

The Morality of Global Sport: From Peace to Human Rights

Edited by Barbara J. Keys

Since the late 19th century, when international sports competitions began to proliferate, their proponents have offered a breathtaking array of claims about the moral benefits these events bring to the world. They promote peace around the globe. They teach fair play and mutual understanding. They work to combat racial, ethnic, gender, religious, and national discrimination. In more recent years, combatting poverty through development, protecting the environment, and promoting human rights have been added to the list. Scholars rarely probe these assertions, for the most part treating them as rhetorical flourishes designed to lend an air of legitimacy to hugely lucrative entertainment extravaganzas. After all, what kind of evidence could one adduce to support the contention that during the last bloody century, international sports competitions produced or encouraged peaceful behavior among nations? The benefits of international sport are assumed, never tested or measured.

Yet it would be a mistake not to take these ideas seriously. This volume aims to do just that, by providing the first comprehensive, sustained investigation of these ideas and their historical development in our contemporary era, roughly since the end of the Second World War.

The moral claims of sports mega-events enjoy widespread legitimacy. They are cited approvingly by world leaders and circulated widely in global media. A search of media databases for “sport” and “mutual understanding” from 2008-2014 pulls up nearly 1,000 hits in media outlets in over fifty countries. Since the 1990s the United Nations has aligned itself with “Olympic values,” flying the UN flag at all Olympic venues to symbolize a commonality of purpose between the UN and the Olympic Games. UN officials frequently underline this symbiosis in public statements, as Secretary General Kofi Annan did in his message to the 2000 Sydney Olympic Games: “Olympic ideals are also United Nations ideals: tolerance, equality, fair play and, most of all, peace.” To be sure, critics of sports mega-events condemn the enormous financial burdens imposed on hosts, spotlight associated injustices, and rail at the corruption and lack of accountability inside the wealthy and undemocratic organizations that run them. Yet for the most part even critics agree that these festivals carry a unique moral burden, well in excess of those imposed on other international events.

Moral expectations of international sport have been shaped above all by the Olympic Games and their overseer, the International Olympic Committee (IOC). Formed in 1894 in a milieu of peaceful internationalism, the IOC has staked its legitimacy on claims that the Games promote peace, mutual understanding, fair play, and other ethical values. According to the ideals of “Olympism,” the conduct of athletes from many nations competing together under the same rules under conditions of equality inculcates a spirit of friendship and rule-abidance that shapes competitors’ worldviews. By drawing the interest of many spectators, the idea goes, sports competitions provide a model of a world system based on peaceful competition that moves societies toward peaceful international conduct. These ideas have broad roots in 19th century Western beliefs about the ways sport and physical recreation could build both individual

character and healthy societies. More than any other group or organization, the IOC has adapted such notions to the international sphere. Other international sports competitions, such as the men's soccer World Cup, staged by international soccer federation (Fédération Internationale de Football Association, or FIFA), have been secondary participants in this process. The focus of this volume is on the Olympic Games as the most important site of moral claims-making, though the men's soccer World Cup and other sports mega-events are included to measure the spread of idealism in international sport more broadly.

This volume is based on the premise that moral claims made about sports mega-events constitute one of the most visible and significant sources of normative expectations about international affairs. Thanks to sport's extraordinary popularity, what we expect of international sport helps shape what we expect of the international order. Few events, if any, draw the level of global attention that the Olympic Games and the men's soccer World Cup excite. In 2012, an estimated 70% of the world's population participated in some way in the Olympic Games; figures for the 2010 men's soccer World Cup show close to half the world's population watching at least some of the coverage.¹ These events do not simply offer a representation of a global order; they create, reinforce, and propagate normative views about that global order, helping to constitute the moral rules and expectations that guide and inspire it.

The volume traces the origins and development of international sport's major idealistic claims and examines how they have operated in particular contexts. Chapters investigate the functions idealistic claims have served, what kind of politics they have abetted, and why they have been believable, when, and to whom. It aims to understand how different ideals have worked sometimes in tension and sometimes in harmony and how the relative power of each ideal has waxed and waned as a result of changes in international politics. The contributions probe contestation over ideals by organizers, proponents, and critics; the legitimizing strategies that have underpinned those claims; the relationship of these claims to broader currents of international idealism; and how these claims have influenced conceptions of world order.

