Why Not Africa?
An Exploration of the Correlation Between International Sporting Events and Development

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Abstract

This thesis studies the correlation between international sporting events and developing countries. The goal is to understand the role of developing countries in international sporting organizations; a surprising gap in the literature exists on this subject. Developing countries, especially in sub-Saharan Africa, are beginning to become more economically and politically prominent, but they are still mired in poverty. Sport, and specifically major global sporting events like the Olympic Games, might be a way for them to develop and attain a greater voice in the international community. So, why have these sporting events remained in the hands of the rich and emerging nations? After surveying the history of the Olympics, the World Cup, and sporting events created in reaction to the aforementioned events, I conducted personal interviews and conducted research at the Maison des Jeux Olympiques in Albertville, France. The results confirmed my hypothesis that the International Olympic Committee has largely excluded developing countries from benefiting in a major way from these events through administration and the exuberant expenses associated with the Olympic Games. The World Cup is not a flawless alternative, but sometimes provides more avenues for developing countries to succeed in hosting international sporting events. The IOC has a responsibility to the developing world to reduce the cost and increase the accessibility of the Olympic Games.
Chapter 1: Introduction

In a stadium full of spectators, the tension and excitement is palpable. The crowd’s national pride is fierce, and it is clear that soon, both winners and losers will emerge. For many in the stadium and watching at home, this is more than just a game. The Olympic Games, as well as other international sporting events, sit at the intersection of economics, politics, and social issues in a fashion unique to mega sporting events. Pierre de Coubertin, the father of the modern Olympic Games, stated that, “holding an Olympic Games means evoking history.”¹ The Olympics have grown from Baron Coubertin’s original dream of games to showcase French physical prowess to a multi-million dollar enterprise that continues to increase in size and cost with every host city. Similarly increasing trends have also occurred in other world sporting events like the World Cup.

While politics and economics are becoming common topics in the discussion of international sporting events, these issues are only part of the larger issue concerning the uneven growth of world sport. Millions of dollars are invested by countries which bid to become host cities, and millions more are poured into infrastructure, advertising, and opening and closing ceremonies. The host city bid winners, for a few weeks, have the undivided attention of the world.

The oft-forgotten participants in this struggle are the bid losers, who may try for years or even decades to host the Olympics. In these cases, developing countries lose out more than most due to lack of funds, infrastructure, and the will to begin the arduous bidding process. The Olympic Games in particular have not yet been held in Africa or South America (though the Games will occur in 2016 in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil). In other words, the developing world has been excluded from profiting from one of the most lucrative sporting events in the world.

International sporting event organizers, especially the International Olympic Committee, have largely disregarded the potential role these countries could play in future events. Discovering why this is so is the focus of this thesis, and offering a remedy to this neglect is my aim.

Why is it so important to focus on the role of developing countries in the realm of international sports? If the IOC has been largely made up of representatives of developed countries up until this point, what will be a determining factor that causes a shift in this norm? Holding any mega-event is undoubtedly expensive. Countries invest millions of dollars for the chance to bid, at odds that are not favorable. In countries where corruption is rampant, poverty is the norm, and infrastructure is weak, why should governments even bother?

Furthermore, why study Africa in particular, over other traditionally underdeveloped regions? Compared to South America and Southeast Asia, Africa is one of the most visible examples of exclusionary practices. Not only do the
African nations (on the whole) have a low medal count every Games, but the Olympics have never been awarded to an African country. South Africa hosted the 2010 World Cup, which marked a major change for future mega-events in Africa, but that nation is one of the richest countries of the region and also a rising economic power worldwide. Sub-Saharan Africa is one of the fastest growing regions in the world, with a population that has tripled over the past 50 years to 860 million. Is it time for the five rings to make their way to the Great Continent?

Additionally, is the IOC biased against poor nations because of the prohibitively expensive bidding and hosting process of the Olympic Games? The IOC has helped National Olympic Committees send teams to the Games, but no such support has existed for actually hosting them. However, a shift has begun to appear for host cities in a way that could change the face of the Games entirely. The so-called BRICS (Brazil, Russia, India, China, and South Africa) are the world’s emerging superpowers, and some of them have hosted the Games in the last decade. If this movement continues, then perhaps the international community should expect to see the Olympics in more developing countries in the

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future. It is essential to understand the role of the IOC in decisions and funding related to these new host cities.

This study will begin with a brief historical analysis of the Olympic Games to identify its previous role in regard to developing nations. Next, before focusing on the developing world, the developed world’s role (and expenditures) for the Games must be explored to provide a baseline that indicates the cost that would have to be shouldered by a poor nation. A case study of the London 2012 Summer Olympic Games will consider the cost of the Games and what sort of sustainability measures to ensure the longevity of Olympic facilities were taken that might apply to future Games. A brief synopsis of the role of the BRICS as Olympic host countries will follow. The second half of this study will focus more on specifics regarding the dynamics between Africa and the Olympics. The rise of FIFA and the World Cup as a competing organization to the Olympics is rooted in similar beginnings, but with different regulations concerning hosting locations. I will also look at what have been dubbed the “reactionary games,” or international sporting events created in response to unsavory IOC politics. The last two chapters focus on a more in-depth understanding of the nature of “responsibility” as it relates to the International Olympic Committee and my conclusions as they relate to the cost of the Games.
Chapter 2: Methodology

My hypothesis is that the International Olympic Committee has marginalized developing countries through a progressively expensive bidding and hosting process for the Olympic Games. My research focuses on the phenomenon as it relates to African countries.

I use a few main sources to explore the history of the Olympic Games and IOC administration, which I reference throughout this thesis. Allen Guttman’s *The Olympics: A History of the Modern Games* provides an in-depth analysis of the history of the Games from the games of antiquity to the early 2000s, including relevant information concerning IOC leadership. In my chapter referring to reactionary games, I use information from Guttman about the Games of the New Emerging Forces. James Riordan and Arnd Kruger’s *The International Politics of Sport in the 20th Century* provides a comparative view of the IOC, FIFA, and other sports organizations. The relevance of this work to my thesis is its references to the rise of Asia and Africa in world sport, information regarding the Worker Olympics, and a chapter concerning sport in South Africa. This work provides background information about Africa’s role in world sports, but does not specifically look at marginalization as it relates to hosting world sporting events.

I also refer to a few works by Robert Barney, professor emeritus and acting director of the International Center for Olympic Studies at the University of Western Ontario. *Selling the Five Rings* examines the commercialization and
history of television revenues in Olympic sport. Barney’s *Rethinking the Olympics* provides more of a cultural study, though it also includes details about Olympic debt caused by infrastructural challenges of hosting the Games. Both works focus on economics of the Games, which is relevant to my main argument even without specific mentions of developing countries. For other information related to the Olympic Games, I consulted official IOC documents, including the Olympic Charter.

Where literature and official IOC documentation were not available, I consulted popular articles online and conducted personal interviews. This was especially the case for my study of the London 2012 Games, as not enough time has passed for in-depth analyses. I reference a personal interview that I held with Diane Sharrock, a representative from CH2M (an engineering company that builds Olympic and World Cup stadiums with an emphasis on sustainability). Other interviews include Cheryl Preheim (9news reporter), Chris Episkopos (resident of London), and Barry Bearak (New York Times journalist who specializes in international sport).

I received an Undergraduate Research Opportunities Program grant to travel to Switzerland and France for research. The International Olympic Committee and Olympic Museum are both located in Lausanne, Switzerland. Albertville, France (a previous Olympic host city) has its own Olympic museum, the Maison des Jeux Olympiques. The FIFA headquarters are also located in
Zurich, Switzerland, which I had the opportunity to visit. I used information from these locations to gather more information about the Olympic movement, the cost of the Games (as it related to the Albertville Games), and FIFA.

I found sufficient information related to the history of the Games and administration, but discovered a gap in the literature related to hosting the Games in developing countries. I gathered information from a variety of sources pertaining to cost, African governance, the so-called reactionary games, and the World Cup to explore what solutions exist for marginalization. The limitations of my research included time and cost constraints in Switzerland to conduct more international research. If allotted more time to research, I might have visited more Olympic host cities and conducted interviews with government officials to evaluate the cost of the Games from a different perspective. Another aspect of international sport that I was not able to evaluate in this thesis was the role of regional games. Regional confederations exist for many international sporting organizations, and I was not able to evaluate their exact role in relation to the Olympics or the World Cup. At the time of this thesis, not all bidding cost information was available for the Beijing 2008, Sochi 2014, or Brazil 2016 Olympic Games. For this reason, I focus on the London 2012 Games for as much current and relevant bid information as possible.
Chapter 3: The Olympic Games: 1896-2012

It is important to examine the roots of international sporting organizations to cognize where international sport is headed in the future in terms of developing countries. The Olympic Games are my focus because of their popularity and prestige in the international community. Some aspects of the original Olympic Movement may still prove relevant, but it is just as important to study the modern staging of the Games and relevant modern principles in the international community. This issue will be investigated in the following chapter in a case study of the London 2012 Olympic Games.

