>Member</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Günther Heinze*</td>
<td>GDR</td>
<td>Member</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trendafil Martinsky</td>
<td>Bulgaria</td>
<td>Member</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Issac Froimovich</td>
<td>Chile</td>
<td>Member</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mario Vazquez Rana</td>
<td>Mexico</td>
<td>Member</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arlington Butler</td>
<td>Bahamas</td>
<td>Member</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manuel Gozales Guerra*</td>
<td>Cuba</td>
<td>Member</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ingrid keller de Schivoni</td>
<td>Guatemala</td>
<td>Member</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Katsuji Shibata</td>
<td>Japan</td>
<td>Member</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dawee Chullasapya</td>
<td>Thailand</td>
<td>Member</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ali Asghar Payravi</td>
<td>Iran</td>
<td>Member</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jean-Claude Ganga</td>
<td>People Republic of Congo</td>
<td>Member</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abdel Mohamed Halim</td>
<td>Sudan</td>
<td>Member</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abraham A. Ordia</td>
<td>Nigeria</td>
<td>Member</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Olympic Solidarity report (1976:18 & 28)

* indicated the members appointed by the IOC: the rest were volunteers

Thus, the creation of the joint commission incorporating the various competing interests was regarded as the way in which the IOC should manage the conflict with the Permanent General Assembly of NOCs thereby unifying the Olympic movement in a global promotional policy and ensuring collaboration between the IOC and NOCs as well as the IFs. The Japanese IOC member pointed out the importance of Olympic Solidarity in that,

It is, indeed, a matter for congratulation that the misunderstanding and ill feelings that have long plagued the relationship between the IOC and the "PGA" of NOCs have been wiped out and a new beginning promised for the promotion of the Olympic Solidarity. The world is changing radically and rapidly. It is my sincere hope that under your strong leadership tempered with warm understanding, the NOCs will work in closer collaboration with the IOC and the IFs and the Olympic Movement will forge ahead in a dynamic
and effective manner benefitting the era (Kazushige Hirasawa, 9 December, 1973: E. Doc 29, to Lord Killanin).

Thus, the new Olympic solidarity organisation was seen to be the organ that would unite the leading organisations of the world sport system to collaborate in the promotion of Olympism and modern sport. With reference to the work of Olympic Solidarity, IOC president Lord Killanin noted after the IOC Congress that,

The IOC in the past has been accused of agreeing to do things and then sitting back. This must not reoccur. Further as I have stressed, the Olympic movement, although having the games as its peak, must be active in the intervening four years (Lord Killanin, 9 December, 1973: E. Doc 34 to S. Duncan of BOA).

With Lord Killanin's support the Olympic Solidarity began its work in 1974 as an official organ within the IOC structure utilising television revenues to promote the Olympic movement and sport globally.

In the process of merging the two aid commissions into one the shadow of the Cold War between the communism and liberal capitalism is evident in members discourse. The IOC secretary pointed out,

I have heard that Mr. Kovan from the USSR Ministry of Sports has written to all Ministries of Sports in Eastern countries of "friends" countries to convene a meeting in Vienna in early spring to discuss the Congress. Have you heard about this. These "friends": would, of course include the African countries (M. Berlioux, 24 November, 1972: E. Doc 23, to Lord Killanin/ emphasis original).

From this statement it seems clear that the communist bloc and certain African countries were regarded as having the potential liaison to act as major influence within the world sport system, sharing in ideological terms an opposition to dominance of the West. An associated concern was the selection of an African member who represented the Organisation of African Unity which was considered as a problem for the management of Olympic Solidarity. H.A. van Karnebeek pointed that,

Reference is made to Lord Killanin's letter of May 18th to you. I had also noted that Mr. Ganga accepted on behalf of the Supreme Council for Sport in Africa, which surprised me, as I was under the impression that it was not the intention to invite any representative of sports organisations to join the
Commission. Such a step would inevitably lead to trouble sooner or later (H.A van Karnebeek, 23 May, 1973).

Ganga was one of the leaders of the Supreme Council for Sport in Africa, a branch of the Organisation of African Unity that promoted the anti-apartheid policy and aimed to preserve the independence of African countries. Thus, his presence in Olympic Solidarity was seen to cause a problem with IOC. Despite such political suspicions, Killannin constructed Olympic Solidarity to include members from all continents regardless of their political orientation. Nevertheless, it should be noted that the majority of members selected were from rich Northern ‘core’ countries.

6.5. Television Revenue

As indicated above that the GAIF and Permanent General Assembly of NOCs had declared an interest to increase their share of the Olympic Games revenue generated from television broadcast rights. For the 1968 games, with increased competition among television networks, the broadcast rights were sold in millions. As a consequence, a wider debate emerged among the leading authorities in international sport concerned with the managing and distributing of the new IOC wealth. This section explores IOC policy in terms of dealing with IFs and NOCs in the distribution of the TV income. It also examines how the IOC key agents identified ways in which television revenue would be used for global promotion of ‘amateurism’ sport and Olympism.

In the case of IFs, the primary concern was to increase their share from TV income as well as having autonomy over such funds. It was pointed out in the report of the meeting that,

The Committee regrets that it cannot agree with the answer, given by the IOC and they insist on having a joint I.O.C. - I.F.s committee to discuss the percentage of TV receipts granted to the I.F.s. On the other hand, the Committee feels that the division of TV receipts among the I.Fs should he decided by themselves and not by the IOC (Sub-Committee meeting of IFs, April 27, 1968: Doc, 13).
In response to IF pressure, the IOC president agrees that the IF Sub-committee should work out a formula to be presented to the IOC for discussion in detail of the division of TV receipts among IFs for the Winter Games in 1972 in Sapporo as well as the Summer Games in 1976 in Montreal (ibid). The IFs and IOC conflict with regard to the share of TV funds was resolved during the meeting of the three IOC Vice-presidents namely Lord Killanin, Van Karnebeek, Jean de Beaumont and Tackac (the IOC technical director) and Onesti (Director of Olympic Solidarity) in 1972, where it was decided that the TV money relating to winter and summer games should go in to a pool and the money for IFs should be handed to the IOC Finance Commission for distribution (IOC vice President meeting report, August 17, 1972: E. Doc 16).

The interest of the IFs in increasing their share of the TV fee was evident in the suggestion put forward by a representative of the Federation International Des Societes D'aviron which promoted

The IFs request that the TV percentage for each IF should in future be increased in order to cover the expenses of travelling and accommodation of the presidents and general Secretaries of IFs (Thomas Keen, October 26, 1972: E. Doc, 19c, to Lord Kellanin)

It is worth mentioning also that the IFs in this period were encouraging the IOC to carryout the Olympic Solidarity programmes as quickly as possible in order to extract maximum benefit for their individual sport (Houlihan, 1994).

However, in the case of relationship between the IOC and NOCs, the use of television funds as suggested by the key agents was somewhat more complicated. The IOC specified that the NOCs’ share of the funds be used in the form of activities through the Olympic Solidarity schemes. It was pointed out that

In this connection (the Olympic Solidarity schemes) it should of course born in mind that although there will be naturally be some funds, originating from the proceeds of TV, made available for conducting NOCs activities. Such funds will have to spread out over a period of four years. There will be consequently be no room for fancy schemes, etc., nor can the NOC’s count on any in the form of actual cash to be handed out, as decided some time ago (H.A van Karnebeek, August 2, 1972: E.Doc 16, to IOC Technical Director).
The policy of distributing cash to NOCs was also agreed between the Vice Presidents when Jean de Beaumont pointed out "it was essential to refer to the aid and not money that would be given" (Meeting of the three IOC Vice-presidents, August 17, 1972: E. Doc 16). In addition, the IOC secretary pointed out that,

It was decided by the 73rd session in Munich that the total amount for the television rights allocated to the NOCs would not be distributed in cash but would be used for the benefit of the NOCs. For your information, the estimated amount from the Munich Games is 6 Millions Swiss Francs but I must emphasise that this is only an approximate figure, as the full amount has not yet been worked out (M. Berlioux, 10 November, 1972: E. Letter 20, to Suat Erler IOC secretary general).

The IOC member's preference was not to give autonomy over the use of funds allocated to the NOCs. The IOC was to maintain control over the distribution of the NOCs' share which would be given to the NOCs in the form of services. In fact, several ways in which the TV money could be used for the benefit of NOCs were suggested during the meeting of the three Vice-Presidents, and it was recommended that the TV income should be used to help organisers of the Continental Games such Asian and Pan-American games, to assist the real needs of developing countries mainly in Asia and Africa and Latin America, in the fields of sports promotion, and to create a technical library to include films and information pamphlets (Report on the meeting of the three IOC Vice presidents, August 17, 1972: E. Doc 16).

Nevertheless, the Vice Presidents did not formulate the way in which the NOC share would be distributed or how these activities should be funded evenly among the 136 NOCs, and a meeting of the Ad Hoc Committee was therefore convened, to the organisation the of the Olympic Solidarity Programme, and this was attended by the some members from the peripheral countries. The meeting concluded the fundamental importance of establishing the Olympic Solidarity Programme should take precedence over the immediate question of the distribution of funds from TV rights at the Munich Olympic Games (Report on Ad Hoc Committee on the promotion of OS, August 20. 1972: E.Doc, 17, in Belgium). Thus, the NOCs, especially some of peripheral countries, were supporting the use of TV money to carryout the assistance programme through the Olympic Solidarity programme.
Onesti in setting up and formulating the Olympic Solidarity policy, regarded that the TV money was an important factor that would facilitate the Commissions’ work for the benefit of NOCs.

I think that in the framework of such a concept the IOC has the possibility, thanks to television dues, and even the duty to organise as rapidly as possible vast programme of assistance for the benefit of the NOCs, the financing of which would be assured by the TV funds intended for the NOCs. This way of financing Olympic Solidarity should in fact be considered as the only really acceptable one, since the funds obtained without difficulty on my initiative in the past led to serious misunderstanding within the IOC and had to be done away with (G. Onesti, November 28, 1972: E. 23a, to Lord Kellanin).

Onesti also suggested that the TV money should be used only for Olympic Solidarity to assist the NOCs, (in particular, the NOCs in developing countries) to carry out their tasks more effectively and to consolidate their activity and their independence. Above all, he perceived that the TV money would allow the NOCs to intervene more effectively in favour of the development of amateur sport on a wider basis (G. Onesti, November 28, 1972: E. 23a, to Lord Kellanin). With such an approach it is evident that the IOC as a multinational organisation, tended to compete with, or to pre-empt the policies of individual nation states (such as the USSR, or the United States) of promoting sports in peripheral countries. By supporting the NOCs, the IOC strengthened the role of NOCs in developing of sport and ensured a certain independence and autonomy of the NOCs from their governments in the periphery.

6.5. Regional Games, Olympic Solidarity and CONI

In the post Second World War period, there were changes in the global order that emerged in the development of the super powers and the rise of independence movements that sought self-governance in peripheral state. In terms of cultural practice, in particular in the sport sphere, the leaders of newly independent countries in Africa and Asia continued to promote the imperial tradition in that they adopted the modern nation-state systems and political parties (though with local variation). International sport witnessed the creation of international sporting festivals similar to the Olympic games: the Asian Games 1951, the Pan-American Games in the two Americas in 1953, and the Mediterranean Games which incorporated countries from
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The Emergence of Olympic Solidarity

Europe and North Africa in 1951, the creation of Pan-Arab games in the Middle East in 1953 and the creation of the African Games replacing the Friendship games in 1965 which was supported by the French Empire (Benzerti, 2002).

There is no doubt that these regional games played a significant role in the global diffusion of modern sport around the world. They created a regional base in which globalised modern sport penetrated into local communities which eventually supported the promotion of the Olympic movement. However, it is worth mentioning that some of these games faced difficulties of recognition as part of the international world sport system, which was dominated by the IOC and IFs. It is still the case that some games are not recognised by the leading sport institutions (e.g. pan Arab, African military, Afro-Asian, and South American Games). In this section we try to identify the network relationships between the IOC and these regional games and to establish the nature of cooperation between the various stakeholders and areas in which collaboration was to function.

The peripheral states, having achieved remarkable results in the Olympic Games with the emergence of Africa as the new power in long distance running stimulated the notion of developing modern sport in order to catch up with the West (Bale & Sang, 1996). The IOC's concerns to spread its influence beyond Europe can be seen in granting the Games to Japan in 1964 and Mexico³ in 1968. The NOCs which organised regional games did so knowing that the IOC would grant technical assistance, and were clearly interested in gaining access to such aid and in particular the television funds. In the case of the Asian Games, on behalf of the Iranian Olympic Committee, two years prior to hosting the Asian Games in 1974, Mr Rassouli, the Secretary-General and the Treasurer of the Organising Committee of the VII Asian Games visited CONI and approached Mr. Onesti the Director of Olympic Solidarity requesting technical assistance in organising clinics for the training of judges and referees as preparation for the regional games. The Iranian request was associated with taking responsibility in making this collaboration with Olympic Solidarity a success. They were committed to assuring that technical organisation of

³ Mexico Games were the first ever Olympic games in 'Third world' country and were marked by the resistance from Mexican students who protested against holding the Games in Mexico due to economical reasons of the country.
clinics to be held in Tehran pay the cost of experts’ accommodation and provided a simultaneous translation into Persian language be provided (Onesti, 27 May, 1972: E. letter 08 to van Karnebeek). Onesti pointed out in supporting the initiative that

I am extremely happy that the programme of "Olympic Solidarity" as agreed with the three Vice-Presidents of the IOC will be starting at Tehran so actively engaging in the construction and organisation of the Pan-Asia Games which already promise to be the most splendid in their history (G. Onesti, 8 June, 1972: E. Doc 12, to Rahnavardi).