The volume is divided into two major sections, each devoted to one overarching purpose. In the first section, each chapter examines one of the major ideals associated with sport: peace, mutual understanding among athletes, friendship among nations, anti-discrimination, and the promotion of democracy and democratic practices. Each chapter combines a broad survey with a case-study approach, sketching out large-scale patterns and then honing in on one important event or set of actors that best illuminates the workings of the ideal. Though each concept is linked with others (mutual understanding with friendship, for example), each has a distinct lineage and features.

In the second section, the book examines the dramatic shifts in the moral burdens borne by international sport as a result of the rise of human rights. Since the 1990s, when human rights organizations began to target sports mega-events, human rights have become the most prominent rubric for framing moral claims around international sport. Moral pressures on sports mega-

¹ International Olympic Committee, "London 2012 Olympic Games Broadcast Report," 2012, at www.olympic.org/Documents/IOC_Marketing/Broadcasting/London_2012_Global_%20Broadcast_report.pdf; "FIFA 2010 World Cup South Africa Television Audience Report," at www.fifa.com/mm/document/affederation/tv/01/47/32/73/2010fifaworldcupsouthafricatvaudience.pdf.

events, once grounded in issues rooted in the sports competitions themselves, have spilled over at a dizzying pace into areas with no obvious connection to sport. Human rights advocacy groups now pressure international sports competitions to promote basic freedoms (of press, speech and religion), judicial reform, and fair employment practices in countries hosting the events. Media coverage of these campaigns has been extensive. A recent study found that media outlets around the world covered human rights issues around the 2008 Olympics, the only exceptions being those in Cuba and some Muslim-majority countries.² Sports organizations, encumbered by their past idealistic claims, have adopted the position that international sport must promote human rights. The result has been high-stakes contestation over what that claim means.

In the last two decades, both Human Rights Watch and Amnesty International have devoted substantial resources to sports mega-events. The two groups have published hundreds of reports, books, and pamphlets, held conferences and staged demonstrations, gathered celebrity endorsements, and intensively lobbied governments, the United Nations, and the major sports organizations. These large-scale campaigns are significant to our understanding of the recent trajectory of human rights movements because they have been a major source of exposure to human rights arguments and claims for many people around the world. Understanding the influence of sport-related campaigns has much to tell us about the ways that human rights are perceived around the world. In addition, campaigns about sport have a different character than other kinds of human rights campaigns. They target a measurably distinct constellation of rights and do so in an optimistic, feel-good key that makes these campaigns distinct. As one Human Rights Watch official remarked in private about the group's strategy with regard to the 2008 Beijing Olympics: "we didn't want to rain on the parade."³ They have also adapted some of the moral language that sports advocates use, citing the Olympic Charter as justification for their demands, for example, in ways that have lent legitimacy to the IOC as a moral actor. The chapters in the second section of the book unpack these developments from 1980 to the present, showing how human rights have worked to supplant other idealistic frameworks and analyzing the causes and consequences of this shift.

Though Olympic officials and boosters are committed ideologues, proponents of morality in sport lack programmatic texts. The IOC Charters, which describe "Olympic principles" as well as basic rules and regulations, have been an important reference point, but a new Charter is issued every few years (even if some of the principles may remain the same for long periods). The writings of IOC founder Pierre de Coubertin are sometimes cited by initiates, but have very little wider resonance. One purpose of this volume, then, is simply to *locate* the ideals that have been most prominently associated with international sport. Which individuals and groups have been their most vigorous exponents, in which texts, and with what broader influence?

In recent years questions about the moral implications of sports mega-events have drawn substantial public interest. In the lead-up to the 2008 Summer Games in Beijing, the Olympic spotlight drew global attention to controversies over China's suppression of the Falun Gong, its support of Sudan's genocidal campaign in Darfur, and its brutal treatment of Tibetan nationalists. Around the world, politicians, intellectuals and entertainers—from Henry Kissinger to Mia

² Radoslav Sajna, "Human Rights and Olympic Games in Beijing: A Study of 20 Prestigious Newspapers from Different Continents," *International Humanities Studies* 1 (2014): 36-48.