World sport as it is known today is vastly different than the first sporting events staged in the 1800s. Pierre de Coubertin is hailed as the father of the modern Olympic Games due to his efforts to revitalize the games of antiquity that started in Greece in 776 BCE. The original Olympics were exclusive to white males who specialized in high levels of performance in a sport. The original Games, with a message of international peace, did not attempt to hide political roots. By the time Coubertin began his conception of the modern Games in the

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late 1800s, the world was beginning to enter an era of more intimate globalization and interconnectedness among countries.\textsuperscript{6}

The International Olympic Committee (IOC) officially formed on June 23, 1894.\textsuperscript{7} In the beginning, the IOC was not necessarily representative of all of the participating countries; even today, membership is still heavily European. However, members of the IOC are still expected to be ambassadors from the committee to their respective countries, and often come from an athletic background and general understanding of the Games.\textsuperscript{8} The IOC’s mission is to promote Olympism (the underlying principles of the Olympic Games) and lead the Olympic Movement, especially in hosting games every four years.\textsuperscript{9} It is also the charge of the IOC to choose the host cities for each Olympic Games seven years in advance.

Traditionally, the Olympic Games are characterized by IOC leadership and international politics. A notable proponent for developing countries was Juan Antonio Samaranch, IOC President from 1980-2001. Jacques Rogge, the current IOC leader, called Samaranch “the man who built up the Olympic Games of the

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{6} Allen Guttman, \textit{The Olympics: A History of the Modern Games} (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2002), 11.
\item \textsuperscript{8} Allen Guttman, \textit{The Olympics: A History of the Modern Games} (Chicago: University of Illinois, 2002), 15.
\item \textsuperscript{9} “Olympic Charter,” 10.
\end{itemize}
modern era.\textsuperscript{10} However, despite successes in political and other realms, Samaranch has been criticized in the international sporting community for the increase of funds into the coffers of the IOC through commercialism, corruption, and increasingly expensive Olympic Games.

Progressively expensive Games reflect negatively on the ability of any country to host the Games, especially developing ones. The International Olympic Committee has also not yet appointed an IOC president from outside of Europe and the United States. This exclusionary policy will become more problematic as the role in participation of other regions of the world may increase in the future. A breakdown of IOC membership is provided in a later chapter to illuminate the direct relationship between the IOC and developing regions.

Additionally, struggles to finance the Games as well as understand how to properly distribute profits have existed nearly since the inception of the Games themselves and are important to discuss when considering the evolution of the Games. Television revenue as a means of profit has existed since the 1960s. Lord Killian (President of the IOC from 1972-1980) viewed the television medium as a “lucrative source of funds for amateur sport.”\textsuperscript{11} The fact that two thirds of television revenues are distributed to Olympic organizing committees (according


to the Rome Formula) means that television revenues serve as an important means of funding for the Olympic Games. Revenues often do not match costs of the Games; the 1992 Albertville Games took in 596 million euros, but spent over 640 million on sports facilities, technology, accommodations, media, and other miscellaneous expenses.\(^{12}\) However, cases like the 1984 Los Angeles Games tell a different story; Los Angeles made around $USD 222 million profit through advertising, television rights, commercial sponsorship and ticket sales.\(^{13}\) Developing countries can use television revenues as a way to finance the Olympic Games, in addition to other funding sources.

The bidding process and legacy of the games deserves an in-depth exploration to understand the requirements for hosting the Games. The time, money, and effort necessitated by the bidding process are keys to recognizing why developing countries have not had the Games in the past and why this trend may continue in the future. The most recently completed Olympic Games, the London 2012 Summer Olympic Games, reveals the difficulties that arise from the bidding process.

\(^{12}\) “Albertville Financing Model,” Maison des Jeux Olympiques, Albertville, France.
Chapter 4: Case Study: London 2012 Summer Olympics

The 2012 Summer Games were not England’s first time hosting; London had hosted the Games twice already (in 1908 and 1948) prior to the 2012 bid. London stood ready with more resources, time, and international prestige at stake than ever before. The Olympic bid saga began with National Olympic Committee candidate city elections in 2002. The initial 2012 bid list was long: London, England; Madrid, Spain; Moscow, Russia; New York, USA; Paris, France; Havana, Cuba; Leipzig, Germany; Istanbul, Turkey; and Rio de Janeiro, Brazil. The five first listed made it past the initial elimination, with Brazil to return once more and later win the bid for the 2016 Games. The IOC kept these cities busy from 2003 onward, requiring countries to pay dues to the sum of USD 150,000, attend an IOC Applicant City Seminar in Lausanne, Switzerland, visit Athens for a 2004 organization update, reply to an IOC questionnaire, undergo examinations of the prospective Olympic site, attend the 2004 Games as part of the Candidate City Observer Programme, submit final candidature files, host IOC members as part of an evaluation visit, and finally reach the election day on July 6, 2005 at the IOC session in Singapore.

16 Ibid.
Amid these IOC requirements, each bid city was expected to be preparing individually to impress the IOC committee members during the site visits. In 2004, the London Olympic Delivery Association (ODA) started contacting companies to build the Olympic venues. The companies went through their own mini Olympic bid process after the ODA issued a Request for Proposal (RFP) to the companies. The proposed site of the games was a site in East London (plan of the London Organizing Committee of the Olympic and Paralympic Games (LOCOG) to clean up this site before the scrutiny of the international community. CH2M, the engineering company that received the contract to build the Olympic venues in 2006, had a detailed sustainability proposal that eventually won over the LOCOG.

During this time London was also experiencing its own troubles as Paris was heavily favored to receive the Olympic bid. Paris was a seasoned bidder, having bid last in 1992 and 2008, but had not hosted the Games since 1924, and played upon the idea of the French legacy of the Games. Michael Payne, the IOC director of marketing and global broadcasting rights, worked with Lord Sebastian Coe to rescue the bid. The previous issues London had been having stemmed from the fact that it had an American leading the bid, not an

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17 Diane Sharrock, interview by Amanda Fendrick, Internet videoconference interview, November 29, 2012.
18 Ibid.
Englishman. It was the British Michael Payne’s and Sebastian Coe’s idea to focus their bid on youth, which played a huge role in the rest of the bidding process as well as the lead-up to the Games.

The members of the London delegation in Singapore during the July 2005 bid presentation must have surely felt the gravity of the situation. It is estimated that by this point in the bidding process, the London government had already shelled out approximately $USD 25.5 million. Neither London nor the other candidate cities took the final bid presentation lightly. Among attendees of the session were British Prime Minister Tony Blair, French President Jacques Chirac, Russian President Vladimir Putin, Hilary Clinton, and football star David Beckham. Nelson Mandela made a statement in London’s favor at the Singapore session: “I can’t think of a better place than London to hold an event that unites the world. London will inspire young people around the world and ensure that the Olympic Games remain the dream for future generations.”

London’s long, arduous, and costly efforts were not in vain: London won the bid against the other finalist, Paris, in the fourth round by a margin of four votes. A celebration of this achievement may have been short-lived, however,
because on July 7, 2005, the London subway was hit by four blasts linked to terrorism.\textsuperscript{24} There were no claims that these attacks were connected in any way to the decision of the IOC, but it was certainly enough to shake the confidence of the British people.

The LOCOG worked hard from this point on to prepare for the 2012 Games. Prime Minister Tony Blair threw his support behind the Olympics by saying, “many reckon it [London] is the greatest capital city in the world and the Olympics will help keep it that way.”\textsuperscript{25} The Olympics were going to bring billions in tourist dollars, encourage urban redevelopment, and “bask [London] in the prestige of three weeks in the international spotlight.”\textsuperscript{26}

Not everyone was on board, though. A late July 2012 poll indicated that half of London’s residents were not interested in the Olympics at all, and 42 percent felt that London should have never bid for the Olympics in the first place.\textsuperscript{27} Most of this negativity stemmed from the vast cost of the Games that burdened, in part, UK citizens. Taxpayers were paying for the Games as much as six years before the first athlete even stepped off the plane in Heathrow.\textsuperscript{28} This “Olympic levy” will continue far beyond the Games themselves until the massive

\textsuperscript{26} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{27} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{28} Diane Sharrock, interview by Amanda Fendrick, Internet videoconference interview, November 29, 2012.
bill is paid. The LOCG forecasts that both core lifetime revenue and expenditure will be close to 2.4 billion pounds (USD$ 3.4 billion). Additionally, London was already dealing with its own capacity issues; preceding the Olympics, the public transportation system was “barely coping with the population it has to carry now.” Security for the large number of expected tourists, leaders, athletes and staff also became a big concern. London officials claim that the “threat level was greater than for any previous Host City,” which meant 444 million pounds (USD$ 664 million) in security expenses.