In the case of African games, Mr. H.E.O Adefope from Nigeria Olympic Committee approached Onesti for technical assistance in organising the Pan- African Games in Lagos. Onesti responded,

I am pleased to confirm to you that the IOC agreed to the programme of “Olympic Solidarity” planned for the months to come and also covering a possibility of technical assistance aimed at facilitating the sports technical and general organisation of the Pan African Games at Lagos” (G. Onesti, 8 June, 1972: E. Doc 12, to H.E.O. Adefope).

In addition, the Bolivian Olympic Committee approached Jose Beracasa a representative of the Pan American Sport Organisation for technical assistance in hosting the VII Bolivarian sport games to be held in La Paz in 1977. Beracasa on his part, wrote to the IOC new IOC president Lord Killanin requesting technical help for Bolivia:

It should be noted that the VIII Bolivarian Sport Games will meet more than 1.800 athletes of six countries of the Circuit, and therefore, this help to them would rebound directly in the sport development of that important region....I will very much appreciate the help that we could give to the Bolivian Olympic Committee, as I know we will be working, succeeding in the project that we have always wished to carryout (Jose Beracasa, 3 December, 1973: E. Doc 36, to Lord Killanin).

Thus, NOCs organising regional games, soon enough found themselves in need of support from the ‘established’/ ‘core’ nations to develop modern sport which was seen as reflection of the level of development of the country.

The requests of countries that were organising regional games, in gaining access to technical help from the IOC were not always successful. For example, in response to a request from Iran, the IOC declined to pay the cost of a two month training of Iranian athletes in Italy. Onesti pointed out that
Mr. Takac, Technical director of the IOC, has informed me of your objection as regards the financing by the Olympic Solidarity funds of a clinic for 12 Iranian cyclists, subdivided into two periods of two month. I quite appreciate the reasons for your attitude and fully agree with them, since they are in accordance with the principle approved by the Vice president of the IOC and the Coordinator of Olympic Solidarity, of not granting direct aid in respect of the training of athletes. In any case, I wish to inform you that CONI, in the framework of its multiple contacts and relation with NOCs, will ensure from its own funds the cost of a part (50%) of this assistance project, asking the NOCs concerned to pay the remained (G. Onesti, 20 December, 1972: E. Doc 26, to van Karnebeek).

In the case of the African Games in Lagos, the IOC declined to provide cycling equipment to Nigeria, and again CONI took the initiative to provide such material. Onesti pointed out that

I should also like to add that the IOC has not seen fit to meet the request made by Mr. Ordia concerning cycling material purely for a reason of principle. However, I am happy to tell you that the Italian NOC will do so on its own behalf, and accordingly I would very grateful if you would inform me as exactly as possible as soon as possible what cycling material you wish to receive from CONI (G. Onesti, 8 June, 1972: E. Doc 12, to H.E.O. Adefope).

It could be argued here that Onesti’s commitment to assisting the Asian and African Games was in part due to the fact that Onesti was the president of the Permanent General Assembly of NOCs and had good contacts with representatives of NOCs from Asia, Africa as well as Latin America. In addition, Onesti enjoyed friendly personal relations with Iranian Prince Gholam Reza who was the president of the Iranian Olympic Committee. In a letter directed to the Iranian Olympic Committee, he pointed out that “I would like to add that both the CONI and myself continue to be at the disposal of H.I.H. Prince Gholam Reza Pahlawi, president of your Committee and the whole Iranian sport” (G. Onesti, 8 June, 1972: E. Doc 12, to Rahnavardi). However, the fact that CONI took the initiative to support such expensive activities that were not supported by the IOC indicates that it was a wealthy organisation which was playing a leading role in the promotion of sport globally. The Italian government willingness to allow CONI to fund such activities reflects its post-war concern to re-establish itself in cultural terms as part of the centre of the global, cultural community. It could also be regarded as an Italian effort to generate voting voices from the peripheral countries, hoping to gain influence within the IOC.
In the case of the IOC rejection of NOCs requests for assistance in organisation of the regional games, van Karnebeek was quick to note that such attitude may affect the IOC relations with NOCs and he warned the IOC president stating that:

There is one thing that I am convinced that we must not do and that is to merely sit still and turn down any requests for assistance or suggestions to this affect submitted to us by our agents, the NOCs (H. A. van Karnebeek, 19 July 1972: E. Doc 14, to A. Brundage).

Van Karnebeek in addition to seeking to convince Brundage not to turn down the request of the 'agents' who supported the promotion of the Olympic ideals and modern sport, he further pointed out that, it was not enough simply to grant patronage to regional games but that the IOC should step forward to give advice about the organisation of such games, as long as the advice given was considered to be for the interest of the Olympic movement and sport.

I am sure that the Pan American Games were held under the auspices and guidance of the North American countries in the past, while the Asian Games were rendered possible as a result of assistance by the International Sport Federations and possibly the IOC. Personally I am inclined to feel that it would not suffice to grant our patronage only, but that we should also give advice when required and if it is considered to be in the interest of the Olympic Movement and Sport in general to do so (H. A. van Karnebeek, 19 July, 1972: E. Doc 14, to A. Brundage).

In this statement we note that the vice president implicitly promoted the view of the IOC as being a leader of the world sport system, and underlined the fact that by supporting such events it would promote Olympism and would consolidate its world role.

Thus, the diffusion of Olympism and modern sport into peripheral countries and the emergence of regional games which incorporated Olympic sports, in effect created a dependency structure in which the periphery were reliant on support in managerial and technical assistance in organising their own games. At the same time we note the interdependence structure was created between the IOC and NOCs in that the IOC required the NOCs to promote Olympism in their territory and the NOCs needed managerial support from the IOC to organise their games.

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6.6. Type and Forms of Assistance in Olympic Solidarity

IOC correspondence illustrates a variety of activities that were perceived to be appropriate for technical aid to NOCs in the developing countries. Cousineau (1998) argues that foreign aid policies in the area of sport are often a reflection of traditional attitudes on the part of the donor country whether the donor was a former colonial power or one whose aid was simply driven by trade interests. In either case humanitarian assistance has always meant different things over time based on the nature and relationship with the donor country. In terms of our case here, the IOC a trans-national organisation, is the donor organisation and the NOCs the recipients, and the technical assistance mechanisms reflected the notion of ‘core’ and ‘periphery’ of the world sporting system. Antonio Samaranch writing in 1969 defined the aid policy in the following terms:

Olympic Aid should be the moral and technical assistance rendered by the IOC to the NOC's, through the proper and available means, so that the NOC's themselves may carry out their task of promoting Olympic ideals and sports, as well as of furthering the physical, moral and cultural education of youth within their respective jurisdictions (J.A. Samaranch, 10 April, 1969: Doc 17).

The statement above reflects the IOC concern to promote its own values through the NOCs. It aimed to give NOCs responsibilities in promoting Olympic ideals and sport for their respective countries. This recognition of the role of the NOCs indicates a shift in the IOC's attitude toward NOCs with the Olympic Aid targeted to strengthen the role of NOCs in promoting Olympism and modern sport.

Samaranch goes on to illustrate the ideological function of Olympic aid, specifying that assistance would be in two forms:

1- Moral Aid

   Strengthening of IOC-NOCs relations to enhance their authority as Olympic sports leaders within their respective countries. Strengthening of the NOCs to enhance their moral authority.

2. Educational Aid

   a) Introduction of Olympic Philosophy
   b) Formation of Olympic professors and leaders
   c) Preparation and ample distribution of educational materials on Olympic ideals and sports (J.A. Samaranch, 10 April, 1969: Doc 17)
Driven by universalistic perspectives, moral aid is specified by providing the NOCs with printed materials on Olympism to allow the NOCs to fulfil their obligation with regard to children and youth of the world and also to support the NOCs role in defending the 'amateur' sport philosophy. Samaranch continues that:

It should also be understood by moral aid the persuading of peoples to participate in sports, so as to attain "mens sana in corpore sano", and that such practice be channelled within the standards of amateurism, lessening more and more the spirit of professionalism that surrounds us today. Moral aid also should mean to make the world conscious that the Olympic ideals and sports should be practised daily, through the whole Olympiad, and not only limited to the Olympic Games (J.A. Samaranch, 10 April, 1969: Doc 17).

'Moral Aid' as explained here aimed to transform the activities of IOC from those of an organisation that was concerned solely with the Olympic games, to one concerned with sport development on a daily basis. The aid here is also seen to support the IOC policy in its fight against professionalism, with amateur sport under threat from the hidden influence of sport business and commercialism, which was growing in the 1960s. It could be argued here that amateur philosophy was to a certain extent against the modernist characteristics of professionalism and commercialism to be associated with Olympic sport.

As part of the IOC collaboration with NOCs for the promotion of Olympism it was suggested that the IOC should organise technical seminars in the field of sports training from lower levels to postgraduate level. The IOC and IFs would determine all conditions connected with the setting up and running of the seminars, such as curriculum, duration, number of sports, number of students, faculty and frequency. A further proposal was to create a specialised institute for trainers in Switzerland, and to distribute information about the construction of sport facility.

However, Olympic aid policy, encouraged the spread of modern sport that required modern infrastructure, the proposal exposed by Samaranch rejected the building of any sport facilities,

It should be made clear to the NOCs that the IOC will not finance any building schemes. Assistance will consist only in helping connect the NOCs in need with specialised building organisations and some NOCs with great experience in building. This would involve:
a) thorough investigation of building organisations, willing to contribute
b) the establishment of a list of NOCs willing to share experience the NOCs
   asked for advice render their assistance free of charge (J.A. Samaranch,
   10 April, 1969: Doc 17).

The Aid Commission's rejection of the financial support for building schemes
reflected the major cost involved and the relative small budget allocated to technical
assistance. Thus, the role of the IOC as provider of aid to the NOCs, was seen as a
provider of free technical advice as well as one of a mediator between the providers
of sport technology and the recipients. However, the aid offer provided here can be
seen as a process of linking the recipient NOCs to transnational sport industrial
companies which were located in the donor countries in metropolitan states creating
a structure of technological dependency.

After the fusion of the Aid Commissions into the Commission of Olympic Solidarity,
the framework of the programme of technical assistance to NOCs took the form of
five major mechanisms namely: missions of experts; scholarships; sports courses or
clinics; documentations; and advice on sports venue construction. In a period of two
years, the Olympic Solidarity carried out 371 aid projects to the benefit of 85
countries marking the first global Olympic assistance scheme that covered countries
from Africa, Asia, and Latin America as well as some parts of Europe. Olympic
Solidarity managed to ensure a permanent collaboration with several European
countries that were considered to be more developed in the domain of sport namely,
Italy, USSR, West Germany, Romania, East Germany, Spain, Poland, India,
Czechoslovakia, Great Britain, Bulgaria, USA, and Hungary (Olympic Solidarity
Report, 1976). These countries we considered the providers of sport aid in the four
schemes identified, and they reflect the bipolar world system of the liberal capitalist
and communist blocks that were defined the geopolitical context. In addition,
Olympic Solidarity established a framework with 11 IFs to provide assistance
according to the requests forwarded by the NOCs to the Olympic Solidarity office
based in Italy.

The Olympic Solidarity with such arrangement was seen to be conferred to a new
dimension that worked to enhance the role of the NOCs in the promotion of sport
and Olympic ideals as well as to establish legitimacy for the NOCs as leaders of sport
institutions in their respectful countries. In addition, Olympic Solidarity work in providing and distributing sport documents was seen as a feasible means to overcome the difficulties of exchanging knowledge which derived from the linguistic barrier. Moreover, due to the existence of multiple sport aid donors operating in the global space, particularly in Sub Saharan African countries, the IOC was concerned about the problem of coordinating these multiple efforts of assistance and avoids overlapping, interference and the dispersion of means. In general Olympic Solidarity was seen to ensure whatever necessary, conditions favourable to the development of Olympic sport, by methodologically, realistically and imaginatively using all the competence available and prepared to serve under the sign of the five Olympic rings (Olympic Solidarity Report, 1976: 13).