³ Nicholas Bequelin, Human Rights Watch Hong Kong, personal communication.

Farrow—weighed in on whether staging the Games in China would legitimize and strengthen a repressive regime or whether it would produce momentum for meaningful political and social reforms. At the 2014 Sochi Winter Olympic Games, much of the global media was transfixed by a vocal debate over Russia's anti-gay “propaganda” law. Feeling the sting of criticism and controversy, the IOC has enacted reforms, strengthening its commitment to anti-discrimination and inserting human rights provisions into future host city contracts.

The moral repercussions of sports mega-events will continue to present thorny diplomatic problems. Deaths and mistreatment of migrant workers on building sites for the 2022 soccer World Cup in Qatar; questions of social and economic rights at the Rio 2016 Summer Olympic Games; and the fact that the remaining cities bidding for the 2022 Winter Games are Almaty and Beijing—both in repressive dictatorships—are indicative of problems that will continue to attract high levels of public attention. Sports organizations, governments, the United Nations and other intergovernmental bodies, and nongovernmental organizations such as Human Rights Watch will continue to wrestle with these issues.

This volume is a novel intervention in the fields of sport studies, the history of human rights, and the history of internationalism. An enormous body of work covers the politics of the Olympic Games and the soccer World Cup. The main lines of inquiry were delineated by Barrie Houlihan in his 1994 *Sport and International Politics* and have remained little changed since then: international sport as a vehicle for national prestige and legitimacy, economic interests, and cultural exchange. This volume breaks out of the traditional framework of topics and approaches by situating sport first and foremost in the realm of ideas and taking it seriously as a vehicle for idealistic internationalism. It also treats the history of human rights in a context that, despite its global visibility, human rights scholars have entirely neglected.

Market

The book is likely to appeal to a wide range of participants, observers, and scholars concerned with sports mega-events, with human rights, and with internationalism in general. These include sports administrators tasked with justifying participation in such events; the IOC, FIFA, and other major sport organizations; host city bid committees; journalists; sports studies scholars; the human rights community; scholars of human rights; and those interested in internationalism. The intense media coverage of the Olympic Games and the men’s soccer World Cup suggests that a wide range of observers would take interest in this book.

The book has no direct competitors. There is no comprehensive study of international idealism in sport and its historical development. Idealistic internationalism was a theme in the biography of Pierre de Coubertin by anthropologist John MacAloon (*This Great Symbol*, Chicago, 1981), but it has never been treated systematically. Several recent studies suggest a growing interest in the moral framework of international sport, but do not overlap with this volume. A recent book by sociologist Jules Boycoff looks at transient local activism at two recent Olympic Games (*Activism and the Olympics*, Rutgers, 2014). Similarly, a recent study by Jean Harvey et al. (*Sport and Social Movements*, Bloomsbury, 2013) argues that social movements have received little attention in sports studies and offers an account of five that “challenged the political and economic order of sport” (p. 5). The approach of these two books

differs from this volume in that they focus on small groups such as Surfers against Sewage, highlight local rather than international issues, and pay little attention to sports mega-events; they also look primarily at moral pressures generated outside sport rather than highlighting values internal to sport. Graeme Hayes and John Karamichas, in *Olympic Games, Mega-Events and Civil Societies* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), look in part at sport's "value systems" but takes a sociological approach focused on the present. In their 2012 *Discourses of Olympism* (Palgrave Macmillan), sociologists Dikaia Chatziefstathiou and Ian Henry adopt "critical discourse analysis" to understanding "Olympic knowledge," in an approach that has been criticized for the limitations of its case studies (out of four cases, one is on Carl Diem and another covers the lecturers at the International Olympic Academy). A collection edited by Giulianotti et al. (*Sport, Civil Liberties and Human Liberties*, Routledge, 2006) takes a narrow view of human rights, covering the rights of athletes and issues such as privacy and child labor in the manufacture of sporting goods rather than the broader rights concerns that have preoccupied groups such as Human Rights Watch. None of these works addresses in any depth the issues this project will tackle.