London’s sustainability efforts may have been its saving grace to ensure supporters within London as well as in environmental groups abroad. Efforts to reduce waste included an emphasis on public transportation, recycling bins on site, and an overall cleanup of the previously contaminated industrial site. CH2M demolished surrounding buildings wrought with asbestos and built new, LEEDS certified structures. London organizers took note of the previous failures in Beijing that resulted in “many of that Games’ lavish purpose-built

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33 Diane Sharrock, interview by Amanda Fendrick, Internet videoconference interview, November 29, 2012.
venues…now crumbling.”

The Olympic Park was a sizable component of the ODA’s mission to create a sustainable Games that included long-lasting facilities and a positive legacy for the community. According to the final report from the London 2012 Games, the Olympic Park project included “new homes, schools, sport facilities and a community medical centre set inside a stunning urban park, changing the landscape forever.”

The stadium has found new use already for the hosting of the IAAF World Championships in 2017. The ODA mainly focused on creating temporary facilities that could be dismantled after the Games in cases where the facilities could not be reused. Overall, the temporary facilities cost around USD$ 1.1 billion, constituting 30 percent of the entire LOCOG procurement budget.

Leading up to the Games, economic projections were optimistic. Estimates claimed that tourists were expected to spend USD$ 3 billion during the event, redevelopment of East London would create 11,000 new homes and 8,000 jobs, and that the Olympics could add approximately USD$ 24 billion to the United Kingdom’s GDP. However, by March 2012 the USD$ 14.5 billion in public funds that was set aside for the Olympics was already “close to being used up.”

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34 “The greenest Olympics ever- but is it good enough?.”
March estimates put the London bill at over USD$ 17 billion. This was almost USD$ 14 billion higher than the initial bid estimate. The perceived benefits of the Games would have to outweigh this hefty cost.

London ran a robust social media campaign to drum up support for the Games from the young and internet-savvy. The Olympics had their own Twitter account and hashtags to foster conversation and debate. London’s EDF Energy Company ran a campaign with MIT students to pioneer an algorithm that would change the lights on the London Eye to reflect the mood of Twitter users. Despite all the concerns surrounding security, capacity, and cost, tweets on the whole were predominately yellow, which meant positive words were being used. The BBC also ran an Olympics podcast from December 2011 to August 2012 documenting Olympics history, updates on London 2012 plans, and spotlights on individual British and international athletes. London kept a decades-old Olympic tradition current by connecting with younger generations and using innovative technology.

The actual staging of the Games was happily uneventful for Britain. Though revenue was expected for local businesses, restaurants actually

39 “London 2012 Olympics bill set to rise again, report says.”
41 Ibid.
experienced a decline in clientele as their regular customers avoided the overcrowded Olympic Park. Following the Olympic Games, London also hosted the Paralympic Games, during which every athletic record was broken. Despite previous concerns about capacity and worries about terrorist attacks, both Games went off without a major hitch. Revenues will continue to flow from future events held in the facilities, long-term infrastructural benefits, and potential increases in tourism. For a developed country like England, shouldering the cost of the Olympics may be inconvenient, but not an insurmountable burden. Can the same be said for developing countries?

How can this sort of event be transplanted into a developing country, based on the procedure followed by the British organizing committee?

Advertising for the Games focused on British icons that were recognizable around the world. The bill for the games, for everything from bidding to hosting, is one that UK citizens will continue to pay for many decades to come. Regardless, the LOCOG made great strides in the realm of sustainability and understanding how to attract interest from younger populations. Further, the bidding process was long, intense, and costly. It is said that the star power that London threw behind its bid secured the vote; some consider this “buying the vote” and it can straddle

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an ethical line. For poor countries, time is just as valuable as money, thus a long bidding process that may have to be repeated multiple times may not be feasible. Nevertheless, Britain got to bask in the international spotlight for the summer and will now be remembered as part of the Olympic legacy. Whether a poor nation can replicate Britain’s success, and whether that is possible through IOC responsibility, is to be explored in further chapters.

Chapter 5: Beyond the BRIC(S)

The Olympic Games, along with other world sporting events, is a show of the power and strength of a nation. Events like the Olympic Games fall under the category of “strategic communication,” in which countries express their dominance in means other than warfare or trade. The marketing opportunities are too vast to individually enumerate. It is not surprising that the emerging superpowers would subscribe to this idea and try, for the most part, for their own chance to host the Games. Additionally, the larger question at hand is whether this visible shift in the dynamics of international sport will leak into the developing world as well.

Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa represent forty percent of the world’s population, 25 percent of global GDP, and hold USD$ 3.93 trillion of foreign reserves. These countries are expected to grow exponentially over the next decade; by 2015, the BRICS’ percent of world GDP is expected to grow from 14 percent to 21.6 percent. In an increasingly multilateral world, attention is shifting internationally from the historic superpowers in Western Europe and the United States to the BRICS. Investors worldwide have noticed this realignment of power and are accommodating their business structures to fit these

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48 “BRICS: The New World Powers.”
emerging economies. Although all five countries fall under the acronym, economic growth is not consistent across the board. This study will look at each country individually to examine their personal relationship with the Olympic Games and what that might mean for future projections.

Brazil has immense power in the Latin American region because it is rich in natural resources and is a leader in pioneering renewable technology.49 In addition to its economic uniqueness, Brazil is the only Portuguese-speaking country amidst a Spanish-dominated continent. Brazil is a free-market democracy, acting as a “rare island of stability in a region of turmoil and governed by the rule of law instead of whims of autocrats.”50 Brazil is also an emerging superpower giving a voice to weaker nations both regionally and worldwide. In particular, Brazil has encouraged developing countries to challenge international law, especially agricultural subsidies.51 Former President Lula’s “south-south” policies have also resulted in the opening of 35 new embassies since 2003, most of which are in Africa and the Caribbean.52 Brazil in the coming years may be an indicator of what developing countries hope to replicate in future Games.

51 “The Crafty Superpower.”
52 “The Crafty Superpower.”
Brazil will host the Summer Olympic Games in 2016, as well as the 2014 World Cup. This will be the first time the Olympics have been in South America; the last time Latin America as a whole hosted the Games was the Mexico City Games in 1968. The ’68 Games aimed to “forge a brotherhood of Latin American countries that shared a common desire to correct the false image that many casual observers shared of the continent.” Whatever bonds were forged then seem to have been forgotten quickly; it took nearly 50 years for the Games to return to the region. Critics were vocal about their concerns for the Mexico City Games. Would Mexico’s limited experience with world sporting events infringe on its ability to handle the complexities of the Games? Would the stereotypical sluggish nature of Latin American culture impede its ability to hold the Games in a timely manner?

These concerns have not died out entirely, despite the amount of time and progression that has occurred since the late 1960s. However, Rio de Janeiro may have had the upper hand in the recent 2016 Olympic bid due to its already existent Estádio do Maracana, which was built for the 2007 Pan American Games. This stadium will be multi-purpose in the coming years as Rio hosts the 2013 FIFA

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Confederations Cup, the 2014 World Cup, the 2015 Copa America and the 2016 Olympic and Paralympic Games.\textsuperscript{55}

Brazil’s 2016 bid was in no way inexpensive; perhaps the Organizing Officials felt as if they had more convincing to do because it lacked the immediately recognizable superstars and iconic history that backed the British bid. Current estimates from Brazilian officials claim that over R$90 million (around USD$ 45 million) was spent to bring the Games to South American soil.\textsuperscript{56} These funds did not all come directly from Brazilian citizens, but rather from a combination of private donations and federal, state, and municipal funds. The costs will only increase as Rio approaches the R$5.6 billion (around USD$ 2.8 billion) that was approved by the IOC.\textsuperscript{57} If the London Games are any indication, Rio may be likely to double or even triple this amount by the time of the Games. The combination of the Olympics, plus the three other major sporting events Rio is expecting to host in the next four years, are sure to drain government coffers and those of the Brazilian people.

Yet despite this cost, national sentiment could not be any stronger. Spokesperson Mike Lee for the Rio Games claimed that “the decision is historic;
the [IOC] vote is historic.” 58 Around 50,000 gathered on Copacabana Beach in Rio de Janeiro to celebrate the host city announcement. 59 In a country known for its passion for sport, these Olympic Games will not go without their fair share of national pride and passion.

Though next in the “BRICS” acronym, Russia is the most imminent Olympic host with the 2014 Winter Olympic Games. Russia’s membership in the “BRICS Club” has been questioned due to a relatively stagnant population growth rate, heavy industry failures, and government corruption. Although it has the highest per capita GDP of the group, this number is skewed and not growing at a large rate. 60 After the fall of the Soviet Union, Russia has been slow to rise once again as a world superpower. The Olympics, among other economic, political, and social statements, may be one of the driving factors towards a stronger Russia.