Olympic Solidarity programmes policy in the 1970s was designed to follow these guidelines:

- providing technical assistance to a country that requests assistance in the development of sport and Olympic ideal;
- the assistance in granted exclusively in the form of services;
- priority is given for developing countries;
- the assistance must be granted through NOCs;
- the assistance will not be completely free of charge


The above guidelines of Olympic Solidarity work marked a change or a transformation in the way Olympic aid is provided in comparison to the early 1960s. The Olympic aid is provided accordance to the countries' request, the aid is granted only to recognise NOCs, and the sport assistance is not offered free of charge and NOCs are required to cover part of the expenses based on the type of assistance provided whether it is scholarship or experts visit mission.
Table 6.2: The assistance mechanisms suggested by Olympic Solidarity actors

<table>
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<th>Ideology endorsement</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>• Circulation of IOC executive board bulletin</td>
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<td>• Pierre de Coubertin history and ideas</td>
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<tr>
<td>• Booklets about Olympic movement ideals and philosophy of the game</td>
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<tr>
<td>• Memoir of Olympics</td>
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<tr>
<td>• Leaflets on Olympic Games history and facts</td>
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<tr>
<td>• Translation of Olympic documents and books to other languages</td>
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<tr>
<td>• Legal study to strength the NOCs legitimacy in their countries</td>
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<tr>
<td>• Periodical publications of technical guide books</td>
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<tr>
<td>• Creating documentation centre in Lausanne</td>
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<td>• Publication of films</td>
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<td>• Olympic week in all countries</td>
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<tr>
<td>• Visits of famous athletes and teams to several countries</td>
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<tr>
<td>• Ambassadors of Olympic Ideals (athletes, teachers, and coaches who travel abroad to</td>
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<td>teach sport)</td>
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<th>Management</th>
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<tr>
<td>• Books on Olympic rules and regulations and updated general information</td>
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<td>• Information on Olympic sports</td>
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<td>• Guide books for building sports venues and construction of sport institutions</td>
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<tr>
<td>• Consultancy advise in sport issues and facility construction</td>
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<tr>
<td>• Forming competitions models from clubs to national championships according to specific</td>
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<td>circumstances of the country</td>
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<tr>
<td>• Assistance organising committee of regional games</td>
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<td>• Centre to provide advice to NOCs and bureau for IOC and NOCs relations</td>
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<tr>
<td>• Training of athletes of high calibre</td>
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<td>• Instruction of sport leaders</td>
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<td>• Organising youth games to adopted by all NOCs</td>
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<table>
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<tr>
<th>Coaching and training methods</th>
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<tr>
<td>• Exchanging qualified coaches and trainers</td>
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<td>• Scholarships for athletes</td>
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<tr>
<td>• Providing sport equipments</td>
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<tr>
<td>• Formation and qualification of Olympic professors, officials and referees</td>
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<tr>
<td>• Instruction of coaches and trainers</td>
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<tr>
<td>• Sport medicine courses</td>
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<tr>
<td>• Creating sport centres at the disposal of courses in regional areas</td>
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<tr>
<td>• Sending experts to several developing countries</td>
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<tr>
<td>• Creating links with physical education colleges, medical institutions, and sport</td>
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<tr>
<td>organisation to help in Olympic aid programme</td>
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<tr>
<td>• Retired athletes who had excellent sport record in mega-event to be sent to work in</td>
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<tr>
<td>developing countries for three years (must have clean record, holds a diploma in PE</td>
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<td>colleges, recommended by the NOC).</td>
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</table>

Source: Meeting documents and correspondence related to the creation of Olympic Solidarity in the 1970s.
In examining the key actors' suggestions about the nature of technical assistance, for which some examples are provided in table 6.2 it is noted that they are a form of promotional and educational activity suggested to create an environment in which sport interaction between nation would be maximised and hence support the global spread of modern sport and Olympism as a 'universal' cultural product. The orientation was more generally related to promotion of practices than that associated with elite sport, such as exchanging high qualified coaches and trainers, providing scholarships for talented athletes, and building sport facilities. There is no indication for sport for all or women sport, or other forms of physical activities that contribute to the well being of the individual such as traditional indigenous sport, dances, and local physical movements.

The quick acceptance of the Olympic Solidarity programmes in the 1970s can be illustrated by number of countries responding to the questionnaire forwarded to NOCs asking them to verify the type of assistance preferred, expert missions or scholarships. Eighteen countries form Africa, thirteen from Asia, fourteen in Latin America and six European countries namely: Finland, Hungary, Malta, Portugal, Sanmarino and Turkey replied to the questionnaire and requested sport technical assistance. Such global response from the five continents also marked a transformation of Olympic aid which initially was designed to target the newly independent countries in Africa and Asia, but now the assistance expanded to include European countries. In contrast, some peripheral countries although they were given an advantage to benefit from the assistance programmes, did not reply to the offer. These countries were: Thailand, Egypt, Ecuador, Algeria, Central Africa, Niger, Gabon, Togo, Liberia, Somalia, Jordan, Syria Nepal, and Pakistan (Olympic Solidarity Report, 1976: 17).

However, the implementation of the Olympic Solidarity programmes were faced with problems, some NOCs were forwarding requests which were episodic in nature concerning only one specific sports sector instead of requesting wider participated sporting activities, acceptance rates of scholarship granted by the IOC were relatively low, from 757 scholarship offered only 230 were implemented. Moreover, in conducting the programmes it was noted that some NOCs were not facilitating the
dialogue with local authorities to provide the logistic and facilities to carry out the assistance programmes.

Considering the global diffusion of sport through the sport assistance schemes outlined above for Olympic Solidarity during the 1970s, Hazan (1987), Riordan (1988), and Peppard and Riordan (1993) suggest that the Soviet Union strategic foreign policy toward neighbouring countries and the development countries in Africa, Asia and Latin America, have utilised the sport assistance and the Olympic Solidarity to support their political socialist development path. It is claimed that outside the IOC aid funds the Soviet Union had developed a vast assistance programme, and approximately 2.5 millions Russian rubbles were annually allocated to support sport development in the periphery states. Parallel with such initiative, the USSR signed economical treaties with more than 30 African countries despite its short historical contacts with African sport. Hazan (1987) describes these treaties as being based on detailed agreements specifying the scope of the contacts, the area of material aid, the exact numbers of Soviet experts to be sent to the relevant state, the duration of their work the number of the stipends for students from the Africa states. Interestingly, despite the high political conflicts of the Cold War, the Soviet Union had also signed treaties with the some Western states. For example, Australia and Canada, had signed up for assistance programmes in ice hockey coaching schemes and Great Britain had signed for gymnastic coaching aid as well as Denmark in boxing, gymnastic and ice hockey (Peppard and Riordan, 1993).

There is no doubt that given the communist success in the Olympic Games from 1950s and 1970s, international sport and sport aid becomes a serious matter for their economy as well as in their political ideology. The Soviet leaders in support of such international contacts with other nations regarded sport as an important weapon in the battle of people’s minds and an effective means for demonstrating the possibility of socialist path of development and modernisation (Hazan, 1987; Peppard and Riordan, 1993). During this period as well, the USA was very active through the ‘Peace Corps’ programmes providing sport assistance to developing countries. It was regarded that sport support to enhance the image of the USA in independent countries, spread liberal capitalist political ideology and prevent the spread of communist ideology (Bale and Sang, 1996). It is in this period also that the American
sport university increased their scholarships grants to African athletes claiming that they are naturally talented for high performance of elite sport.

In addition to the USSR and the US sport aid, the People Republic of China (PRC) had break from isolation and emerged in international sport with a new attitude toward the outside world. The 'ping pong diplomacy' aimed to establish friendship relation with the US was an explicit example of such transformation. It was seen that sport was a very important tool to win friends globally. PRC with initiative to return to the world community, spent a vast sum of funds on building sport stadiums in some 'Third World' countries including Morocco, Tanzania and Pakistan (Hong and Xiaozheng, 2002). Italy, as noted earlier, was providing aid to regional Games in Asia and Africa through the Olympic Solidarity whose office was located in Rome. Germany as well has initiated sport aid programmes to the peripheral countries.

Despite such vast aid to the developing countries, it is noted that their participation in the Olympic Games continued with political tensions. The struggle against apartheid was sustained. For example, when the IOC decided to admit Rhodesia in 1972 Munich Games after 'the 1965 Unilateral Declaration of Independence', Tanzania led the African boycott to the Games in their process to fight against apartheid. In 1976 Montreal Games due to the fact that New Zealand played rugby with South Africa, the African countries also boycotted the Games (Ndee, 2002).

In the 1980 Moscow Games, the first and the only Olympic Games hosted in a communist country, despite the vast sport aid and assistance provided by USSR to 'developing' countries and free tickets were given to attend the Games, very few peripheral countries participated. This low attendance was due to the fact that the Soviet invaded Afghanistan in 1979 prior to the Games, as well as the large boycott campaign led by the US president Jimmy Carter. Carter took this opportunity to increase the tension of the Cold War and engaged in extensive arm-twisting to gain support from other nations. Some countries, (like those of Great Britain and Australia), governments supported the boycott but allowed the athletes to decide for themselves whether to participate at Moscow. However, no such freedom of choice was allowed to the U.S. athletes, as Carter threatened to revoke the passport of any
athlete who tried to travel to the USSR (IOC, 2002). In the end, 65 nations turned down their invitations to the Olympics; probably 45 to 50 did so because of the U.S.-led boycott. Eighty countries did participate. The Moscow Games also witnessed the admission of Zimbabwe when it was granted its independence in 1980. The participating team was formed within one week and surprisingly the team won the gold medal in field hockey.

In the 1984 Los Angeles Games, the boycott which was led by the Soviet Union, very few African countries showed solidarity with communist block (Peppard and Riordan, 1993). Nevertheless, it could be argued that the political gain in sport aid is questionable. Although the Soviet Union was seen as a major champion in the cause of African nations in the international arena for its large sport assistance programme, and its support against racism, as well in the quest for better representation within international sport institutions, the African countries were not supportive to the USSR political position.

With regard to the IOC development in this era, the Olympic sport aid witnessed some changes. Despite the IOC position that discarded commercial involvement in Olympic activities, the 1970s witnessed first the involvement of insurance companies that provided insurance for ‘sport experts’ who were sent to conduct Olympic Solidarity programmes. The technical director of the Olympic Solidarity H.R Banks pointed out that while providing details of insurance scheme provided by Sporttass company that,

I am sure this (Sporttass insurance schemes) will be extremely helpful when we consider the insurance of trainers and coaches going to the various foreign countries in connection with Solidarity programmes (H.R. Banks, 12 June, 1973: E.Doc 31, to Onesti, G., italic added)

It was also witnessed the creation of a joint programme between Olympic Solidarity, FIFA, Coca cola and Adidas. These multinational companies provided support in terms of equipment and accommodation expenses (Darby, 1997). However, this assistance to developing countries was regarded as Havelange’s strategy to gain votes for presidency campaign (Darby, 1997). By 1981, the new IOC president

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* IOC website www.olympic.org
Samaranch announced the IOC initiative to integrate commercialism into the Olympic movement. This was as a response to the economical problems and difficulties that faced the Games through the 1970s. The Olympic Solidarity head quarters was moved from Rome (Italy) to Lausanne. In 1984 after the large sum of money which the IOC gained from television broadcasting rights, it was decided that the NOCs share will be distributed throughout the Olympic Solidarity and the first quadrennial Olympic Solidarity plan was initiated in 1985. With its first budget of $28 millions distributed over the period of four year cycle, the Olympic Solidarity emerged as one the worlds largest sport assistance programme aiming to provide aid and assistance to all NOCs recognised by the IOC.

6.7. Conclusion

This chapter has focused on the ‘core’, semi-periphery, and periphery relations in forming the Olympic sport aid policy. The politics of nationalism associated with the integration of the independent countries into the Olympic movement created considerable difficulties in terms of affiliation process and the representation of the peripheral countries. The growing interest in global interaction among nations within the sporting arena was explicated by the realisation of Permanent General Assembly of NOCs’ Olympic Solidarity programme and revival of the Olympic Aid Commission. UNESCO and the GAIF also part of the interest organisations for promoting global sport, particularly, to the developing countries.

The year of 1968 can be considered the turning point of the IOC in term of re-establishing and reforming its relations with NOCs and IFs. The initiative to revive the Aid Commission and to associate its activities with Permanent General Assembly of NOCs and the GAIF was hoped to eliminate the conflict between them. This resulted in a ‘democratisation’ process of the IOC and enhancing NOCs responsibilities and role within the movement (Girginov, 1998; Guttmann, 1992).

The conflict of Olympic Solidarity technical assistance programme between IOC and the NOCs was related to the control of the assistance schemes and the television revenue of the Games rather than the content of the programme. It could be argued that the IOC representatives from the ‘core’ were suspicious of granting the NOCs
control over the Olympic Solidarity schemes, particularly in the Cold War context of competing political ideologies. Brundage resisted the recognition of the Permanent General Assembly of NOCs and the joining of the two Aid Commissions. Killanin however, perceived the joined two aid commission to Olympic Solidarity, was the way forward to solve the problem with NOCs. But this was done with IOC resuming its power over the technical assistance schemes.