Several books have tackled human rights issues around specific Olympic Games. Minky Worden's edited volume, *China's Great Leap: The Beijing Games and Olympian Human Rights Challenges* (Seven Stories Press, 2008), aimed at a general audience, and Helen Lenskyj and Stephen Wagg, eds., *The Palgrave Handbook of Olympic Studies* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), aimed at academics, touch on a few important issues but without providing broad historical analysis. Helen Lenskyj has covered the 2000 Sydney Olympic Games, in *The Best Olympics Ever? Social Impacts of Sydney 2000* (SUNY Press, 2002); Amy Bass examines civil rights issues at 1968 in Mexico City, in *Not the Triumph but the Struggle: The 1968 Olympics and the Making of the Black Athlete* (University of Minnesota Press 2004); and Douglas Booth, among others, has written on race and sport in South Africa (*The Race Game: Politics and Sport in South Africa*, Frank Cass, 1998). Sociologist Simon Darnell's *Sport for Development and Peace* (Bloomsbury, 2012) has a chapter on sports mega-events. As yet, however, human rights history has entirely ignored sport.

Structure of the Book

1. Introduction: International Sport and International Idealism

Barbara Keys

This essay surveys the evolution of the major strands of international idealism associated with international sport from the late 19th century to the present. It examines the formation of the IOC and FIFA in the context of turn-of-the-century peaceful internationalism, tracing the lines of influence that led these groups to envision themselves as part of broader efforts to promote peace. It looks at the continuation of this peaceful idealism to the present, including the UN's endorsement of the Olympic truce and its alignment with "Olympic values" since the 1990s. It attends to the rise and fall of ideals and looks at how the ideals associated with international sport have aligned with broader trends in international idealism. It uses the boycott controversies of the 1936 Olympic Games as a lens for viewing how "human rights" did and did not come into play in international sport before World War II. Finally, it summarizes the findings of the volume as a whole.

I. The Ideals

2. **Mutual Understanding: The Origins and Functions of an Ideal**

Bruce Kidd

This chapter historically contextualizes and critically tracks the ideals of international sport as elaborated and mediated by the Olympic movement and FIFA, with an emphasis on the concept of mutual understanding and how it relates to other core ideals associated with international sport. It analyzes the reasons proponents and organizers have offered in support of arguments that sport competition enhances cross-cultural and cross-national understanding. The chapter explains how, despite tensions with the competitive ambitions and economic opportunities of “sport for sport’s sake,” the effort to marshal sport to humanistic education and mutual understanding has enjoyed broad support and has underpinned international sport’s enduring legitimacy. Since the 1960s, the idealistic dimensions of international sport have become more pronounced, in part because of the influence of other international movements.

3. **Friendship and Cooperation: Sport, Rhetoric, and Regional Relations in Southeast Asia**

Simon Creak

This chapter examines the ideals of friendship and cooperation through a case study of sports competitions in Southeast Asia. This region boasts its own biennial mini-Olympiad and the Southeast Asian (SEA) Games (1959-present), and has played a key role in the Asian Games (1951-) and the globally significant Games of the New Emerging Forces (GANEF, 1963-66). Despite divergent origins and political positions, the common ingredient linking these events is the assertion that they foster friendship and cooperation among participating nations. It would be easy to dismiss such claims as rhetorical flourishes: member nations argue, bicker and sometimes even shoot at one another, and issues such as sport selection, cheating scandals and boycotts mar the events themselves, seemingly making a mockery of official objectives. Surveying the history of the SEA Games and attendant claims of promoting friendship and cooperation among member nations—Thailand, Indonesia, Burma/Myanmar, Cambodia, the Philippines, Singapore, Malaysia, Vietnam, Brunei, Laos and East Timor—this chapter demands that we dig deeper. Why, after decades of ritual rancor, do rival countries continue to come together, ostensibly in celebration of friendship and cooperation, every second year? What do these terms mean for participants, spectators and officials when the reality seems so different? What is it about sport that permits this paradox?