Russia’s presence has been felt by its membership in a multitude of international organizations, including the Shanghai Cooperation Organization (a coalition of 5 Eurasian countries), the Group of Twenty Finance Ministers and Central bank Governors (G-20), and in 2014 as part of the Organization of

59 Ibid.
60 Jaibal Naduvath and Samir Saran, "Revisiting the 'R' in 'BRICS'," Russia and India Report, last updated January 21, 2013, http://indrus.in/economics/2013/01/21/revisiting_the_r_in_brics_21771.html.
Much of Russia’s current economy is based on oil (12 percent of which goes towards world output), natural gas, and nickel. Russia’s middle class is still growing, but property rights issues and corruption have hindered economic progress. The last time the Olympics were in Russia was the 1980 Moscow Summer Olympic Games, which were the most heavily boycotted Games in history with 65 countries withdrawing from participation.

Despite these misgivings, Sochi, Russia won the bid election against tough opponents like PyeongChang, South Korea and Salzburg, Austria. It was one of the toughest competitions yet, especially following the lavish shows put on by the 2012 bidders not long before. Russia’s toughest competitor was likely PyeongChang, who had already bid for the 2010 games and narrowly lost to Vancouver. Sochi, on the other hand, was a first time bidder; its campaign consisted of a supposedly “spectacular venue concept in a subtropical Black Sea setting.” Sochi marketed itself aggressively leading up to the bid election and used some of the same PR teams that worked on the London bid. Sochi went so

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61 Ibid.
63 Ibid.
66 Ibid.
67 Ibid.
68 Ibid.
far as to transport a full size ice skating rink to the IOC bid session in Guatemala to put on an ice show.\textsuperscript{69} Neither Salzburg’s proposal of more traditional, low-key Games nor PyeongChang’s second attempt to win over the IOC could match that effort, and Sochi won in a vote of 51-47.

Neither the Brazilian bid nor the Russian bid went without its fair share of extravagance, but it is clear that the Sochi Olympics will be all about Russia’s return to power more anything Asian or Eastern European. Russia hopes to lift the entire Krasnodar Region into economic prosperity as well as become more environmentally sustainable.\textsuperscript{70} The Russians are not wrong to gear the Games in a nationalistic fashion; however, the Sochi experience is more indicative of a post-Cold War rise of Russia than it is of regional development.

India is an interesting exception to the trend that has been noted thus far of BRICS countries either hosting or expressing interest in hosting the Olympic Games. Even among the BRICS, India appears to be an anomaly; though India’s GDP growth rate is currently second highest among the nations, India’s investment grade is at BBB- (as rated by Standard & Poor), which is lowest in the group.\textsuperscript{71} India’s young population is growing more and more interconnected at the

same time that its older population is losing touch. The dichotomy between the rich and poor is clearly visible in the cities, slums, and undeveloped rural areas. Sustained growth is not a guarantee for any BRICS country, but India is experiencing a downturn that is a likely contributor to its relationship with international sporting events.

Among the BRIC countries, India is the only country that has yet to bid for the Olympic Games (excepting South Africa, who is putting together a 2024 bid). Instead, India has had a strong showing at the Commonwealth Games, which is an international sporting event exclusive to Britain and her former colonies. Delhi, India was the host of the 2010 Commonwealth Games, which was the largest international sporting event it had ever hosted. These Games had their fair share of criticism, including slowness in getting ready for the games, poor conditions at the athletes village, and possible government corruption. Although some new government projects were put into place, like a new international airport and metro lines, the destitute conditions of many in the country were set aside as the focus turned to putting “its best face forward.”

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75 Ibid.
76 Ibid.
Sara Sidner of CNN News and others claim that the 2010 Commonwealth Games are a huge factor in whether or not India will even be among the list of future bidders for the Olympics or other sporting events. There was talk of a 2020 Olympic bid, but this seems to have been dropped in the aftermath of the Commonwealth Games, as was predicted by the head of the Commonwealth Games Organizing Committee, Suresh Kalmadi. If India were to seriously consider an Olympic bid, it would need to reconsider the problems encountered during the Commonwealth Games, preempt international pressure to deal with its own very poor population, and do more than just talk of Delhi as a global city.

While China falls fourth in the BRICS acronym, it has actually had the most recent experience with Olympic hosting. China has the highest GDP growth rate among the BRICS at 9.3% annually, which has fallen only slightly from previous years. Even in the midst of a global financial crisis, China still did well; China has been lifting its people from poverty, increasing its exporting power, and increasing its overall influence in the region and worldwide. However, China has also faced allegations of currency manipulation as well as dealing with other issues related to its growing population and fewer resources.

80 Ibid.
China recently had its chance to host the Summer Olympic Games in 2008. The win itself was controversial in nature because of human rights violations and pollution issues in Beijing, but China still won in the second round of voting with 56 votes. In what was considered China’s “coming-out party” on the international stage, organizers did not disappoint. Preceding the Games, Beijing launched a project to combat the severe air pollution problem in Beijing that shut down factories, banned cars from the road, and more. The Opening Ceremony was charged with images of the historical significance of Chinese technologies as well as a huge show of synchronized human power.

Even more important than the staging of the Games themselves, the legacy of the Games that is now emerging is an essential consideration for Beijing. Official IOC resources claim that facilities are still being used effectively, social issues are being resolved, more sustainability measures are being taken, and sport has become a lifestyle for many citizens. However, the iconic Bird’s Nest stadium built for the 2008 Games may take up to three decades to pay off, putting

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a heavy burden on Chinese citizens and their government. The Water Cube has remained a professional sports venue with the addition of recreational swimming for the general population. Beijing has also experienced a backslide in terms of air pollution since the 2008 Games, meaning the temporary measures taken to prepare for the Olympics did not provide sustainable long-term benefits in terms of pollution.

A look at the Chinese Olympics reveals that however successful the 2008 Games were, they are by no means an indicator of change in the rest of the region. China is an emerging superpower in its own right, with little regard for the development of the rest of the region. China has been in a constant battle with other Asian countries over water rights, ethnic issues, and sovereignty (such as what is happening in Tibet). Unlike Brazil, which called forth a message of both regional and national development, China was in it for the good of China. The presence of nationalism in the Olympics is not a new concept, but China’s staging of the 2008 Games will mean a lot more for China as an individual nation than it will for the region as a whole.

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South Africa is the last of the BRICS countries, and has only recently been added to the acronym. In fact, some still include it parenthetically, as indicated in the title of this chapter. South Africa is also not the fastest growing of the set of countries, with a GDP growth rate of only 3.12 percent.\textsuperscript{88} The “S” of the BRICS is considered the gateway into African markets for further development and investment opportunities.\textsuperscript{89} South Africa is still reconciling its history of apartheid and Nelson Mandela’s idea of a rainbow nation. South Africa’s history with sport has, in turn, provided an “ideal catalyst for change…the capacity to break down barriers and forge the links in the nation building chain.”\textsuperscript{90}

Some African countries look to South Africa as the leader of the African continent because of its growth in the past few decades and increasing role in the international community, such as its (partial) inclusion in the BRIC community. Yet, South Africa’s unique history in terms of colonization and apartheid means that it is already naturally set apart from the rest of the continent. Despite this difference, it is true that some African countries may still see South Africa as a trendsetter and follow in the footsteps of their more developed counterpart. Indeed, South Africa has been the first on the continent to host a mega-event with

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{90} James Riordan and Arnd Kruger, \textit{The International Politics of Sport in the 20th Century} (New York: Routledge, 1999), 234.
\end{itemize}
\end{footnotesize}
its staging of the 2010 World Cup. The results of this event were highly anticipated because they would dictate South Africa’s chances at hosting future events like the Olympics. Despite South Africa’s traditional separation from conversations about the rest of Africa, Thabo Mbeki described the 2010 World Cup as “not a South African event, but an African one.”\textsuperscript{91} Games like these can often serve as a catalyst for improving conditions in areas where it is needed most, much like what happened in London during the 2012 Games. Despite this hope, expected losses from the Games were thought to exceed $5 billion for South Africa (2010 estimates).\textsuperscript{92} Even with all good intentions in mind, poverty alleviation measures are not always successful. As shown by other mega-events like the 1996 Atlanta Olympics, these sorts of projects often result in evictions and an exacerbation of social issues.\textsuperscript{93}

Although South Africa had a number of challenges during the World Cup, including controversy surrounding vuvuzela usage that was considered a “show of culture” by some and an annoyance by others, there were some successes that can be drawn from the games.\textsuperscript{94} The South African government has now launched a R450 million (approximately USD$ 49 million) 2010 FIFA World Cup Legacy

\textsuperscript{91} Udesh Pillay and Orli Bass, “Mega-events as a Response to Poverty Reduction: The 2010 World Cup and Urban Development,” Human Sciences Research Council,” \textit{The Urban Legacy of the 2010 Football World Cup}, 2009, pp. 76-95.
\textsuperscript{92} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{93} Ibid.
Trust, which is said to provide benefits to South African citizens for years to come.\textsuperscript{95} Part of the funds will go towards the development of football within South Africa as well as transportation for local teams to enable better access to national competitions.\textsuperscript{96}

South Africa’s foray into international sport is not yet over. The country is seriously pursuing a 2024 Summer Olympic bid, despite a loss in 2004 against Athens.\textsuperscript{97} The head organizer for the 2010 World Cup, Danny Jordaan, proclaimed, “in the International Olympic Committee there is a strong understanding that the time has come to hold the Games in Africa.”\textsuperscript{98} Their staging of the 2010 World Cup and Olympic bid may be the driving force behind international sport in Africa. Kenya may also be considering a bid for the 2024 Games for the first time, and others may be soon to follow. If any African country is going to host the Olympic Games, South Africa is on the top of the list, followed by others which are quickly becoming emerging economies.