The chapter also explored the IOC's attitude in dealing with television income. It had two main approaches. One of these related to the IFs and the other to the NOCs. The IFs successfully secured their income and were given full autonomy in distribution and in dividing the share among themselves. In relation to the NOCs, the IOC rejected the option of giving NOCs autonomy over the distribution of their share TV rights. Instead the IOC decided to provide a range of services for the benefit of NOCs. The rationale for this approach was that the IOC was alarmed by the competing political ideologies of NOCs affecting the NOCs from the communist block and the newly independent states. Some of these NOCs were perceived as trying to undermine the authority of the IOC in managing the games and movement. However, the Olympic Solidarity programmes were seen to reform the IOC and NOCs relationship and resulted in giving more role to NOCs in Olympic matters.

With regard to regional games, it was noted that the NOCs which were hosting the regional Games approached the IOC through the CONI requesting technical assistance in organising these games. Types of assistance requested were oriented toward technical needs such as training of officials and referees. This could be regarded as a process of 'scientification' or modernisation of sport in the periphery. In addition, technological dependency can be illustrated by the request for cycling material for Nigeria. These technical and equipment requests reflect the nature of dependency created with the diffusion of modern sport in African, Asia, and Latin America and Europe in the field of sport. The peripheral states by organising regional games in a quadrennial cycle accepted Olympism and modern sport as global products that could support their policies in promoting a sense of unity in their region rather than as Western products. They were promoting sport in their region and seeking assistance from the IOC for the development of sport.
The chapter also explored the type of technical assistance sought and provided and
the mechanisms of implementation of the Olympic Solidarity programmes. It is clear
that Olympic Solidarity was a comprehensive programme that included ideological,
and technical domains, covering not only the teaching and coaching of sport skills,
but also the administration of sport organisation and the management of mega-
events. The discussion also explored the intensifying governmental use of sport aid
for political ends during the 1970s. Multiple countries have sought to use sport aid as
a means for their foreign policy. In addition the chapter illustrated the changes in
sport aid strategy which witnessed the emergence of an association between
Olympic sport aid and multinational companies. The potential for market growth
reflects obvious rationale for multinational organisations, companies as well as
governments with sport aid provided to developing countries. As a consequence of
such growth of commercial interests in sport, non-Western societies, it can be
argued that the diffusion of sport to periphery countries was based on the perception
that developing countries were the potential consumers of sport products as well as
potential workers for sports equipment manufacture.
7. Introduction

In this chapter, I first, revisit the aims of the thesis and then provide a summary of the rationales on which the Olympic aid policy was established and illustrate the shift of sport aid policy based on the international political events that have influenced the agents' perception of the aid process. Second, I explore the theoretical conceptualisation of Olympic aid in the global diffusion of Olympic and modern sport drawing on the theoretical traditions of modernisation, cultural imperialism, dependency, and figurational analysis introduced earlier in the thesis.

7.1 Aims of the Thesis

This study embarked on the evaluation of the process of the establishment of Olympic aid through Olympic Solidarity and its forerunner the International Commission for Olympic Aid. The overall aim of the thesis was to conceptualise Olympic sport aid policy within the context of the socio-political economic global order. It explored the manner in which Olympism and modern sport were globally diffused beyond Euro-American borders in the post-colonial era. This period was marked by the end of military colonialism, the emergence of newly independent states, the rise of the Cold War confrontation between the two superpowers, and the emergence of transnational institutions playing an active role in the global political economy.

The thesis evaluates the development of the Olympic sport aid policy seeking to understand the origins of the sport aid project, the major proponents involved and the interests that it represented. It has sought to evaluate in terms of social theory how the Olympic movement in general and Olympic aid in particular, reflect not only
the origins of the individuals involved in decision making but also the socio-economic interests evident in the global cultural flows between the ‘core’ (aid donors) and the ‘periphery’ (aid recipients) states and their Olympic bodies. The research project’s main objectives were:

- to analyse the aid Olympic aid policy rationales employed by the groups within the IOC;
- to identify the perceptions of the key actors by reference to the discourse surrounding the policy making process and to understand their intentions and mind ‘sets’ in the establishment of sport aid policy;
- to identify the power relations evident in constructing, modifying or restricting Olympic Aid policy;
- to explore the role Olympic sport aid played in the interaction between aid donors and recipients.

In developing an account of the Olympic sport aid project, the study has developed several interlocking components to explore the diffusion of Olympism and modern sport. Following the introduction of the aims and context of the project and the review of literature, chapter three detailed the historical development of the Olympic movement in the twentieth century exploring the political, economic, and cultural context in which sport aid policy emerged. Chapter four outlined the principal method employed for the investigation. A form of qualitative content analysis conducted on archive material relating to the work of Olympic sport aid gathered from the Olympic Museum Lausanne for the period 1961-80 containing 280 computer-scanned copies of documents and 75 documents in hard copy format. The research adopted a critical realist paradigm, arguing that the concepts of ‘core’ ‘semi-periphery’ and ‘periphery’ constituted real, though socially constructed phenomena, and suggesting that epistemological consideration of structure and agency would be essential to any explanation of related of social phenomena (March, 2002). Chapters five and six provided a detailed examination of Olympic aid policy exploring the relationships between ‘core’ ‘semi periphery’ and ‘peripheral’ countries, and the interaction between international sport authorities the IOC, the IFs and the NOCs, the competing transnational organisations in promoting sport globally.
7.2 Olympic Aid Policy Rationales

Several contributory factors can be identified in relation to the creation of Olympic sport aid. With the growth of nations that were gaining their independence in the 1960s and the UN recognition of these nations as sovereign states, it was suggested that under the UN umbrella these newly recognised countries should be assisted in their development, in part as compensation for colonialism. The UN encouraged aid to the newly recognised nations in Africa and Asia, and the two super powers as well as the former colonial powers supported such initiatives. Development projects were formulated to support the modernisation process, not only in the political and military spheres, but also in economic and cultural arenas.

In addition, the growing role of international sport in promoting friendly relations among countries was recognised, and modern sports were seen as suitable foreign policy tools by most countries whether from 'core' or 'periphery'. For example, the creation of the Friendship Games in the former French speaking colonies, the establishment of the GANEFO games among the non-aligned countries, the Pan-Arab Games, the creation of regional / continental games such as the Pan-American, Asian and African Games, all these initiatives were supporting positive international relations through sport. Granting the newly independent states membership of, and recognition by, the IFs and the IOC was seen as a way to show that they were an integral part of the 'world community'.

However, friendly relations were perceived by the super power states as building collaboration and thus gaining influence and imposing their hegemony. In other words, positive relations and aid facilitated the penetration of the super power into the susceptible national territories and economies of the newly independent states, while the former colonial powers, perceived sporting interaction as a way to maintain cultural dominance of, or dependence with ex-colonies (Hazan, 1982; Killanin 1983; Riordan, 1988; Peppard & Riordan 1993).

For the IOC, however, the global context of aid was seen as an opportunity to establish itself as the leading authority in international sport. It was suggested that the IOC should coordinate the various sources of sport aid given by European and
American governments to the newly independent countries in African and Asia and in order to promote the practise of amateur sport pointing out that,

Just as the I.O.C. established a commission responsible for all matters relating to doping, it approved the establishment of a commission the aim of which is to promote the Olympic ideals of the Baron Pierre de Coubertin in developing countries (Meuwly, December 26, 1962, to A. Bolanaki).

The rationale for promoting Olympism and amateur sport was seen as protection of the athletes of the newly independent states from "falling prey to the disastrous influence of professionalism^1 and, within their sports organisations, to that of politics" (Meuwly, December 26, 1962, to A. Bolanaki). The creation of Olympic institutions and the propagation of related values and ideal in developing countries were the prime foci of the system of Olympic aid.

With successful integration of the newly independent countries, particularly Sub-Saharan Africa into the Olympic 'family', the Olympic aid rationale was further influenced by different factors largely associated with promoting the authority of the IOC and elements of the Olympic industry. The increase of the governmental use of sport for political ends grew significantly with the Cold War conflicts and the formation of political alliances within international sport institutions and this was seen as a threat to the 'independence' of the Olympic movement, particularly if the propaganda battles of the Cold War were to be fought within the IOC.

In addition, the 1970s saw the emergence of pressure groups such as the General Assembly of International Federations, and the Permanent General Assembly of NOCs which sought to participate in decision-making and to share the revenue from the TV broadcasting rights for the Games. The IOC, in this context, become a venue for competing ideologies (communist and capitalist states, the anti-apartheid and non-aligned movements), struggling of equity in international sport and for economic interests seeking to benefit from the IOC wealth and to participate in the global sport industry which was growing rapidly. Such conditions posed an explicit challenge to the authority of the IOC. The response to such challenges emerged with incorporation of the states of the semi-periphery and periphery into the Olympic movement through managerial reforms and 'democratisation' processes.

\^1 Professionalism here refers to athletes obtaining financial rewards for their performances.
Acknowledging the rights of NOCs particularly those from Sub-Saharan Africa to be involved in the management of Olympic matters; creating a commission that investigated institutional racism; establishing of a commission that considered IOC relations with NOCs; fusing the aid commissions of the IOC and the General Assembly of NOCs under the banner of 'Olympic Solidarity'; and developing a system for the regulated distribution of TV revenues; these were major reforms designed to meet these new challenges. Olympic aid and the technical assistance of Olympic Solidarity provided to all NOCs were rationalised as part of a mission to strengthen and ‘unify’ the Olympic movement and to protect it from fragmentation inherent in competing philosophies or political ideologies. It was through these reforms that the IOC managed to incorporate competing forces, preserving the unity of the movement and maintaining its legitimacy in world sport.

In the later stages of its development, Olympic aid was also seen as a way to decrease NOCs’ dependency on their governments and hence to avoid problems such as the boycotting of the Olympic Games (Gabor, 1988). This observation is subject to some reservations given the fact that most NOCs’ leaders from the periphery were government representatives, and therefore the aid provided was going indirectly to national governments through sport. In addition, there were an increasing number of alternative sources of sport aid motivated by different interests. Furthermore, the aid services provided by OS were not given free of charge, NOCs had themselves to contribute financially if they wished to benefit from technical services and such funds were invariably provided by national governments. Thus the argument that Olympic aid reduced the influence of national governments is tenuous at best. However, for those NOCs that could not participate in the Olympic Games due to economic hardship, Olympic aid was able to help to prevent exclusion from the Games for financial reasons.

It is also perceived that the reason for sport aid programme is to help talented athletes in peripheral countries to qualify the Olympic standards and be able to compete in the games (Donnelly, 1996; Dubberke 1986). However, this aid programme can also be seen a way to ensure that high calibre athletes from different parts of the world will attend the games and hence increase the competitive level of the Games.
Anthony (1984) perceives OS assistance as a form of exchange knowledge and a way to implement the concept of ‘fair-play’ and to overcome inequalities. The assistance provided to the NOCs in need, particularly, those who are less economically privileged is critical for the Olympic if the notion of ‘fair-play’ is to be realised.

The major types of policy shift in Olympic aid can be illustrated by comparing the 1960s under the presidency of Avery Brundage with the 1970s under the presidency of Lord Killanin. Espy (1979:143) suggests that the 1972 games marked the beginning of new era for the Olympic system pointing out that:

For the first time in twenty years the IOC did not have Avery Brundage at the helm. His age and his growing intractability on various issues had increasingly divided the Olympic world, posing a major threat to the existence of the Olympic Games. His successor, Lord Killanin of Ireland, was a younger man, aware of cleavage in the Olympic movement and more amenable to change.

The Brundage approach to issues of racism, visa problems in Kenya and Indonesia, recognition of states such as China and Taiwan, the two Germanies and the newly independent states, the introduction of the weighted voting system as well as his refusal to deal with the GAIF and Permanent General Assembly of NOCs and his firm action in protecting amateurism from professionalism, created considerable of conflict within the movement. Lord Killanin, however, approached those issues with a policy of seeking integration and unity between the IOC, IFs and NOCs. In addition, his ability to accept changes and reforms, provided a climate in which a wide range of interest groups could contribute to the movement. Such a different management approach perhaps reflects differences in the international relations policy orientation of the United States and European governments particularly in relation to the countries of the periphery. Said (1995:1) suggests that unlike the Americans, European states have long traditions of relations with ‘Oriental’ and other peripheral states. The Orient

is not only adjustment to Europe; it is also a place of Europe’s greatest and richest and older colonies, the source of civilisations and languages, its cultural contestant, and one of its deepest and most recurring images of the other...
Although European approaches may differ from those of the United States in developing relations with Oriental or peripheral states, nevertheless, in both types of case the core-periphery relation is one of complex interaction that shapes human history.