4. **Peace: The United Nations and International Sport**

Roland Burke

This chapter provides the first sustained historical examination of the relationship of the UN to international sport. It demonstrates that the UN, and its specialist agency UNESCO, found key points of affinity with international sporting events by aligning with their message of peace. From the 1950s through the 1970s, in an environment in which the UN’s humanitarian and social forums were increasingly riven by Cold War and North-South division, the ambiguous

internationalism of the Olympic “movement” was one of the few avenues where harmony and “humanity” could be safely pursued and the aegis of moralism cultivated without the impediment of specifics. Praising international sport allowed ample evasion of the fundamental social and political conflicts that had attached to most agenda items that confronted the General Assembly from the 1950s onward. Global connection was presumed to be beneficial in and of itself, almost irrespective of the content and nature of that connection. From the links to sport associated with “social development” and “world youth” in the 1960s, to the alignment of UN and Olympic values in the 1990s and the establishment of the UN’s sport for development and peace program, the chapter reveals that the UN and major sports events have proposed strikingly similar ideas about how to foster peace and “progress.” United in a shared and unwavering commitment to vague virtue, both have come to rest their legitimacy on mutually constitutive foundations.

5. Anti-Racism: The Case of South Africa

Robert Skinner

Anti-apartheid campaigns from the 1950s to the 1990s took up sport as a means of pressuring the South African regime. Successful efforts to boycott South African sports teams and the country's exclusion from the Olympic Games from 1962 to 1992 played a significant role in the country's cultural isolation and arguably contributed to the end of apartheid. This chapter uses the South African case to trace the evolution of anti-discrimination principles in international sport in the post-World War II years. Although long embedded in the Olympic Charter, anti-discrimination clauses were rarely treated seriously until anti-apartheid campaigns gathered steam from the 1960s. The chapter shows that anti-apartheid campaigners harnessed moral claims, notions of Olympic ideals and the values of international sport more broadly to justify boycotts. The sports boycott also reflected changing relations of power in international institutions in the context of decolonization. The Gleneagles Accord agreed by Commonwealth members in 1977 underlined the extent to which anti-racism had become a fundamental principle of international relations. During the 1980s, the assumption that sporting relations with South Africa should be determined by political considerations was challenged by the organization of a series of “rebel” cricket tours and the re-location of major sporting events to South Africa's ethnic “Homelands.” Debates about sporting connections with South Africa presented a cultural counterpart to disputes over the relative merits of sanctions versus “constructive engagement” with the apartheid state. The pressure exerted by anti-apartheid campaigners shaped the ways organizers and backers of international sports events discussed the intersection of “politics” and sport, and had even more powerful effects on global public opinion about the moral responsibilities international sports events ought to shoulder.

6. Democracy and Democratization: The Ambiguous Legacy

Joon Seok Hong

Using the 1988 Seoul Olympic Games as a case study, the chapter situates the South Korean case in a larger history of debates about sport and democracy promotion, ranging from the 1968 Olympic Games, awarded to a one-party regime in Mexico, to the global outcry over the 1978 World Cup in Argentina, up through the 1990s debate over Beijing's bid to host the 2000 Olympic Games. The 1988 Seoul Olympic Games were a turning point in the debate about the relationship between international sporting competitions and democratization. The Games

were awarded to Seoul when South Korea was led by a repressive dictatorship, yet according to many analysts, the foreign media spotlight on the Games formed an important backdrop to popular protests against the regime and was a major factor in convincing the regime to implement political reforms. Using South Korean and IOC sources, as well as global media reports, the chapter probes the varying understandings that South Korean leaders, protestors, and the IOC brought to Olympic ideals, especially the promotion of democracy. It shows that the institutional legitimacy concerns of the IOC, which have often hinged on its claims to depoliticize the Games, acted as an impediment to democratic reform. The chapter argues that despite the inclusion of democratic practices in the pantheon of sport idealisms, for most of the 20th century democracy promotion was not considered a goal of international sport.