\textsuperscript{96} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{98} Ibid.
Chapter 6: FIFA and the Lost Continents

The Olympics cannot be presented singularly without also considering other major international sporting organizations. The Fédération Internationale de Football Association (FIFA) is one of the major rivals in contemporary sport. With over 700 million television viewers, the World Cup is the biggest and most widely viewed single-event sporting competition in the world.\(^9^9\) Although the Olympics and the World Cup are fundamentally different in this respect (a multi-sport versus single-sport system), their overarching organizations are at times considered in tandem. FIFA’s role in relation to the developing world is markedly different than that of the IOC. FIFA’s focus on Latin America and Africa has resulted in World Cups in South Africa, Mexico, Argentina, Chile, Brazil, and Uruguay.\(^1^0^0\) Their bidding processes are different as well. If these practices are proven to be more conducive to developing countries’ attempts, then perhaps they provide a potential solution to traditionally disadvantaged countries attempting to bid for other mega-events like the Olympics.

“When it was founded in Paris in 1904, it [FIFA] had seven members; today that number is close to 200, more than the member nations of the United

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\(^1^0^0\) Ibid.
Nations.”\textsuperscript{101} Jules Rimet is the recognized founder of the World Cup, which is now one of the largest international sporting events, second only to the Olympics.\textsuperscript{102} James Riordan, in his study on the international politics of sport, states:

Soccer has become synonymous in some non-soccer countries with riots and spectator violence, yet only soccer, of all the football codes, has produced not only a genuine global competition, but one which has continued to flourish since its modest début in far from modest surroundings in 1930. \textit{James Riordan}, 33

The World Cup has its roots in the Olympic Games; Jules Rimet and Henri Delaunay campaigned at the 1924 Paris Olympics and four years later won acceptance for their idea.\textsuperscript{103} The first World Cup was held in Uruguay, who paid for travel and accommodation for all the competing countries. FIFA’s first years were fraught with external politics, despite claims that “soccer has nothing to do with politics.”\textsuperscript{104}

Major shifts occurred in the 1950s during decolonization when African, Asian, and South American nations called for integration in world sport. FIFA had 80 affiliated members in the mid 1950s, including only 5 from Africa. By the 1970s, they had 141 members, 39 of which were African.\textsuperscript{105} At this time FIFA was also splitting into regional confederations to better structure football

\textsuperscript{101} James Riordan and Arnd Kruger, \textit{The International Politics of Sport in the 20th Century} (New York: Routledge, 1999), 28.
\textsuperscript{102} Ibid, 31.
\textsuperscript{103} Ibid, 34.
\textsuperscript{104} Ibid, 35.
\textsuperscript{105} Ibid, 36.
competitions. African countries in particular recognized the importance of sport and being party to international sporting organizations. Kwame Nkrumah was a champion for sport in his country of Ghana. Football, more than other sports, was a way to mobilize the youth of Ghana and instill a sense of pride and self-respect. For other emerging African countries, membership in international sporting organizations was just as important for improving their position in international affairs. Joining international organizations like the Confederation of African Football and United Nations often went hand in hand.

The FIFA Executive Committee is a much smaller body than the IOC, but FIFA consists of more decision-making bodies overall. The Executive Committee currently has 8 Europeans, 4 South Americans, 5 Africans, 5 Asians, 2 Middle Easterners, 1 Latin American, and 1 North American.

The bidding process for the World Cup is similar to the Olympic Games, except that bids are done in tandem. In March 2009, countries registered to bid for the 2018 and 2022 FIFA World Cups. By September 2009, countries had to establish their bid committees, and in December they submitted signatures on Bidding Agreements. In May 2010, they submitted their Bidding Documents to

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FIFA. From July to September of 2010, FIFA held inspection visits to bidding sites. In December 2010, the FIFA Executive Committee appointed the host countries of the 2018 FIFA World Cup and 2022 World Cup.\textsuperscript{110} The bidders for the 2018 World Cup were England, Holland and Belgium (joint bid), Russia, Spain and Portugal (joint bid). The bidders for the 2022 World Cup were Australia, Holland and Belgium (joint bid), Japan, South Korea, Qatar, Spain and Portugal (joint bid), and the USA. Russia won the 2018 World Cup bid, and Qatar will host the 2020 World Cup.

African countries are missing from these lists, mainly because of a policy that was suspended just prior to the 2018 bidding process. FIFA used to have a policy of rotating the World Cup finals between regional confederations, but has recently dropped it due to issues that arose during the 2014 World Cup bids. South Africa was a beneficiary of the policy that barred the World Cup from being held in the same confederation two times in a row, meaning that each (regional) confederation would have an equal opportunity at the World Cup. However, this meant that the Latin American bid, after Colombia dropped, was only one candidate- Brazil. Though Brazil was still a strong candidate, it was not necessarily the ideal candidate out of all the countries that could have bid.

Because of this snafu, FIFA dropped the policy. South America and Africa, as

previous beneficiaries, were thus barred from bidding until Oceania, Europe, North America, and Asia could have their chance.\textsuperscript{111}

There is not as much information available about the exact bidding process and the cost. England estimates that they lost USD$ 31.7 million bidding for the 2018 World Cup, which is the highest known number of the lost bids.\textsuperscript{112} Cost estimates for the South African bid are not available at this time.

Is the World Cup truly less expensive than the Olympic Games? A few components must be considered when looking at the true cost of hosting a mega-event: the number of spectators, number of venues to be built (and their respective scopes), and how long the competition lasts. The South African budget allocation towards hosting the 2010 World Cup is as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Component</th>
<th>Amount</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Stadiums</td>
<td>$1.12 billion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transportation</td>
<td>$1.2 billion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Broadcasting</td>
<td>$387 million</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Safety and Security</td>
<td>$89 million</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ports of Entry</td>
<td>$200 million</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Training of Volunteers</td>
<td>$3 million</td>
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<tr>
<td>Legacy Projects</td>
<td>$45 million</td>
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</tbody>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Arts and Culture-related projects</th>
<th>$20 million</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Organizing Committee</td>
<td>$428 million</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This results in a total estimated cost of the 2010 World Cup at $3.5 billion.\(^{113}\)

In contrast, the 2012 London Olympics (and Paralympics) are said to have cost $13.4 billion.\(^{114}\) This cost comprised 0.54% of the total GDP of the UK (2011 estimates).\(^{115}\) London hosted 8,000+ athletes and 350,000 spectators for 183 days of competition (Olympics and Paralympics combined), and included 25,000 workers.\(^{116}\) The South African World Cup, on the other hand, hosted 3,178,856 spectators for 31 days of competition.\(^{117}\) This cost comprised 0.96% of the total GDP of South Africa (2010 estimates).\(^{118}\)

The benefits of hosting the FIFA World Cup, according to FIFA regulatory documents, include:

1. A catalyst for new and improved facilities to support the development of the game at all levels,

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\(^{117}\) “State of the Public Service Report,” 4.

\(^{118}\) “Gross Domestic Product.”
2. Increased number of and higher quality football development programmes for both the elite game, talent identification and grassroots,

3. Increased cooperation and goodwill between the various stakeholders,

4. Increased civic pride and community empowerment as groups of stakeholders get to contribute to and support the bid,

5. Help in breaking down social barriers and high performance by both women and young people,

6. Using successful players as role models to encourage young and emerging players and to promote health and other social benefits.\(^{119}\)

Overall, the process for bidding and hosting the World Cup appears to be similar to the experience that countries endure for the Olympic Games. However, FIFA appears to be more receptive to the needs of African countries, though African countries have their own struggles dealing with FIFA and the World Cup. World Cup costs appear to be lower than Olympic costs, but part of this may be attributed to a single-sport event versus multiple sports encompassed by the Olympics.