Table 7.1 below illustrates the development of Olympic aid in these two periods and highlights the aid policy orientation in terms of international politics, relations of the IOC with NOCs, the newly independent countries, the IFs; the attitude of the IOC toward the regional games in Africa, Asia and Latin America; and the use of aid funds as well as types and aid mechanism. Three major shifts can be seen to be significant to the development of Olympic sport aid and the spread of Olympic influence in the postcolonial era. The first is ‘decentralisation’ of decision-making within the IOC institutions, more roles and responsibilities were given to the NOCs in terms of negotiating their interests and in the development of sport. The second is the transformation of the IOC from an organisation that was focusing solely on staging the Games to an organisation that was responsible for the development of global sport. The third is the ability to secure income and funds through broadcasting rights which in effect gave the movement power to support its activities and to maintain its independence. Houlihan (1994) suggests that governmental organisations in this period had periodically wanted to take over the sport institutions but they invariably failed to gain legitimacy from sporting bodies. The securing of financial resources was essential for independence of the IOC from governments and UNESCO influence.
### Table 7.1 Olympic sport aid policy shifts and development

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>CIOA 1960-70 (A. Brundage presidency)</strong></th>
<th><strong>Olympic Solidarity 1970-80 (L. Killanin presidency)</strong></th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>International politics and the authority of IOC</strong></td>
<td><strong>Creating economic opportunities and signing treaties through sport aid</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• European and American competition to gain influence in newly independent countries</td>
<td>• Suspicions of dealing with governments and UNESCO</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Re-establishing relations with ex-colonies and symbol of independence</td>
<td>• Preventing the creation of political blocs in the movement</td>
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<tr>
<td>• IOC rejection of the association of its name with aid policies of France and USSR or any individual cities</td>
<td>• Problems of excessive nationalism</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• IOC prevents political interference in sport (calling for 'neutrality' of sport)</td>
<td>• Support for the anti-apartheid movement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Introduction of weighted voting systems</td>
<td>• Unification of the movement and collaboration in the promotion of modern sport globally</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Geopolitical conflicts and the problem of recognition of NOCs</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Independent countries in Africa and Asia &amp; NOCs relations</strong></td>
<td><strong>Olympic sport aid provided to all recognised NOCs whether rich or poor</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Aimed to create Olympic institutions in ex-colonies by affiliating them to IFs and then the IOC</td>
<td>• Full integration of Africans as IOC members</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Semi-integration of Sub-Saharan African countries the Olympic 'family' and the problem of member representation.</td>
<td>• Promoting elite competitive sport</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Olympic sport aid targeted on newly independent countries</td>
<td>• Reform of IOC relations with NOCs more NOC involvement in decision making allowed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Less NOC involvement in decision-making</td>
<td>• Protecting the amateurism and accepting semi-professionalism</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Relations with IFs</strong></td>
<td><strong>Distribution of TV revenue</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Negotiation over the authority of international sport</td>
<td>• Collaboration in aid schemes by providing experts, technical knowledge and rules</td>
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<tr>
<td>• Fear of interference in field of work of the IFs</td>
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<tr>
<td>• Collaboration in the prevention of the growth of the GANEFO Games</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Regional Games</strong></td>
<td><strong>IOC incorporation and recognition of regional games</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• IOC suspicious of and hesitates to recognise, regional games.</td>
<td>• Creating aid schemes to support the organisation, the management and the technical aspects of the Games</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• African Games and apartheid politics</td>
<td>• Supporting Initiatives of regional sport development plans</td>
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<tr>
<td>• Boycotting and preventing the continuation of the GANEFO</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>• Fear of anti-imperial political ideology</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Aid Funds</strong></td>
<td><strong>IOC secures income from television revenue to support some of the sport aid programmes</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• IOC seeking financial support from metropolitan cities</td>
<td>• Restriction of liquid assets flow to NOCs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Donation from all NOCs</td>
<td>• Italianisation of Olympic Solidarity (CONI funds aid activities)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Restriction of liquid assets flow</td>
<td>• Multinational companies involvement in sport aid</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Aid schemes</strong></td>
<td><strong>Support for the development of elite sport standards</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Support for the creation of Olympic institutions</td>
<td>• Aid in qualifying sport managers and coaches</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Introduction of Olympic rules and regulations</td>
<td>• Financial aid in participation in the Olympic Games</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Technical support in building infrastructure, scholarships, attendance to International Olympic academy</td>
<td>• Sport for all, sport medicine, sport management</td>
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<td></td>
<td>• Sport for women</td>
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7.3 Theorising the Olympic Aid Policy

Appadurai (1990) characterised the interaction among nations at a global level as occurring through five dimensions: 'ethnoscapes', 'ideoscapes', 'midiascapes', 'technoscapes' and 'financescapes'. It is in through these 'scapes' that the interface between global and local and between donors and recipients was developed. As we have noted, these five dimensions of flow are clearly evident in Olympic aid policy through the sport aid schemes identified by the key actors, thus, sport aid is not just a simple diffusion of sporting conducts rather it is a diffusion of a comprehensive Olympic sport system. In terms of the nature of interaction or the link between 'aid donors' and 'aid recipients' in the world system, the Olympic technical assistance programme has been examined against the backdrop of the theoretical frameworks that underpin the premise of modernisation, dependency and cultural imperialism and figuration theory.

7.3.1 Modernisation

The modernisation approach to examining 'core' 'periphery' global interaction assesses how 'traditional' societies reach conditions of 'modernity'. It is concerned with the use of science, rationality, and management techniques as well as technological innovations in carrying out human tasks (Gruneau, 1988, 1993; Guttmann 1978, 1991; Wagner, 1990). In critical examination of the forms of aid or technical assistance identified in the Olympic aid policy, the diffusion of sport among aid donors and aid recipients, was intensified with the rise of such modernist notions of 'progress' and linear models of development in the 1960s and 1970s. Aid and assistance provided were a combination of promotional and educational mechanisms that were designed to introduce modern sporting cultural conducts. The creation of NOCs in the newly independent countries as modern institutions is characterised by formalised rules and regulations (i.e. Olympic Charter and sports rules) to carry out sporting activities, bureaucratised with a division of labour in terms of specialisation of tasks such as coaches, managers, referees, physiotherapist, and sport psychologist. In addition, the introduction of technological innovations of indoor and outdoor sport facilities and equipment were part of the discourse of Olympic assistance.
Moreover, it is through the organisation of a variety of courses and seminars under the Olympic Solidarity programmes that the diffusion of what Maguire (1999) terms the 'scientification' of sport was facilitated. Scientific reasoning in sport practises, sport medical treatments, rationalisation of training methods that are organised around measurable tasks and goals, 'logical' management plans and strategies that focused on records and were organised around the notion of maximising athletes performance are evident characteristics of the system promoted. There are also some negative elements associated with the diffusion of Olympism and modern sport such as the use of medical enhancement drugs, body abuse, and sport injuries. From a modernisation perspective all the above characteristics are seen as modern forms of the conduct of sport and physical activity which were introduced to the so called 'traditional' societies. Thus, the integration process of assisting the newly independent countries to join the world sport system and hence to participate in the broader global economic system was fostered. Such a process is described as associated with industrialism, 'progress', profesionalisation, and commercialisation of sporting culture. It promised to provide a better quality of life in the developing countries if it replaced the local 'traditional' 'indigenous' values.

7.3.2 Cultural Imperialism

A cultural imperialism approach in examining Olympic aid policy focuses on the diffusion of cultural conduct of imperial nations to the colonies and generally the penetration of global culture to local communities. Concepts of 'Westernisation' and 'Americanisation' are used to reflect such a context. Looking to the managerial structure of the CIOA in the 1960s this was dominated by European and American agents or others who had Western origins even though they may be representing the periphery (e.g. Alexander and Bolonaki). Nevertheless, some of the non-western members were also involved [e.g. Anthony (Egypt) and Benjaloun (Morocco)]. However, the under-representation of the periphery was in part compensated for in the 1970s with creation of Olympic Solidarity.

Using Appadurai's (1990) concept of 'ethnoscape' which relates to the global movement of people due to global interaction between nation states, this was reflected in Olympic aid in the form of the travelling sport experts, team visits and
scholarships programmes. In the initial phase of the aid policy it was organised in a structure in which the metropolitan donor countries provided sport experts and educators, while the recipients provide the students and athletes. Scholarships were organised in such a way as to allow larger number of students to attend seminars and technical courses in metropolitan countries. Such structures in global interaction between 'core' and 'periphery' particularly with ex-colonial countries were perceived to facilitate the penetration of metropolitan culture into those groups and individuals, and hence to their societies, allowing the 'core' countries to spread their values and sport practises to the students.

Examining the aid policy in terms of 'ideoscapes', the initial diffusion of modern sport historically linked with Euro-American imperialism. During the early imperial initiative to promote sport in colonies, the spread of sport was associated with notions of installing muscular Christianity promoted by missionary schools and the YMCA (DaCosta, 2002; Mangan, 2001). In the postcolonial era however, the spread of sport has been associated with the political ideology of the super powers and an overseas policy that was the driving force for the intensive spread of global sport beyond European and American borders. Both communist and capitalist political ideology were vigorously active in imposing their political world view on the peripheral areas particularly in the ex-colonial societies by using sport as tool for foreign policy (Bale & Sang, 1996; Houlihan, 1994; Riordan, 1988, 1999). The Soviet Union adopted a specific strategy based on an attempt to encourage the newly independent countries to embark on the socialist path of development and the West was committed to a policy of preventing the spread of communist and socialist value in Africa and Asia and promote liberal democracy.

However, the diffusion of modern sport in the context of Olympic aid policy is more concerned with the global spread of the philosophy Olympism the aims of which as defined in the Charter include "promoting the development of those physical and 'moral qualities" which are the bases of sport" and "educating young people through sport in a spirit of better understanding between each other and friendship, thereby helping to create a better and more peaceful world". Olympism and modern sport

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2 There is no clear definition of the moral qualities of sport
has been organised for a long time under centralised bureaucracy which subscribe to the motto of *citius-altius-fortius* (faster, higher, and stronger) and aggressively seeks to convert the nations of the world to its ethos. The incorporation of other sports mega-events like the workers and women games was part of such a conversion. The intensification of a process of adoption of a common ideology of achievement and commercialised sport and the necessity of standardising the micro-space of the sport area, the building of sport facilities, promoting elite exhibitional sports, standardisation of rules that govern NOCs, specified technological equipment used in competitions, all these refer to the Olympic and IF standards that should be applied in every area in the world (Bale and Sang, 1996; Donnelly, 1996; Roche, 2000). In addition, around the Olympic concept of 'amateurism' as a code of conduct, the teachings and Coubertins' ideals, professionalism, individualism concepts which were not familiar to the recipient countries were promoted. Moreover, Olympic Solidarity assistance schemes supported only those sporting traditions that formed the Olympic competition programme, and it is noted that ritual associated with the practice of Olympic sport has emphasised the 'social patterns' of West and East Europe and industrial societies (Eichberg, 1984; Guttmann, 1993). Therefore, the imposition of superpowers' political world view and Olympism on peripheral societies contributed in the postcolonial era to the continued acculturation of the peripheral societies, through sporting policies which were not derived from their own specific ontological, epistemological, and historical traditions.

The fact that the spread of modern sport was influenced by the global aid system was provided by multiple donors indirectly contributed to the division of the peripheral societies particularly in Africa. For example, the Commonwealth Games incorporated the Anglophone former colonies, the Friendship Games included the Francophone former colonies and both were different from the countries that followed the socialist or communist sport model. These divisions have affected the development of sport in the whole continent of Africa. In Asia and Latin America however, the case of China embracing gymnastics and Taiwan adopting baseball, Cuba sport model as oppose to Mexico were also evidence of global political influences that contributed to the diffusion of specific sport practices.

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3 This Olympic motto was systematically abused by the authoritarian regimes (Nazist and Fascist) which promoted the notion of superior race.
We have also noted that the identification of Olympic aid in its initial stages was described in a manner which reflected superiority, hierarchy and paternalism. The aid was identified to link developed, industrial, rich, experienced nations to small, developing, inexperienced and poor nations. This hierarchical world view is equivalent to the global economic classification of the 'First', 'Second', and 'Third world' which uses positivistic measures of development to reflect on the cultural sphere. The Olympic medal and record achievement was used as a reflection of nation's state level of development and superiority of its social system.

Mediascapes' are reflected in the aid schemes providing written material such as booklets, documents, press coverage, and broadcast or visual images such as films, videos and television coverage of the Olympic Games. There is no doubt that these mechanisms had rapidly and effectively transferred images of modern sporting culture to the recipient countries and controlled the cultural flow between aid donors and recipients. Revenue from television coverage influenced the emergence of Olympic Solidarity and supported the commercialisation of the Olympic Games with the increase in sponsorship packages in the late 1970s and early 1980s.

In a larger context in the realisation of the international sport aid, we have noted that multiple transnational organisations played significant roles in promoting modern sport to peripheral states. Most of these organisations are located in cosmopolitan cities dominated by the upper and middle class of European administrations. The structure of these organisations is similar to those of multinational companies with their head quarters located in Europe and with branches or agents in different parts of the world. These transnational organisations had greater influence in the 'sportisation' process as well as in the balance of power which favours established groups. An increased focus of these organisations in promoting modern sport under the philosophy of professionalism and Olympism (Prolympism), as argued by Donnenly (1996), seems to create a ‘monoculture’ representing a crisis of opportunity. The crisis is not only reflected in the decline of traditional sports and minimisation of diversity, but also in development of modern sport in general due to the exclusionary tendency of high performance modern sport culture that makes it

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4 In Switzerland and Monaco where corporate companies are protected (Houlihan, 2003).
difficult for the general population to gain access. Such a scenario also occurred with regard to traditional sport in the 'core' and 'semi-peripheral' countries. Most traditional sport cultures had been marginalised with the emergence of modern 'prolympism' sport (e.g. the GANEFO games, regional games, national leagues etc. reflect this dominant model).