II. The Rise of Human Rights

7. Moscow 1980 and Sochi 2014: Dissent and Repression

Dmitry Dubrovsky

The years after the 1975 Helsinki Final Act, which included human rights provisions, were a golden age for the Soviet human rights movement that had arisen in the late 1960s. A vibrant collection of dissidents collected and published reports of repression, raising international awareness and concern about human rights in the Soviet bloc. These were also the years when the Soviet regime became increasingly eager to deflect local and international human rights pressures, in part in light of plans to host the Olympic Games in 1980. This chapter will explore the politics of the Soviet human rights movement and the attitudes of major dissidents, such as Andrei Sakharov and Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn, toward the Games. Dissidents were divided over whether the Games should be boycotted or exploited to help disseminate knowledge about human rights violations in the Soviet Union. The chapter draws on rare archival material from the Memorial and Andrei Sakharov archives. It then looks at the kinds of activism and repression seen in connection with the Sochi Winter Olympics in 2014, including the elimination of independent civil action in the Krasnodar region, the debates around Amnesty International reports on violations of human rights in Olympic construction, and the international controversy, including calls for a boycott, spurred by Russian anti-gay legislation. By taking a long view around a single country, the chapter provides an account of major changes in the relationship between human rights and the Olympic Games.

8. Reframing Human Rights: Amnesty International, Human Rights Watch, and International Sport

Barbara Keys

The two biggest global human rights groups, Amnesty International (AI) and Human Rights Watch (HRW), paid little attention to international sport until Beijing bid for the 2000 Olympic Games. Since then sport-related human rights campaigns have become prominent and entrenched features of Amnesty's and Human Rights Watch's activities. Drawing on interviews and published sources, this chapter covers the minor engagement of Amnesty International with the 1980 Olympic Games; shows how AI and HRW helped to shut down Beijing's bid for the 2000 Games; and analyzes their campaigns around major sports events since 2000. It traces the evolution of their contentious relations with the IOC, FIFA, and other sports bodies, showing

their limited success in forcing these bodies to attend to a sweeping array of human rights issues in host countries. Using extensive media analysis and close attention to the framing devices of sport-related human rights campaigns, it assesses the effects of these campaigns on global public perceptions of international sport and of human rights in general. It argues that these groups have molded sport-related campaigns into feel-good, compromise-prone efforts that have paradoxically helped the IOC and FIFA shore up their legitimacy in the face of serious challenges.

9. Hosting Sports Mega-Events in Developed Countries: Debating the Ideals of Sport Helen Lenskyj

This chapter examines debates in Western democratic host countries over the ideals of international sport. It looks closely at the tensions among Olympic Games organizers, sponsors, local officials, the IOC, and protesters in Atlanta (1996), Sydney (2000), and Vancouver (2010), charting how these actors grappled with tensions between basic freedoms, such as freedom of speech and assembly, and security requirements and sponsors' demands. The chapter examines how these actors framed their arguments with reference to the proclaimed ideals of the IOC and more generally of international sport, showing, for example, how protesters used these ideals to demand reforms, while elected representative used them to divert attention from impacts on vulnerable populations. It also probes similar developments in relation to other sports mega-events such as the Commonwealth Games and the FIFA World Cup to show how sport ideals extend beyond the mythology-prone Olympics.

10. The View from China: Accepting Olympism, Rejecting Human Rights Susan Brownell

This chapter surveys the attitudes of the Chinese leadership toward Olympism and human rights since the establishment of the People's Republic of China in 1949. Despite the wholesale rejection of “Western bourgeois” ideologies starting in the late 1950s, China never rejected the philosophy of Olympism. Even in the vituperative exchange of letters with the IOC in 1958 that resulted in China's withdrawal for 21 years, the Chinese side claimed “to uphold the Olympic spirit.” In contrast, the Chinese leadership has never fully accepted what it considers to be the Western concept of human rights, regarding it as a tool that the West uses to try to control China. As a result, China has become a major player in global sport mega-events, even while rejecting an important segment of the moral claims that sport organizers and media in the West have recently attached to them. The chapter focuses on Chinese and Western interpretation of international sport ideals as they played out in the context of the 2008 Beijing Olympic Games—an event that generated more global controversy than any sports event since the 1936 Berlin Olympics. The chapter assesses whether attacks on China's human rights record produced any impact inside China in the years after and whether such effects were reflected in China's hosting of the 2014 Nanjing Youth Olympic Games and its bid for the 2022 Winter Games. In addition, it examines the impact of the Chinese experience on the IOC and its policies. Finally, it asks what it means for the legitimacy of sport mega-events if they are increasingly hosted by non-Western powers that do not fully subscribe to the moral claims made by Western organizers, media and advocacy groups; whether China might attribute alternative moral claims to the