Chapter 7: Africa: The Missing Olympic Ring

In 1914, Pierre de Coubertin presented the Olympic flag to the Paris Congress, on which was inscribed the now widely recognized five interlaced rings. The five rings represent the continents participating in the Games and at least one color from each country’s flags. At the time of this thesis, the Games have only been in three of the five continents that are supposed to be equally represented. In terms of participation, the IOC has worked to achieve just that; the IOC’s Solidarity Program offers specific benefits to women to increase their participation in sport. Despite racial tensions in the beginning, all races now enjoy equal representation at the Games according to the Olympic Charter. Despite great strides in terms of equality of participation, it appears that the same is not true for the hosting of the Games themselves - for geographic (or economic) diversity. The Olympic Games have been held predominately in North America and Europe, with a few Games in eastern Asia and Oceania, and soon in Latin America. Africa, however, seems to still be a blank space on the Olympic map.

South African and Kenyan bids for the 2024 Games may mark a shift in this trend, but for now, the tradition of Africa as the “missing Olympic ring” appears to hold fast.

IOC member Angelo Bolanki attempted to arrange the first IOC-sponsored regional games in Alexandria, Egypt in 1927.\textsuperscript{125} The French, on behalf of their former colonies sponsored the first pan-African games ever held. The games were celebrated first in Madagascar in 1960, then again in the Ivory Coast in 1961.\textsuperscript{126} By the third celebration of the games, the IOC still approved of the Jeux d’Amitié, despite exclusions of South Africa, Rhodesia, Angola and Mozambique. Avery Brundage, the IOC president at the time, nominated a Nigerian jurist Sir Adetokunbo Ademola to become the first black African member of the IOC.\textsuperscript{127} Comte Jean de Beamont saw this shift as an important avenue for promoting sport in underdeveloped countries. In 1962, he was part of a proposal of an International Olympic Aid Commission to provide technical and financial aid to third-world sports organizations.\textsuperscript{128} The commission did not last long due to insufficient funds, but it serves as an example of differentiating policy towards African National Olympic Committees.

\textsuperscript{126} Ibid, 108.
\textsuperscript{127} Ibid, 108.
\textsuperscript{128} Ibid, 108-109.
In the 1960s, the “Games were the playground of rich countries.”\(^{129}\) This was also during the height of critique of the apartheid regime in South Africa. Newly independent states of black Africa protested South African presence at the Olympics; the IOC then stated that “if the [South African] policy of racial discrimination…does not change before our Session in Nairobi takes place in October 1963,” they would suspend South Africa.\(^{130}\) Phasing out white South Africa also meant more equal representation for other African countries and their athletes. The first black African to win a gold medal was Abebe Bikila of Ethiopia; he competed in the marathon in 1960 and 1964.\(^{131}\) South Africa was (and often, still is) criticized as not being representative of the continent as a whole, thus an individual study of South Africa is not germane to understand the role of Africa in the Olympics.

Governance is a factor in denying Africa its share of the bidding process. Traditionally, Africa, the Americas, and Asia have been underrepresented in terms of International Olympic Committee membership. In 1954, the membership breakdown of the IOC was as follows: Africa, 2; Americas, 16; Asia, 10; Europe, 39; and Oceania, 3.\(^{132}\) By 1977, African representatives had increased to 13,

\(^{131}\) Ibid, 108.
\(^{132}\) Ibid, 91.
matching Asia; however, European membership only fell by one. In 1990, African membership only rose by one, and European membership stayed the same. Current IOC membership reflects a similar trend, with Asian representatives the only substantial increase: Africa, 13; Americas, 17; Asia, 24; Europe, 38; and the addition of Middle Eastern countries with 9 representatives. Members of the IOC are instrumental during the bidding process for any country, and members often cannot turn a blind eye to the nationalities of the bidders nor their own allegiances. Africa could use more allies in the executive rungs of decision-making.

Fundamental concerns about sports administration in African countries may also play into the role of Africa so far in the Olympic Games. At the London 2013 Games, the Africa Village at London’s Kensington Gardens closed prematurely because of debt issues with the company managing the village and suppliers. The Nigerian government did not release USD$ 14 million in funds meant to help the Nigerian contingent prepare for the games until three months before the ceremony. Another notable trend in sport has been that of athletes defecting to the host country. During the London Games, seven athletes from

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136 Ibid.
Cameroon went missing, seeking political asylum and refuge from the situation in their home country.\textsuperscript{137} Such defections pose problems for both the home and host countries and expose deeper issues with governance in African countries that cannot necessarily be ameliorated by hosting sporting events. Host countries must prepare their immigration departments to handle possible defections, and member nations must also find ways to protect and sometimes even track their athletes. Asylum seekers are almost always granted asylum, though each case (and host government) varies.

Though interest in participating in the Games is on the rise, are there any examples of African countries bidding for the Games and losing? The known African bids for the Olympics so far are: Cape Town, South Africa: 2004; Cairo, Egypt: 2008; Cape Town, South Africa: 2024; and Nairobi, Kenya: 2024.\textsuperscript{138} The Kenyan bid is a particularly interesting one because it will be the first by a sub-Saharan African country. Egypt is often an exception because of its proximity to the Middle East, and South Africa is also often not included due to reasons previously noted.

Kenyan athletes are often noted for their strength in track-and-field events; sport is “involved in the everyday education of young Kenyans.”\textsuperscript{139} Kenya first...

announced the possibility of an Olympic bid in 2004; almost nine years after the fact, Kenya has yet to present a substantial bid. Kenyan Prime Minister Raila Odinga still states, however, that Nairobi is going for the 2024 games.

Developments in sport have been slow in coming through the Kenyan government, as a Sports Bill meant to solidify sports policy guidelines that was first presented in 2002 still has not come to fruition.\textsuperscript{140} Kenya also still has a long way to come in terms of updating decades-old sports facilities and improving overall infrastructure. Although this is not a steadfast necessity for bidding, many cities pursuing an Olympic bid begin infrastructure projects long before the bidding even begins.

Kenya is not the prime example of development in Africa due to issues with corruption, unemployment, and an unstable economy.\textsuperscript{141} Kenya’s economy is not one of the largest growing in sub-Saharan Africa, with Ghana rising at an estimated 13.5 percent and neighboring Ethiopia at 7.5 percent.\textsuperscript{142} However, these countries are not bidding for the Olympics right now. The seed has been planted, though, and the more confident countries become, the more African bids the international community might see in the future. Perhaps Africa will soon see an

\textsuperscript{142} http://www.indexmundi.com/map/?v=66&r=af&l=en
Olympics from a stable and democratic country that will change the international perception of Africa as a poor and corrupt continent.

Despite some glimmers of hope, it seems that the IOC still has to catch up with changing dynamics in the international sphere. South Africa is not the only rising power coming out of Africa anymore. Nigeria, Angola, Ghana, and Ethiopia are also experiencing immense natural resource wealth that has resulted in economic booms. Ghana in particular is named one of the fastest-growing economies in the world at 14.3% in 2011. Many of the cases of economic booms in Africa tend to be due to natural resources. Mega-events might provide an opportunity for countries to improve their infrastructure for sustainable economic growth after natural resources are depleted.

Democratic governments do not exist everywhere in Africa, but they are on the rise. Although this thesis does not focus on North Africa, the Arab Spring means a notable change for democratization on the continent. However, previous marginalization means that African countries still have a long way to go to catch up with the traditional set of countries that host the games. Robert Barney, professor at the International Center of Olympic Studies at the University of Western Ontario notes that “the fact…that no African nation to date has hosted an Olympic Games is a significant one, and its explanation can be readily rendered in

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the causal logic of the market; these nations, we are told, simply lack the necessary financial resources." Does the International Olympic Committee have any obligation to help close this gap, treating the Olympics as a foreign aid project? Or, should the Olympics be considered as they are, with no exceptions given to African countries or others that have been marginalized?

To the critics who ask why African countries should be treated differently that would also benefit from hosting the Games, one question in response is: has not the international community always treated Africa differently? From the time that Europeans "discovered" the continent, to the Trans-Atlantic slave trade, to the era of colonialism and subsequent decolonization, and in today's era of overinflated foreign aid, Africa has always appeared to be an exception. Whether they are being exempted from any perceived benefits or drawbacks in the international system, Africa has been separated throughout history.