Figure 7.1: Institutions Promoting Sport in Developing Countries in 1960s – 1970s.

*Others: Universities, schools, humanitarian organisations, sport clubs, private investors etc.

Dodds (2000:68) argues that globalisation is experienced differently between core and periphery. In the core or established groups, globalisation is intensively concerned with the erosion of state sovereignty and trans-boundary economic, political, and cultural flow. In the periphery however, the experience of globalisation has been routine in terms of undermining of state jurisdiction and the penetration of Euro-American influence into national culture. It has been argued that transnational
organisations in the post World War II era emerged as key actors in international relations. The IOC and IFs have also had an influence on global politics in their decisions regarding recognition of NOCs. Several examples in which the IOC has taken a political stand over the nation state can be noted: Israeli and Palestinian recognition, the Taiwan and main-land China controversy, the unification of East and West Germany and the case of sanctions made to Indonesia and South Africa. The IOC in these incidents challenged the place of the nation state in terms of representation in global space. In addition, the IOC proposed geographical representation of continents within the Olympic movement as well as identifying or selecting IOC members and the call for separation of sport and politics. However, despite such influences the nation state remained a political entity that generally manages a geographical space (political borders), possesses identity (nationalism), financing the development of sport and controls the movement of athletes and their participation in the Olympic Games.

7.3.3 Dependency Theory

The dependency approach in conceptualising globalisation processes is concerned with the examining the unequal structure that exists in the interaction between nation states (Dodds, 2000; Hoogvelt, 1997). International aid according to Hoogvelt (1997) is designed to create links between the recipients to the donor countries. As illustrated above the rationale for Olympic sport aid was to re-establish friendly relations and reconnect the ex-colonial countries to the mother country. In addition, OS aimed to unify the Olympic movement and strengthen relations between the IOC and the NOCs, particularly the Sub Saharan African NOCs.

In relation to 'financesapes', the implementation and application of Olympic aid programmes involved a considerable amount of financial expense. The Olympic aid schemes created an opportunity to stimulate financial flows in the global arena. Such flows occur in, for example, purchasing sport technology, equipment, travel tickets, insurance, publication of books and documents, and providing scholarships etc. It has been pointed out that global sport aid was developed into economic trade and treaties between the donor countries and recipients (Darby, 1997, Hazan, 1987; Riordan, 1988). The spread of Olympism and modern sport was bound up with the
intensive technological requirements of sport facilities such as gymnasium, track and field stadiums, swimming pools, and indoor spaces; these technological requirements engaged the periphery in unequal economic relations that created what Hoogvelt, (1997) terms 'technological dependency'. In this context Coakley (1993) and Cousineau (1998) criticise such economic structure and suggest that we should not overlook the social, cultural, economic, and political implications involved in introducing billions of people to a Euro-American style of consumerism driven by international capitalism and providing them with seductive forms of science and technology controlled and distributed by a handful of post-industrial nations. However, it could be argued that the Olympic core countries are not the only actors in such an initiative, the political and economic elites from non-western countries were also involved, in countries in East Asia such as Japan, Korea, Taiwan, China and in Latin America Brazil, Argentina and Mexico. Also, for example, in the case of FIFA aid programme, Havelange (FIFA president) encouraged to the promotion of football (soccer) in peripheral state through aid schemes (Darby, 1997).

The dependency argument implies that development and underdevelopment are two-way processes in Olympic sport aid, just as development in one part of the world goes hand in hand with underdevelopment in another (Bale and Sang; Darby 2001; Klein, 1989; Stoddart, 1988). For instance, looking at the financial flow structure of Olympic aid, it is noted that most of the sport aid and assistance schemes were in the form of services provided to be consumed by recipients. Such systems ensure that economic circulation remains within the donor countries. In addition, athletes' scholarship programmes can be regarded as facilitating the migration of talented athletes to metropolitan donor countries supporting a (body /talent) drain from the peripheral states to major sport universities and sport leagues of the donor countries particularly in the US and the Soviet Union. Scholarship aid can also be seen as enhancing the level of performance and entertainment in the Olympic Games as the biggest sport events in the world, particularly after the ranking standards and performance qualification requirement for the Games were introduced in 1978 (Dubberke 1996; Kidd, 1988; Donnelly, 1996). The aid is perceived as a means of helping those athletes to meet the qualification standards. However, on the other hand the scholarship may be seen to be giving the chance to individual athletes to enhance their ability at the same time as giving the less privileged countries an
opportunity to be better represented in the games and enhance their national identity and boost the image of their country.

Anthony (1984) suggests that OS is a form of exchange knowledge promoting implementation of 'fair-play' in Olympic sport. However, Anthony fails to note the inequality of knowledge exchange, given the fact that the dominant discourse in the Olympic movement is oriented around biomedical positivist sciences which have marginalised humanist knowledge within the movement. Scientific traditions of sociology and anthropology which are sensitive to cultural diversity and the relativity of multiple civilisations are ignored and under represented (MacAlloon, 1996).

The above approaches of modernisation, cultural imperialism and dependency divide the world into two dialectical groups of 'core' and 'periphery' and argues that the globalisation process of sport is an example of 'Westernisation', 'Europeanisation', 'Americanisation', or modernisation in the sense that the dynamic involved, and the impact of sport, is unidirectional and monocausal, determined by the dominant powers. These approaches in their crudest form perceive that the world is developing into homogenised cultural norms, particularly in the sport arena, following European and/or American models. The unified calendar around mega-events like the Olympic Games, the increasing global adoption of elite and professional sport models supported by the philosophy of "excellence" and oriented toward the hunt for Olympic medals, commercialism and the transformation of sport to an entertainment arena, these are all indications of such homogenisation of sporting cultures (Bale and Sang, 1996; Donnelly, 1996b; Eichberg 1984; Guttmann, 1993; Kidd, 1988; Mangan, 2001; Roche, 2000).
7.3.4 Figuration Theory

Figuration Theory provides a particular approach to globalisation which rejects the moncausal and unidirectional explanation of globalisation. It looks at the interaction between 'core and periphery' as a long historical development characterised with a double tendency of 'diminishing contrasts and increasing varieties' in the 'commingling of culture' (Maguire, 1999). Although there is a consensus among scholars that globalisation processes are 'uneven' between the 'donors' and the 'recipients', one has to take in to account the fact that the recipients of the exported culture have the ability to interpret and transform it into their own needs and provide different ways and meanings of consuming global culture (D. King, 1993; Maguire, 1999; Sudgen & Tomlinson, 1998).

In an edited book by Bryant and Jary, Giddens (2000:157) suggests that, in the context of global cultural flow, that the term globalisation implies the involvement of everyone on the planet, nevertheless, "the spatial implication is that there can be no such thing as globalisation without the global penetration of the local". Robertson (1995; 1992), Apparudai (1990), Featherstone and Lash (1995) and many others promoting globalisation theories have strongly opposed the widespread notion of the inevitable 'Westernisation' and 'Americanisation' of the planet. They insist that cultural globalisation does not mean the world is becoming a culturally homogeneous 'monoculture'; rather it involves a process of 'glocalisation', which is highly contradictory both in content and its multiple consequences. In explaining this perspective it is suggested that globalisation does not mean only 'delocation' but also implies 'relocation'. The diffusion of modern sport and Olympism should be interpreted such as manifesting a tendency toward this 'double bind'.

Considering the notion of 'diminishing contrasts and increasing varieties', we have noted that the integration of the newly independent countries within the Olympic movement was dominated at some levels by a discourse of friendship and mutual respect which reflected a form of diminishing contrast after a long struggle for independence during the colonial era. However, this does not suggest the contrasts had been terminated during the Cold War era. The invasion of Vietnam in 1968,
Afghanistan in 1979, boycott threats, excessive-nationalism, commercialism, and participation in decision-making are examples of the continuation of such contrasts and power balances which provided conflicts within the Olympic figuration system.

It terms of increasing variety, the diffusion and popularisation of modern sport and Olympism globally was driven by the emergence of anti-imperialism and related political notions, with sport festivals such as the Continental Games, GANEFO Games, Pan Arab Games and African Games. These organised mega-events played a significant role in the popularisation of sport in peripheral areas. They were not simply necessarily representing 'Westernisation' and 'delocation' of national 'indigenous' identities, but they also meant 'relocation' of those identities. The emergence of Africanism fuelled by anti-apartheid and anti-imperialism movements was relocalised by modern sport and globalisation. In addition, Afro-Asian solidarity and Latin Americanism were also popularised through participation in modern sport. These are also part of a globalisation tendency that was not planned or intended by the dominant groups and provided a variety of different meanings and forms of consumption that contributed to shaping global sport.

The manner in which established/insider group (aid donors) and outsiders (aid recipients) may be active in interpretation of cultural forms, implies the reproduction of new patterns of conduct in the 'commingling of culture'. Indeed, the integration of established groups and outsiders within the movement has resulted in the use of the Olympics as a major force against apartheid (exclusion of South Africa), and the increased nationalism that has resisted those globalisation tendencies which threatened national identity and the increased awareness of 'otherness'. In addition, the ability of members recipient of the culture to win and dominate in certain sport events provides an opportunity to reconstruct the way others or outsiders have been stigmatised.

The global expansion of Olympism and modern sport through the aid schemes also showed a double-bind tendency in the globalisation process. The two-way flow can be seen in terms of interaction across cultural boundaries. With the IOC's successful incorporation of societies from semi-periphery and periphery, it became clear that the concept of 'amateurism' had multiple definitions, meanings and practices. The
Chapter Seven

Conclusion

communist inclusive mode of sport interacted with the bourgeois exclusive model of sport within the movement and it become clear that there were different approaches to amateurism. The separation of NOCs from nation state governments was also problematic for the communist block as well as for peripheral states. Surprisingly, the French NOC had also a similar problem with IOC. As a result, the 'amateur' philosophy needed to be redefined to meet these new developments with the phenomenon of the 'state amateur'. Additionally, commercialisation also impacted on the decline of amateurism. Rules related to recognitions of new NOCs, member representation in IOC, and the status of women representation within the movement was also subject for review. As a result of such interaction, it could be argued that the IOC adoption of the concept of 'solidarity' in international relations had been influenced by the Afro-Asia Solidarity movement. It is also relevant to mention that the use of the term Olympic Solidarity rather then Olympic aid illustrates the changing structural relations between the IOC and NOCs from paternalist discourse to one of partnership.

The figuration approach also suggests searching for forms of interdependency within the figuration. Although the diffusion of sporting culture was characterised by the 'distinction' and 'superiority' of the industrial countries, under the pressure of competitive struggle, it rendered larger areas of the peripheral world dependent on the core and semi-periphery in sport but at the same time they themselves and the Olympic bodies became dependent on the periphery. For example, the IOC aid schemes to integrate the periphery made the NOCs of peripheral states dependent, however, the IOC established members also became dependent on the NOCs including those of the periphery in terms of their support in the voting system, in bidding for the games, in collaboration for promoting Olympism, in the application of its rules and regulations, and most importantly, in their participation in the Olympic Games. Participation of the periphery was required to give the legitimacy of a global or 'universal' appearance of the movement and of the Games. In illustrating such context Maguire (199:214) concluded that

Though varying degrees of domination and colonisation were achieved by the West, the powerful become dependent on the 'colonised'. This happens through process of differentiation, integration and what Elias call 'functional democratisation'. In turn a seepage downward of high status of civilised
condict, and power the resurgence of indigenous customs, lead to a
decrease in the power of the occident. In this scenario.....Inequalities
decrease and an information process, at a global level, gathers momentum.

Consequently, the increase of NOCs participating and their involvement in Olympic
issues represented a 'functional democracy' that contributed to the spread of
Olympism and the globalisation of sport.

In another perspective that rejects the homogenisation of global sport culture,
Guttmann considers that in cultural flows and 'core' and 'periphery' interaction, there
is a form of adoption and adaptation process taking place. Indeed it would be an
oversimplification to suggest that the development of modern sport in more than 100
countries was caused solely by the aid schemes. Throughout the 1960-1970s the
Olympic aid budget was relatively small. Nevertheless, Guttmann suggests that

The adoption by one group of a game popular among another is only partly
the result of recognising the intrinsic properties of the game. In the long run,
a modern sport like soccer may become so thoroughly naturalised that the
borrowers feels that it is their game, an expression of their unique national
character...in which the intrinsic lucid properties are jumbled together with

The leaders of the periphery driven by the notion of modernisation and protection of
local identity, unifying their societies after a lengthy colonial distraction, with the
promotion of imagined community under the nation states system have developed
strategies to promote sport. Modern sport was undertaken as a tool of social
inclusion and a mechanism of development for their societies as well an effort to
unify their political status in resistance to Western imperialism. Such an approach
could be seen as a way of indigenisation of global culture (Apparudai, 1990). The
creation by peripheral states of the GANEFO Games, and regional continental games
and the use of sport in the anti-apartheid movement, promoted the ideological
notions of solidarity and unity of peripheral societies (e.g Afro-Asia Solidarity, Pan
Arabism, OAU) and this can be seen as processes of adoption and localising of the
global product (modern sport and mega-events) to represent their specific interests
as well as to create economic opportunities among countries in the region. In doing
so, they can be characterised as promoting the culture of the global hegemonic
power and ignoring their own specific sporting cultures and values. However, the
popularity of sport was not associated with modernisation per se, but with local meanings although the West may have served as a model. Riordan, (1999: 48) points out that the form of sport that captured attention in Asian and African countries was;

the evolution model of sport 'physical culture' for modernising community, employing sport for utilitarian purposes to promote health and hygiene, defence, labour productivity, integration of multi-ethnic population into a unified state, international recognition and prestige.