Olympic Games that could be accepted in the West; and what implications these tensions might have for peaceful international relations.

11. Economic and Social Rights: Mega-Events in Brazil

João Henrique

This chapter focuses on the intersection of international sport ideals and issues of social and economic rights. Combatting poverty, in initiatives such as “sport for peace and development,” has become an important part of the moral arsenal of international sport in recent years, yet the extraordinary financial demands of sports mega-events directly undermine the anti-poverty rhetoric. The situation in Brazil offers a lens for understanding contestation over these claims in the most visible and controversial context of recent years. When Brazil won the bid to host the 2014 World Cup and the 2016 Olympic Games, in 2007 and 2009 respectively, it framed these as major achievements that crowned the burgeoning socio-economic development the country had been experiencing since the beginning of the 21st century. However, in 2013, the political and economic situation was quite different, and mass protests erupted in part over the huge investment in mega-events. In addition to criticizing wasteful spending, local and international actors have accused the Brazilian government failing to consult affected communities, evictions of indigenous and poor people, forced labor, and repression of legitimate protest. Some critics have described the preparations for these mega-events as a “state of exception” because of a systematic disregard to law and human rights. Drawing on interviews, media coverage, and reports from NGOs, social movements, and the government, this chapter analyzes this social unrest in order to understand how sport has and has not served as a rhetorical and political lever for social and economic change.

12. Conclusion: The Power of Ideals

Barbara Keys

What are the sources of international sport’s enduring idealistic meanings to so many people around the world? Drawing together the findings of the volume, the final chapter offers conclusions about this core question and situates the volume’s findings within current debates.

Appendix: Annotated List of Programmatic Statements of International Sport Ideals

In order to provide future researchers with a framework for future investigation, the appendix offers an annotated list of key programmatic statements by a variety of actors about the ideals of international sport, including, when possible, the websites where they can be found.

Length

Chapters will run to 8,000 words each, inclusive of notes, allowing for both breadth and depth; the appendix will run to 4,000 words. The manuscript will total 100,000 words, inclusive of notes.

Schedule

- Chapters due from contributors in May 2016.
- Editorial feedback provided; revised chapters due from contributors in July 2016.
- Manuscript peer-reviewed, with revisions due back from authors in October 2016.
- Manuscript submitted for publication in November 2016.
- Publication in 2017.

The Editor

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Roland Burke is a leading expert on Third World engagement with international human rights since World War II. He is the author of the forthcoming *Human Rights in Eclipse: The Fate of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, 1948-1998* (University of Pennsylvania Press), *Decolonization and the Evolution of International Human Rights* (University of Pennsylvania Press, 2010), and articles and book chapters on human rights.

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Simon Creak is a historian of Southeast Asia and modern sport. He is the author of *Embodied Nation: Sport, Masculinity, and the Making of Modern Laos* (University of Hawai'i Press, 2015) and eight recent articles and chapters on the history and politics of Laos and of modern sport. He is currently writing a history of the South East Asia Peninsular/Southeast Asian Games in the context of decolonization and the Cold War.

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Susan Brownell is the author of *Training the Body for China: Sports in the Moral Order of the People's Republic* (University of Chicago Press, 1995), the first book on Chinese sports based on fieldwork in China by a Westerner. She is also the author of *Beijing's Games: What the Olympics Mean to China* (Rowman and Littlefield, 2008), the editor of *The 1904 Anthropology Days and Olympic Games: Race, Sport, and American Imperialism* (University of Nebraska Press, 2008), and the author of a number of recent articles on human rights and the Beijing Olympic Games.

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