Why should African (or other traditionally disadvantaged countries) care about hosting the Olympics? Despite criticisms, there are notable examples of the benefits of hosting an Olympic Games. Barcelona is often cited as one of the success stories; efforts to clean up the beachfront in Barcelona that used to be an industrial dumping ground transformed the area into what has now become a prized possession. Though infrastructural benefits were noted with the London

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Games, it is quite possibly true for many others. As the BBC Olympics Podcast claims, “as cost increased on the Games, so does demand- to make us better, healthier people; to promote social inclusion; to contribute to the economy; even foster peace among nations.”\(^{146}\) On a more cultural level, the Olympics are said to reinforce national identity in a positive manner; citizens will take pride in a country worthy of the Olympic rings.\(^ {147}\) Sport, among other avenues, is also a way to safely express emotion and energy, neither of which are foreign concepts to people of often heavily religiously or ethnically divided countries. The Olympics will not solve every problem faced by a country, and sometimes even exacerbate them further. However, there is much to be said for a successful staging of the Games and post-Olympic sentiment. An Olympic host city remains an Olympic city forever and that legacy is unparalleled in modern sport.

In conclusion, the path to equal representation in the IOC and the Olympic Games has not been easy nor is it over for the African continent. Although developing countries are handicapped now, this may not always be the case. As New York Times journalist Barry Bearak notes, “perceptions change, and [I] think the international sports community will always be looking at opportunities to give Africa a chance.”\(^ {148}\) The next few chapters deal with the ways in which

\(^{146}\) Ibid.


\(^{148}\) Barry Bearak, interview by Amanda Fendrick, e-mail interview, December 10, 2012.
countries have dealt with the potentially fragmented system proposed by the IOC and whether the IOC has a responsibility to deal with these fractures.
Chapter 8: The Reactionary Games: Alternative Solutions to a Potentially Fragmented System

If the IOC, FIFA, and other world sporting organizations operated in a politically neutral, perfectly fair and honest system, there would be no need for any other organizations to exist. However, at various points in history, numerous countries have found fault with the system and have attempted to create their own versions of the Olympics and other world sporting events. Notable examples among these so-called reactionary games (sporting events created in opposition to IOC or FIFA policies) include the Worker Olympics, Games of the New Emerging Forces (GANEFO), the Goodwill Games, and others. By presenting these reactionary games, the aim is to expose the exclusionary flaws of the international sporting organizations that these games are trying to solve and find other potential solutions.

One of the first athletic competitions organized to compete against the Olympics occurred less than 50 years after the start of the Modern Olympic Games in 1896. The Worker Olympics came about in the early 1920s as a response to what athletes were beginning to call the “bourgeoisie” Olympics.\textsuperscript{149} The Olympics have traditionally promoted the idea that participation should be exclusive, based either on athletic ability, socio-economic status, or geographical

\textsuperscript{149}James Riordan and Arnd Kruger, \textit{The International Politics of Sport in the 20th Century} (New York: Routledge, 1999), 109.
location.\textsuperscript{150} The Worker Olympics, on the other hand, promoted mass participation and a high level of cultural integration and pageantry.\textsuperscript{151} At the inception of the Worker Olympics, support for the games was fierce. Unlike the traditional Olympic Games which tend to hide or even deny political influences, the Worker Olympics were at their core truly political.\textsuperscript{152} Though versions of the Worker Olympics were held in 1925 and 1928, the games truly picked up speed during the 1931 Vienna games. Lucerne Sport International, one of the founding groups of the games, had at that point over two million members.\textsuperscript{153} It is estimated that the winter festival in Vienna exceeded the 1932 Lake Placid Olympic Games in terms of spectators, participants, and pageantry.\textsuperscript{154}

In response to the alarming popularity of the Worker Olympics, the very governments that participants were opposing decided to step in and stop the event. The third Worker Olympics that was scheduled to occur in Barcelona in 1936 never happened due to political pressures and the gathering storm preceding World War II.\textsuperscript{155} Athletes from the Worker Olympics were often banned from their sport by national federations; participants in the simultaneous “Nazi

\textsuperscript{150} Ibid, 109.  
\textsuperscript{151} James Riordan and Arnd Kruger, \textit{The International Politics of Sport in the 20\textsuperscript{th} Century} (New York: Routledge, 1999), 109.  
\textsuperscript{152} Ibid, 109.  
\textsuperscript{153} Ibid, 111-112.  
\textsuperscript{154} Ibid, 112.  
\textsuperscript{155} Ibid, 112.
Olympics,” however, did not face any repercussions for having supported, in a
way, the Nazi regime.\textsuperscript{156}

Worker Olympics had a goal to oppose capitalism and exclusionary
policies by the International Olympic Committee. The Worker Olympics labored
to include any and all, including those who would not have met athletic standards
set by the IOC. The Worker Olympics were far less serious in substance and
emphasized pageantry more than sport. However, the Worker Olympics did not
prove to be a viable solution to all of the issues presented by the IOC. The fact
that the Worker Olympics were truly political in nature meant that there was no
neutral ground for countries to stand on. In a post-1989 world, reactionary games
rooted in Communist ideals may not flourish quite like they did in the 1920s and
1930s if they were implemented today.

When applied to the question at hand, the Worker Olympics only tackle
one of the problems facing developing countries in the realm of international
sport. The games were “more inclusive,” but they were not geographically
diverse. No countries outside of Europe participated in or hosted the Worker
Olympics. The focus of the games was primarily political statement and pageant,
very much unlike the traditional Olympic Games. Although there are few
elements to directly compare and contrast with the Olympics, some assumptions
might claim that the Worker Olympics did not live up to the athletic prestige of an

\textsuperscript{156} James Riordan and Arnd Kruger, \textit{The International Politics of Sport in the 20th Century} (New
York: Routledge, 1999), 113.
Olympic competition. Any reactionary games that exist today would need to be rooted apolitically and be a comparable alternative in terms of athletic prestige to the Olympic Games.

Another notable example of games organized in response to ills of the IOC is the Games of the New Emerging Forces (GANEFO), which emerged from the 1963 Asian Games in Jakarta, Indonesia.\textsuperscript{157} The Indonesian government had denied visas to Israeli and Nationalist Chinese teams, for which the Indonesian National Olympic Committee filed no protest.\textsuperscript{158} The IOC declared these Games not IOC-sponsored, hence cutting ties with Indonesia and eventual IOC suspension on February 7, 1963.\textsuperscript{159} In response to this suspension, President Sukarno formed the Games of the New Emerging Forces. Sukarno was clear about the purpose of these games by declaring, “frankly...sport has something to do with politics” and did not attempt to make GANEFO apolitical by any means.\textsuperscript{160}

Participants of GANEFO included China, Cambodia, North Vietnam, Pakistan, Iraq, Egypt, Syria, Mali, Guinea, and the USSR. The games cost Indonesia about $6 million, which resulted in a tax hike for Indonesian citizens.\textsuperscript{161}

\textsuperscript{158} Ibid, 109.
\textsuperscript{159} Ibid, 109.
\textsuperscript{160} Ibid, 110.
By 1964, Indonesia was able to strike a deal with the IOC once more and reintegrate into the Olympic world; they had made their statement and were ready to return to the Games they had once criticized.\textsuperscript{162}

Much like the Worker Olympics, GANEFO was rooted in politics and did not prove to be a sustainable alternative to the Olympics. Though more non-traditional locations were included, especially Southeast Asia (another area often neglected by the IOC), the games were not meant to last. The games still proved expensive for Indonesia, thus not successfully solving the issue that many developing countries face in terms of rising cost.

Among the other prominent reactionary games that existed after GANEFO, the Goodwill Games garnered the support of nearly 20,000 athletes during the 16 years of operation.\textsuperscript{163} The Goodwill Games began in 1986 by Ted Turner during the Cold War to ease tensions through sport.\textsuperscript{164} The games were dubbed “goodwill” because revenues were donated to charity. Host cities included Seattle, WA; St. Petersburg, Russia; New York City, NY; Brisbane, Australia; and Lake Placid, NY.

Despite the Goodwill Games’ modest popularity at the time, the games are yet another example of a political response through sport that only garnered short-
term success. The Goodwill Games were not necessarily pointing out any particular issues with the Olympics or the World Cup, but rather attempting to ameliorate Cold War tensions. Even the title of the games suggests that they were meant to serve a different purpose than other world sporting events. The goal was not athletic prestige, but rather enterprising on a peaceful competition among traditionally warring countries. The Goodwill Games also did not take developing countries into account, but this may not have been an option at the time. With proxy wars being fought across Latin America and Africa (the two more traditionally underrepresented regions in hosting world sports), it would have been dangerous to even consider putting the Goodwill Games anywhere else.