It is this model of revolutionary sport that had some attraction for nations in Africa and Asia. Based on the concept of building a nation, sport is promoted globally to date. In most developing countries it is argued that sport is essential for unifying the society under one homogenised national identity. However, the diffusion of modern sport was also used by leaders of peripheral states for the purpose of exclusion. The case of the Mexico Games in 1968 provides an example of such a context. Protesters and general public concerns about the economic situation were ignored, and thus, excluded from the mainstream that favoured hosting the event. To a large extent, given the economic cost associated with the development of modern sport, the inclusionary concept promoted in less privileged countries is questionable. The ability of a state to include all segments of society and create sport services that are characterised by equality is very challenging. In response to development contexts, it is noted that the popular sports for the peripheral societies which have largely been adopted as national sport cultures are those sports which do not rely heavily on technological innovation. Football, middle and long distance events in track and field, volleyball and basketball, these were strategic selections of sport that do not necessarily follow the logic of capitalist economy. Sports like swimming, diving, gymnastics, sailing, tennis or the pole volt were not popularised in peripheral countries for perhaps obvious reason given the economic context.
7.4 Has the Olympic Aid Policy been Liberating or Constraining?

To answer such a question is difficult given the complexity of globalisation processes which have no pre-determined outcomes (Houlihan, 2003; Maguire, 1999). However, based on the ontological position taken in this study that differentiated between 'aid donors' and 'aid recipients' we may seek to provide a generalised response. For the donor countries (core and semi-periphery), the evidence suggests that Olympic aid should be seen to be liberating since it provided European and American countries with another opportunity to spread and diffuse their cultural products, values and ideologies to the recipients and hence to reinforce hegemonic relationships with recipients. Such a process is generally driven by the 'incorporation' of other societies to modern forms of social institutions, creating new markets, and gaining talented labour for sports mega-events and participation into international economy.

In the context of the politics of the Cold War and the competition of the superpowers for global influence, the fact that the communist block dominated sport performance especially in the Olympic Games in the period of 1960s to 1980 had boosted the image of the socialist model of development at an international level, particularly in the in the newly independent countries (Riordan, 1999). The success of the communist sport model and the associated signing of treaties and sport aid programmes threatened the image of the West as a hegemonic force globally. However, the 'core' countries within the Olympic movement accepted the transformation of the Games to commercialism starting from Lord Killanin (Ireland) who removed the word 'amateurism' from the Olympic Charter and accepted semi-professionalism and commercialism to support the financial difficulties that faced the movement in staging the games in Munich 1972, Montréal in 1976 and Moscow in 1980. J.A. Samaranch (Spain) followed this up by taking the decision to join the 'real' economic world by incorporating marketing and sponsorship schemes, the branding of the Olympic logo with multinational companies as well as a full implementation of professional sport (Girginov, 1998; Preuss, 2003). Samaranch also decided that the Olympic Solidarity office should be relocated in Switzerland (Lausanne) near the IOC headquarters instead of in Rome due to criticism of over-Italianisation of Olympic aid programmes and to move it into a political neutral
country. It was the Los Angeles Games [named by Gruneau (1984) as the Hamburger Games] in 1984 which witnessed for the first time the phenomenon of all expenses of staging the games being covered by the sponsorship schemes and television marketing strategy instead of states financial support. The television rights generated $532 millions for the IOC. This also marked the turning point for the Olympic Solidarity Commission which secured a budget of $28 millions over a four year cycle. The IOC decided to outbid the communist model of aid and created a comprehensive Olympic technical assistance programme that restored the image of the Western model of sport and confirmed the authority of the IOC globally. The Olympic dominance of the communist block was thus effectively undermined when the IOC turned to commercial and capitalist model.

In terms of the recipients of aid we would concur with Houlihan (1994, 2003) who accurately noted that there is great deal of variation among countries in their response to exported global sport culture. Some countries are passive recipients, others participative and others are conflictual. Thus, it depends on aid recipients' situation whether one describes the Olympic aid as liberating or constraining. For Donnelly (1996) however, with the characterisation of what he terms 'prolympism' which combines the ideologies of Olympism and professionalism, such an approach is invariably constraining,

the impact of this combined ideology is that it tends to reinforce and reproduce itself; it marginalises alternatives; and it creates a momentum that tend to draw all sports in that direction

Such a philosophy transforms international sport focusing on 'excellence' and high performance in specific Olympic sporting conducts, Olympic aid can be seen as constraining in that it limits the definition of participation by focusing on the achieving of qualification standards and success in the Olympic Games.
This notion of high performance tends to discourage rather than encourage mass participation in sport especially in those countries which have less of a sporting cultural tradition and have economic difficulties whether in Europe, Asia, Africa and Latin America. Following the Olympic standard in terms of technology and facilities to carry out sport services is very challenging in countries which have no sport industry and economic structure that supports sport as an element of civil society. The NOCs in this case provide an opportunity to participate for a small segment of society usually oriented to achieve the designed outcome which is Olympic medals and high level performance in the Games. In support of such an observation we can consider the case of Japan in 1964 and Mexico in 1968 that were non-western host countries to the Games. Japan given its economic and industrial ability, was more able to participate in the global economy of sport in addition to promoting and creating a civil society sport system. Furthermore, Japan was able to promote some aspects of traditional sporting culture (Horne, 1998). For Mexico however, the staging of the Games caused economic chaos, and to an extent destabilised the country, and Mexico was able neither to build on its Olympic venture to participate in the global sport economy nor to create a sport movement/civil society policy that incorporated all segments of society.
In relation to countries which are passive and/or participative, Olympic aid may be seen as liberating because it provides new resources and widens the sporting services the country may offer. Olympic Solidarity provides programmes that give NOCs the opportunity to enhance the level of available sport services in terms of the quality and of the nature of the knowledge provided. In collaboration with IFs and Continental Associations, selected qualified sport experts are appointed to deliver the assistance programmes through courses, clinics and training for coaches and sport managers. In addition, in response to some of the economic critics identified above, and the realisation of the wide range of aid needed by the recipients NOC which differ greatly in term of social and economic order as well as in the type of sport and the nature of aid required, the IOC with the implementation of the first OS quadrennial plan in 1985, included programmes of ‘Sport For All’; sport for women; Olympic days; paying part of the running cost of the NOCs; collaboration with other IOCs’ Commissions such as Sport Medicine and the Technical Commission; covering athletes travelling costs to the Olympic Games; and support for students’ participation in the IOA educational sessions and seminars. This wide range of programmes offers the NOCs an opportunity to choose technical assistance according to their own needs and enhance their performance in the Games.

When Olympic sport aid promoted values which are different from those of the recipients, it became conflictual and constraining given different ways of viewing the world, the body, social values and moral systems. For example, the way in which human body is perceived may be in conflict with the Olympic motto of ‘faster, higher, and stronger’ as that associated with the myth of ‘superman’. Concepts of human rights, dignity, development, progress which are universally promoted by the UN and other leading transnational organisations, and sport related concepts such as ‘fair-play’, and ‘champion for life’, are interpreted based on historical, philosophical, societal traditions related to each culture. Thus, to achieve a uniform or standardised interpretation of the practise of sport becomes problematic and may be seen by the recipients as form of cultural imperialism when imposed in a ‘top down’ manner. In addition, the introduction of bureaucratised sport institutions that are based on membership and managerial hierarchy may not function effectively in community-oriented societies since this changes the way people interact with each other.
Diversity in interpretation of values is an essential part in the indigenisation of global products to meet local needs.

The popularisation of modern sport through multinational organisation under the aid schemes influenced the development of traditional sporting culture in different parts of the world. This has led to the emergence of the phenomena of 'museumisation' of traditional culture (Bale and Sange, 1996; Gruenue, 1988; Maguire, 1999). Traditional sport in this scenario becomes a commodity for tourist consumption and not part of education school system nor part of community everyday life. Some governments noticed rapid decline of traditional sports and initiated projects to revive them (Cousineau, 1998). These initiatives however, suffer from a lack of financial resources and of political will since such game forms may be seen not contributing to national identity image in international arena and they do not provide economic opportunity. In such a context Olympic aid by ignoring or undermining indigenous culture may be constraining.

Thus in answer to our initial question, Olympic aid programmes are both liberating and constraining. This is perhaps not a surprising conclusion since structurational and figurational analysis both reinforce the view that structures and/or figurations are both enabling and constraining, and thus policy analysis it is a matter of defining the condition under which they enable or constrain.

7.5 Contribution to Knowledge and Future Studies

This study has contributed to the debate around the process of global diffusion of modern sport and Olympism. It demonstrated how concepts of international sport aid influenced and contributed to the global cultural diffusion process. The evaluations showed the nature of complexity associated with integration of newly independent countries from Africa and Asia into the Olympic movement and the penetration of Olympism and modern sport to the peripheral countries.

The research showed that Olympic sport aid can have different meanings. For the donor, it may be re-establishing relationships, building political partners and economic treaties, and promoting ideas or models of sport values. For the recipient it
may represent entry into the cultural global milieu of modernity (the equivalent in cultural forms of the political milieu's United Nations organisation), which offers cultural means to promote health, fitness for industry defence and national identity. However, as the GANEFO Games illustrates, the Olympic aid movement also reflects for some, aspects of post-colonialism, cultural dependency and the hegemony of the West. Further, it illustrates how trans-national cultural organisations have been operating, contributing to the reproduction and development of internationalised cultural spheres, and how such organisations have both challenged and reinforced the authority of nation states in global governance. Thus, this research has illustrated how global cultural development has taken place in a 'global cultural political-economy' which reflects not only penetration and resistance to global culture, but also the integration and collaboration between interest groups in shaping and adopting such culture(s). However, the historical context of decisions on Olympic aid, who is making such decisions and the evidence from analysis of archival data of their motives for such decisions gives us clues as to who is being enabled, who is constrained or both, when, and in what ways. Thus, an understanding of historical and organisational contexts and of individuals' perceptions and explanations is critical.

This study analysed the first 20 years of the establishment of the Olympic aid policy. Future studies may continue the analysis in the later period taking into account the changing global context. Politically, the fall of the communist block in the late 1980s, the emergence of the US as the sole hegemonic super power, the creation of the European Union and the increased tendency of regionalisation of different parts of the world: economically, the financial crisis in Asia in the late 1990s and Latin America early 2000 and increasing poverty in Africa and the reinforcement of the division of the world into North (wealthy) and (impoverish) South raises many questions about the new order. International aid emerged as a leading approach to global governance. The G8 countries provide aid in support for the transformation process of southern societies and former socialist countries to liberal democracy. In sport, the role of Olympic Solidarity in East Timor, the former Soviet Union and Afghanistan provide interesting contextual change as far as international sport aid, and the governance of the world sport system are concerned.
The IOC is seen to implement what can be called as a reverse agenda of aid. The previous aid in the 1960s and 1970s focused on incorporation of the peripheral countries into the global economy of sport, but by the 1980s Olympic aid can be seen to serve the policy of management and containment of peripheral territories that are insecure in terms of their ability to participate in the global economy. In this context it would be important to evaluate the impact of capitalist orientations characterised by commercialism, branded sponsorship, and an increasing emphasis on hyper professionalism and rationalism on Olympic aid policy and the diffusion of synchronised Olympic codes of conducts through out the Olympic system.