The trend in the reactionary games observed thus far is that they exist in response to a singular political event, gain support, but then lose steam as distance grows between politics and the reactionary sporting event. It is difficult to match the unique nature of the Olympics or even the World Cup, and even more difficult to match the athletic and personal prestige allotted by the Games. The Worker Olympics tried to tackle the issue of “bourgeoisie” games, but World War II brought them to a close. GANEFO was closer to identifying the issue of exclusionary practices of the IOC, but Indonesia’s return to the IOC meant the end for GANEFO. The Goodwill Games existed only in the context of the Cold War, and did not gather enough support to exist for much longer beyond the fall of the USSR. There are faults in the international sporting system that are not
easily solved by simple defection to other events. Thus, it is important to understand whether the IOC has a specific responsibility to developing countries to help close these gaps, or if developing countries must consider other options in the realm of international sport.
Chapter 9: Understanding Responsibility to Developing Nations

Do international sporting committees have a responsibility to the developing world? The word “responsibility” must be defined as it is potentially problematic and assumes that responsibility in the international realm even exists. If such responsibility exists, then it can be assumed that practices by the IOC would reflect either their adherence or non-adherence to this tenet. If they have in fact been creating institutions or rules to reflect adherence, why have they not helped developing countries host the games thus far? If they have not been adhering to their responsibility as an international entity, what should be done about this predicament?

The Merriam-Webster definition of responsibility is that of a “moral, legal, or mental accountability.” In terms of international relations, a few questions are usually asked: who is the responsible agent? For what are they responsible for, and to what parties? Further, what action should be taken if they do not fulfill these obligations? The United Nations have proposed draft articles on the responsibility of international organizations, which are still vague but at least enumerate that international organizations have certain obligations to their

members as detailed in their official documentation. Thus, we must look to the Olympic Charter to see if there are any fundamental principles that match the marginalization of developing countries from hosting the games. Number Six of the Mission and Role of the IOC statements declares that: “[the IOC shall] act against any form of discrimination affecting the Olympic Movement.” In the past, this mission statement has been interpreted to mean discrimination from participation in the Games, which has been one of the great achievements of the Olympic Movement thus far. If this mission statement is also interpreted to mean hosting the Games, then the IOC has failed to uphold its responsibility to developing countries as part of the Olympic Movement. In this work, I do argue that this responsibility exists, because of the IOC’s role as an international, transparent organization with obligations to its members.

The IOC’s Olympic Solidarity program is one step towards providing assistance to National Olympic Committees aiming to participate in the Olympic Movement. A few important objectives of the Olympic Solidarity program are:

1. to assist the NOCs in the preparation of their athletes and teams for their participation in the Olympic games;


2. to improve the technical level of athletes and coaches in cooperation with NOCs and IFs, including through scholarships;

3. to create, where needed, simple, functional and economical sports facilities in cooperation with national or international bodies;

4. to urge governments and international organizations to include sport in official development assistance.\textsuperscript{168}

These objectives have been applied to NOCs working to increase and improve athletic participation, but thus far have not been applicable in terms of hosting the Games. There appears to be little delineated in the principles of Olympic Solidarity that could be applicable to assistance for hosting the Games.

Defining responsibility and its relationship with international sporting organizations is assuming that there are benefits to be reaped from becoming a host of a mega sporting event. Though the costs are clear and have been delineated in previous chapters, there are yet unmentioned benefits of hosting an international sporting event. James Riordan identifies a few key benefits that were relevant to South Africa’s role in hosting the 2010 World Cup:

1. Sport can help reinforce national identity.

2. Sport can be a safe outlet of emotional energy, and at times as a substitute for political action.

3. Sport provides an arena for traditionally disadvantaged nations to assert themselves in the realm of international affairs.

4. Sport operates in the context of social ambiance; the game at its core is not biased - the political sphere is what dictates those biases.

5. Sport can bolster the working-class in ways that politics, economics, and social situations cannot.¹⁶⁹

Major sporting events often serve as catalysts for major urban renewal projects, such as sporting facilities, airport renovations, new highways and rapid transit systems, new telecommunications infrastructure, and more.¹⁷⁰ Tragic cases like the debts following the Montréal Games have caused alarm in the international community, however Robert Barney (of the International Centre for Olympic Studies), states that, “the world of telecommunications and marketing and the Olympic movement itself have all changed dramatically, and the commercialization of the Olympics has brought so much corporate money as to make public indebtedness on the scale of Montreal highly unlikely (though the experience of Athens suggests that there are still valid grounds for caution here.)”¹⁷¹ Further, not all countries lose money on the Olympic Games. The 1984 Los Angeles Games are notable for their estimated USD$ 222 million profit,

¹⁶⁹ James Riordan and Arnd Kruger, *The International Politics of Sport in the 20th Century* (New York: Routledge, 1999), 234
¹⁷¹ Ibid, 372.
mostly garnered from television rights, commercial sponsorship and ticket sales. Los Angeles was able to utilize existing facilities and spread the Games out to avoid overbearing the resources of Los Angeles.¹⁷²

As of now, developing countries do not have access to the benefits of hosting the Olympic Games. They may participate, but only insofar as they can afford. The lengthy and costly bidding process means that countries that are already at a disadvantage will only fall further away from more developed countries. I can conclude with a few possible solutions for developing countries that find themselves faced with this problem.

Chapter 10: Conclusions

The Olympic Games, as they are now, are flawed. They are too expensive, Eurocentric and American-centric, and politicized. However, the trends in terms of location, environmental sustainability, and more diverse bidding countries means that the Olympics are not doomed for failure. The IOC and the Olympic Games need a fundamental shift if they are to be what their creed states: that the Olympics are not just about winning, but about taking part. Developing countries, especially those in sub-Saharan Africa, have been disadvantaged over time and must overcome a multitude of obstacles to reach their goals. In lieu of simply exposing this issue, I propose a few solutions for African countries hoping to host the Games or other world sporting events in the future.

No action

Assuming no action means that African countries should act as they do now by participating in and bidding for the Games where relevant. This means coming to terms with the fact that the Games are expensive and in a number of cases, if not most, countries either come out even or lose money by hosting mega-events. The perceived benefits of the Games come at just as high a cost, so countries must weigh the two against each other.

Defection

Developing countries also have the choice to defect from the Olympic Games to other existing international sporting events (like the World Cup, the Commonwealth Games, or others) or to their own manifestations of world sporting events. Choosing to bid for other world sporting events can be potentially problematic, as shown by the study of the World Cup. Creating their own form of the Olympics can also be problematic, like the Worker Olympics, GANEFO, and the Goodwill Games, which all eventually led to failure. Creating their own form of an international sporting event would take possibly even more infrastructure, finances, and international support.

Fundamental change

I propose fundamental change in international sporting organizations to pave the way for more possibilities for developing countries. If the games are too expensive or unsustainable, then it should be the IOC’s responsibility to either provide financial assistance to the host country or provide a clearer plan for creating sustainable and efficient games. Past Olympic hosts are already required to communicate with future hosts, and bidders must visit any Olympic Games that occur from the beginning of the bidding process until the selection. A formalization of this process in writing (and possibly even in the form of policy) could lead to more cost-effective games. Further, perhaps the IOC could adopt a
policy like FIFA’s where the Olympic Games could not be in the same continent two times in a row to include more regions of the world. I propose that the IOC expand upon its current development projects that focus on the sport and participation to include the staging of the Games. Only when fundamental changes like this have occurred can the majority of developing countries have a chance at the prestige that comes with hosting the Olympic Games.

I foresee a different financial structure existing within the IOC to make the Olympic Games more accessible to developing countries. The IOC should consider capping the amount that countries can spend on an Olympic bid, because that appears to be one of the most exuberant and unnecessary costs of the entire process. A simplified bidding process might lead to more bidding countries which may be more administratively difficult, but is necessary in the creation of a more equal Olympic Games. If the IOC means to support the original principle of “Games for all,” then they might also consider a payment system for all participating nations. If each NOC contributed to the cost of hosting the Olympic Games, they might be more invested and take more of the financial burden off of the host country. Joint bids between two cities or even two countries appear to be more common in both Olympic and World Cup bids, and this might be the future of hosting for international sporting events. No country should be left alone to fend for themselves in an Olympic Movement meant to include, and assist, all nations.
According to the Olympic Charter, one of the fundamental principles of Olympism is “to place sport at the service of the harmonious development of humankind, with a view to promoting a peaceful society concerned with the preservation of human dignity.” I recommend a shift in the construction of the IOC as it relates to bidding and hosting processes to abide truly by the fundamental principles of the Olympic Movement.

If allotted more time and resources for research, I would investigate the financial structure of funding for the IOC, FIFA, and other sporting organizations in more detail. My suggestions for reducing the cost of the Games are oversimplified, but with more information concerning funding of the Games, more detailed suggestions would be possible. I would also research the role of regional games in more detail to explore the role of developing countries in setting like the African Cup of Nations or the All-Africa Games. The United Nations also has an organization titled “Sport for Development and Peace,” which partners with organizations like FIFA to bring sport to developing countries. Infrastructure already in place, like UN organizations, might also serve as viable vehicles for the goals outlined in this thesis.

Bibliography