In a global cultural aspect, given the rise of the concept of multiculturalism in most cosmopolitan countries and the critique of the ethnocentric approach of the Olympic movement, it would be essential to investigate how the Olympic aid is adapting such policies in reviving and/or incorporating cultural diversity. This study in the context of 'aid donor' and 'aid recipient' provides a theoretically informed model to evaluate sport aid policy, taking into account a wider perspective that investigates the diffusion of sports practices and values, the recipients' responses, the integration within the organisation structure and collaboration between different interests groups in forming and shaping the global sport aid system.
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References


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## Appendix I

### Historical Events of World Politics, Olympic Games and Olympic Solidarity 1896-2000

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Years</th>
<th>City</th>
<th>World events</th>
<th>Olympic events</th>
<th>Solidarity events</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1896</td>
<td>Athens</td>
<td>The emergence of nationalism (Maguire, 1999) Colonialism and imperialism Economic growth (Hoogvelt, 1997)</td>
<td>The growth of international competition and the establishment of international institutions (Maguire, 1999) Greeks fight to get the Olympics to Athens and hence the Games were held 4 years earlier instead of 1900 (Riordan, 1999:4)</td>
<td>Coubertin was ignored by Greeks (Guttmann, 1992:19)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1900</td>
<td>Paris</td>
<td>Industrial revolution</td>
<td>Combine OM with World fair Failure to increase awareness of the OM (Riordan, 1999)</td>
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<tr>
<td>1904</td>
<td>St. Louis</td>
<td>The games was awarded to Chicago but they were moved to St. Louis due to the world fair event Everything were to compare in order to show the white superiority over others Indigenous people participated (Indian and Latin Americans)</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>1906</td>
<td>Athens</td>
<td>Celebration of 10 years anniversary It is not count as Olympic games (Guttmann, 1992) First public demonstration e.g. Bohemia had separate team from Hungarian Empire, the Russian and Fennish flags were hoisted jointly (Riordan, 1999:9)</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>1908</td>
<td>London</td>
<td>British and American battle to impose their rules Generated media attention Rome congress: two new members Mexican and Peruvian were co-opted at Coubertin's proposal (IOC, 1994:90)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>1912</td>
<td>Stockholm</td>
<td>Europe controlled 84% of earth land (Huntington, 1996) Growth of World trade</td>
<td>Sweden invention of amateurism rules Rejection of boxing event to be held IOC decided to limit the power of host nations Japan the first Asian nation to participate Finns protested against Russia domination to their country, IOC let them march under their own flag Irish were not allowed (Guttmann 1992:34)</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>1914-1916</td>
<td>World War I</td>
<td>The games were cancelled because of World war I Coubertin moved OM office to Lausanne, Switzerland New inventions: Olympics flag, touch relay, Olympic oath and hymn The rise of power of IFs in making decision and in technical issues. Women excluded from all competitions except swimming, tennis, and skating (IOC, 1994:115)</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Year</td>
<td>Location</td>
<td>Event/Comment</td>
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<tr>
<td>1920</td>
<td>Antwerp</td>
<td>Communism revolution 1917</td>
<td>IOC selected Belgium to symbolise the first post war games (Guttmann, 1992)</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Sport as tool for foreign policy (Riordan 1999, 1998, 1988)</td>
<td>Sport increasingly began to be organised along American line (PE, management administration and marketing and scientific approach (Maguire, 1999)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Economic Depression in Europe (Tipton &amp; Robert, 1987; Encyclopaedia, 2000)</td>
<td>Coubertin announcement for retirement and thus was given the next games to be held in Paris</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Struggle between social classes</td>
<td>Internationalisation of Sport (Riordan 1999, 1988) (Coubertin did not allow Germany, Austria, Hungary, Bulgaria and Turkey to participate)</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>1924</td>
<td>Paris</td>
<td>First interest of IOC to the Third World IOC session in Rome 1923 (Guttmann, 1992)</td>
<td>Fist interest of IOC to the Third World IOC session in Rome 1923 (Guttmann, 1992)</td>
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<td>First coverage of the games on radio</td>
<td>First coverage of the games on radio</td>
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<td>Good will tour to South America promoting Olympism</td>
<td>Good will tour to South America promoting Olympism</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Athens were reimbursement for ‘braking time’ (Guttmann, 1992)</td>
<td>Athens were reimbursement for ‘braking time’ (Guttmann, 1992)</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Global tendency of international sport began to unfold (Maguire, 1999)</td>
<td>World cup in football held in Uruguay 1930 (Hietanen &amp; Varsi (1984)) sport and international understanding</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>1928</td>
<td>Amsterdam</td>
<td>Readmit German</td>
<td>World cup in football held in Uruguay 1930 (Hietanen &amp; Varsi (1984)) sport and international understanding</td>
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<td>First worker games were organised in Frankfurt in 1925 due to the bias of bourgeois games (Guttmann, 1992)</td>
<td>First worker games were organised in Frankfurt in 1925 due to the bias of bourgeois games (Guttmann, 1992)</td>
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<td>Challenge of worker sport movement and Women events</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Recognition of women</td>
<td>Recognition of women</td>
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<tr>
<td>1932</td>
<td>Los Angeles</td>
<td>Working class movement in Europe demands political changes (Tipton &amp; Robert, 1987)</td>
<td>Radio live broadcast</td>
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<td>Working class movement in Europe demands political changes (Tipton &amp; Robert, 1987)</td>
<td>Financial profit 1 Million</td>
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<td>Women movements challenges masculinity</td>
<td>Non-western nations achievements: Japan 11 medals and</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>India won gold in field hockey</td>
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<td>Latin America Zabala (Marathone) Santiago (heavyweight boxing)</td>
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<td>In 1932 the IOC approve for women to participate in track events (Guttmann, 1992)</td>
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<td>1936</td>
<td>Berlin</td>
<td>Hitler rise to power in Germany</td>
<td>Nazi Propaganda, US boycott threats due to racial discrimination against Jewish athletes</td>
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<td>1940</td>
<td></td>
<td>World War II</td>
<td>The games were cancelled</td>
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<td>Japan invasion to China</td>
<td>The games were cancelled</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>USSR invasion to Finland</td>
<td>The games were cancelled</td>
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<tr>
<td>1944</td>
<td></td>
<td>The creation of United Nations</td>
<td>The games were cancelled</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Year</td>
<td>Location</td>
<td>Events and Outcomes</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
| 1948 | London | Establishment of political, economical, and social international institutions (Hoogvelt, 1997; Tipton & Robert, 1987)  
The Cold War a split between East and West in Europe (bipolar politics)  
US Marshall aid plan (Tipton & Robert, 1987)  
North and South Korea war in 1950 and in 1953 they were divided into communistic North and capitalism South  
German and Japan were banned  
England faced financial problems in staging the games.  
The IOC proposed rules regarding the recognition of new NOCs (IOC 1994, volume II)  
BBC paid 1000 guineas for broadcast rights |
| 1952 | Helsinki | The creation of the term 'Third World' (Dodds, 2000)  
Development project for 'Third World' countries (Kelly, 1998)  
The raise of nationalism and liberation movements in Asia and Africa against colonialism  
German and China recognition  
USSR rejoins the Olympic Movement  
Two different athletic villages (Communism & Capitalism)  
The creation of continental and regional games: Asian, Mediterranean, and Pan American and Pan Arab games  
Problems of recognition of these new games |
| 1956 | Melbourne | Quest for independence: Decolonisation process  
Afro-Asian Solidarity and the World Mission of the Peoples of Africa and Asia, 1957 (First Afro-Asian people's Solidarity Conference, December 26, 1957) Internet source  
Third world demanded for Global reform in 1950s & 60s  
Suez canal crises, Egypt took control over French and Britain, they fought back with Israeli assistance and occupied the peninsula (Encyclopaedia, 2000)  
Netherlands, Spain, Switzerland boycotted the game due to Soviet invasion to Hungary  
The two Germans entered in a combined team  
Water polo blood game between Hungary and USSR  
Debate between IOC members regarding TV money and the amateurism rule (Toohey & Veal, 2000:128) |
| 1960 | Rome | Post-colonialism politics  
Aid as tool for foreign policy  
Non-Aligned Movement was form in 1961 to promote an independent path between the interest of the super powers (Kelly, 1998:28)  
Fist medal for black African Athletes / Colonies began to beat their masters in sport (Maguire, 1999)  
The drug culture to enhance performance in sport began to be institutionalised e.g. East Germany (Toohey & Veal, 2000:149)  
Athens IOC session: Olympic sport aid proposal by USSR and France (1961)  
Formation of the Aid Commission structure in Moscow IOC meeting (1962)  
Members oppose the Aid Commission work  
Nairobi meeting transfer to Baden-Baden due to |
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>City</th>
<th>Event Description</th>
<th>Key Issues</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1964</td>
<td>Tokyo</td>
<td>Anti imperialism politics: Third World countries use their voting power in UN</td>
<td>South Africa was banned from Olympics due to racist policy.</td>
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<td>Anti imperialism politics: Third World countries use their voting power in UN</td>
<td>Israel and Taiwan case in Asia games in 1962 and the expel</td>
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<td>Anti imperialism politics: Third World countries use their voting power in UN</td>
<td>Indonesia from the Olympics-GANEFO games although short lived has</td>
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<td>Anti imperialism politics: Third World countries use their voting power in UN</td>
<td>challenged the global space for amateurism sport.</td>
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<td>Anti imperialism politics: Third World countries use their voting power in UN</td>
<td>IOC and IFs preventing the continuation of the GANEFO Games</td>
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<td>Anti imperialism politics: Third World countries use their voting power in UN</td>
<td>IOC Tokyo session: Idea of creating another aid</td>
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<td>Anti imperialism politics: Third World countries use their voting power in UN</td>
<td>Initiatives to revive and modify the Aid Commission</td>
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<td>Anti imperialism politics: Third World countries use their voting power in UN</td>
<td>Structure due to the increase of members (1965)</td>
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<td>Anti imperialism politics: Third World countries use their voting power in UN</td>
<td>NOCs requests for more role within the movement</td>
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<td>1968</td>
<td>Mexico</td>
<td>American economic hegemony began to be challenged by Europe and the rest/ Vietnam</td>
<td>Black America athletes using non-valence protest against racism and</td>
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<td>American economic hegemony began to be challenged by Europe and the rest/ Vietnam</td>
<td>solidarity with Africans.</td>
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<td>Boycott threats to prevent South Africa participation</td>
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<td>NOCs recognition problems</td>
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<td>IFs and NOCs challenging the authority of the IOC</td>
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<td>American economic hegemony began to be challenged by Europe and the rest/ Vietnam</td>
<td>Discourse from Africa to replace IOC management</td>
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<tr>
<td>1972</td>
<td>Munich</td>
<td>Oil diplomacy led to the change from hard industry to technology and information</td>
<td>Palestinian attack on Israel athletes in the games and Brundage</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>Oil diplomacy led to the change from hard industry to technology and information</td>
<td>announced 'the Game must go on'</td>
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<td>Oil diplomacy led to the change from hard industry to technology and information</td>
<td>IOC protecting amateurism against professionalism</td>
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<td>Lord Killanin took the presidency of he IOC</td>
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<td>Oil diplomacy led to the change from hard industry to technology and information</td>
<td>Setting up an advisory services</td>
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<td>Technical aid to NOCs</td>
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<td>Oil diplomacy led to the change from hard industry to technology and information</td>
<td>Creation of Olympic Solidarity</td>
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<td>Oil diplomacy led to the change from hard industry to technology and information</td>
<td>First meeting of OS in Bulgaria (1973)</td>
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<td>Oil diplomacy led to the change from hard industry to technology and information</td>
<td>Recruiting volunteers to work with OS from all continents</td>
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<td>Oil diplomacy led to the change from hard industry to technology and information</td>
<td>OS office in Rome</td>
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<tr>
<td>Year</td>
<td>Location</td>
<td>Event</td>
<td>Description</td>
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<td>1976</td>
<td>Montreal</td>
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<td>Africa anti-apartheid boycott (South Africa case) Canada refuse to issue visas to allow Taipei team under the passport reading “Republic of China” (Kanin, 1981:79) Acceptance of semi-professionalism and rewards for athletes</td>
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<tr>
<td>1980</td>
<td>Moscow</td>
<td>USSR invention in Afghanistan (1979)</td>
<td>USA boycotted and 45 to 50 nations join the boycott J.A. Samaranch took the presidency of the IOC Acceptance of professionalism and commercialism</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1984</td>
<td>Los Angeles</td>
<td>US withdraw from UNESCO in 1984 and UK * in 1985, Thomson (1995)</td>
<td>Soviet boycott the games as revenge of US boycott First Olympics without states funds, sponsorship packages and TV broadcast rights cover the cost. Americanisation of the Games</td>
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<tr>
<td>1988</td>
<td>Seoul</td>
<td></td>
<td>Boycott north Korea, Cuba, Nicaragua, and Ethiopia Ben Johnson doping scandal made public Anti America media in S, Korea after the boxing mach.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1992</td>
<td>Barcelona</td>
<td>The fall of communism in the Soviet Union The fall of Berlin wall (1989) The two German reunited Gulf War 1991 1994 Mandela first African president in South Africa (Dodds, 2000) The creation of European Union The US as sole police of the world</td>
<td>Boycott free for the first time Return of South Africa Participation of individual team from formal communism bloc Yugoslavia exclusion due to military act against Croatia and Bosnia. Largest Olympic Games in term of participation</td>
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<tr>
<td>1996</td>
<td>Atlanta</td>
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<td>Coca Cola won over Athens Transportation and organisation problems Bomb explosion in Olympic village</td>
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<tr>
<td>2000</td>
<td>Sydney</td>
<td>Olympic Truce (Roche, 2000) East Timor independence from Indonesia Two Koreas friendship</td>
<td>IOC Scandal (1998) IOC reform East Timor affiliation to the Olympics</td>
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</tbody>
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