



SPORT DIPLOMACY:

***A LITERATURE REVIEW OF SCHOLARLY
AND POLICY SOURCES***



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SPORT DIPLOMACY: A LITERATURE REVIEW OF SCHOLARLY AND POLICY SOURCES

INTRODUCTION

This literature review seeks to identify the academic and non-academic sources for sport diplomacy and its lexicon. The main aims are to firm up its theoretical underpinnings – a much-needed contribution to an evolving discipline and hopefully also a boost for the impact of the Erasmus+ funded project Towards a European Union Sport Diplomacy (TES-D) – while creating a shared ‘language’ and understanding among TES-D partners at the outset of our joint research, which will be expanded throughout our network.

To align our work with one of TES-D’s key strategic goals (“propose effective policies at the European Union (EU) level”), this literature review also includes policy sources which will be foundational for our upcoming research, notably the comparative analysis of existing EU sport diplomacies. In parallel to these research objectives, it will also encourage conversations around the EU and sport diplomacy to be organised around a shared understanding on the concept of sport diplomacy (SD).

Traditionally considered as a vehicle for dialogue between different cultures and actors, sport is increasingly recognised as an effective diplomacy tool. This function is supported by a growing scientific literature and a policymaking practice that hinges on the concept of SD and highlights its role in countries’ economic and political life. Policymakers and diplomats are gradually leveraging the values and the international opportunities linked to sport in order to achieve various national goals. Such goals are linked to the concepts of nations – or a grouping of people who share the same history, culture and identity located on the same territory – and states – or a territory with its own institutions and populations. These national goals often include, separately or in combination: amplifying national foreign-policy messages; reinforcing national branding appeal; normalising or strengthening diplomatic ties; and developing a fairer, more integrated society.

This literature review collates and analyses existing sport diplomacy studies and practices to provide **a theoretical foundation for the topic, with a specific focus on the policy domain**. To achieve this, we conducted a systematic review over a timeframe from the 1990s to the present. We included both the academic literature (using the main academic search engines, e.g., Google Scholar, OPAC, ResearchGate) as well as institutional, governmental and policymakers’ sources that address SD issues. We also used general search engines to conduct a systematic review of the main institutional actors in the SD arena, identifying four groups:

- the European Union;
- a group of influential countries (Australia, France, Japan, United States);
- the International Olympic Committee (IOC);

international organisations such as the United Nations (UN) and some non-governmental organisations (Laureus Sport for Good Foundation, L’Organisation pour la Paix par le Sport, Fundación Fútbol Más).

We examined the official documents and grey literature shared by these actors (e.g., webpages, reports, official statements, agreements and memoranda of understanding) to establish the typical extent of their involvement. Then, we analysed our findings, identifying the main themes and

sub-themes in SD. This enabled the researchers to compare different perspectives and outline a complete basis for the phenomenon that embraces both academic and policy sources.

The review benefited from several knowledge aggregators available online. First, the Sport Diplomacy Academy project website, co-funded by the EU, offers a large collection of articles, studies, government documents, analysis and views on SD. Second, the Olympic World Library – a library catalogue, information portal and powerful search engine about the Olympics – holds most of the relevant material. It provides access to the collection built by the Olympic Studies Centre, established in Lausanne in 1982. Over the years, the Olympic Studies Centre grew into a worldwide network of over 40 Centres, where hundreds of Olympic studies scholars conduct their research. The Centre holds debates on SD, such as the recent event “On the Line with an expert: Diplomacy of the Olympic Movement”, and in 2014 it offered SD studies PhD scholarships.

This review is structured to offer a general framework contextualising SD in the academic literature and in our policy domain of interest, informed by the concepts of public diplomacy and soft power. We discuss our findings in light of the three main topics to emerge:

- (1) national branding appeal and global reputation,
- (2) normalising or strengthening diplomatic relations,
- (3) sport for peace and development.

1. THE GENERAL FRAMEWORK AND THE ATTEMPTS AT A SHARED DEFINITION

This literature review shows that scholars have offered different definitions of SD by focusing on its various dimensions and traits, albeit without achieving a generally accepted academic definition of this theoretical construct (Bagheri et al., 2016; Notaker et al., 2016; Yen, 2013). Indeed, the SD literature has developed in recent years only by drawing on other research streams (Chehabi, 2001; Hong and Xiaozheng, 2002). By comparing studies from different streams and considering foundational scholarship on the topic (see Murray, 2018; Rofe, 2018), our review clearly highlights that scholars agree **SD is an aspect of public diplomacy** and that **SD can be used as a soft-power tool** for an ever-wider range of objectives.

As recently highlighted by the sport historian Heather L. Dichter (2021), sport history is experiencing a “diplomatic turn” in which relationships between sport and politics are increasingly becoming visible and pervading. This all emerges emphatically in the presentation of our findings below. As articulated by Stuart Murray and Gavin Prince in their “Towards a Welsh sports diplomacy strategy” report published in October 2020, “sports diplomacy focuses on areas where sport, politics and international relations overlap” (p.8). Hence, it is necessary to define key terms pertaining to field of sport diplomacy as the first step of this report.

Public diplomacy

Academic literature generally associates the term SD with **public diplomacy** (See Annex 1 for more details on the concept). This, in turn, represents a constellation of contributions from different disciplines, as **SD “forms an element of cultural diplomacy**, falling within the more general framework of **public diplomacy**” (De-San-Eugenio et al., 2017, p. 836). In particular, Snow and Cull (2020) note that the term “public diplomacy” has become very influential and widespread in US – partly because of the United States’ ability to export its thinking, partly because the term has spotlighted public involvement on an international scale. Unlike the very negative “propaganda”, public diplomacy refers to the process of involvement as a form of diplomacy, a way for an entity to try to manage its international context (Cull, 2020; Mabillard & Jádi, 2011). SD, therefore, describes “the attempts of states to normalise relations in a manner similar to the famous ping-pong diplomacy, or to communicate negative messages towards other actors, for instance by boycotting sports events. It may also be aimed to evoke positive emotions towards the state pursuing it, thus shaping its international brand” (Kobierecki & Strožek, 2017, p. 700). More specifically, SD “involves representative and diplomatic activities undertaken by sportspeople on behalf of and in conjunction with their governments. [...] Sport diplomacy can also create alternate channels for diplomacy, allowing states to move beyond entrenched foreign-policy positions” (Murray and Pigman, 2014; Pigman, 2014).

Tool of soft power

Thus, the term “SD” has a broad meaning that also indicates “a form of public diplomacy that treats sport as an arena of diplomatic activity” (Kobierecki, 2017, p. 131) or a **means (tool) of soft power** (See Annex 1 for more details). In contrast with ‘hard’ power – expressed through force and coercion, such as economic sanctions or military intervention – ‘soft’ power represents the ability to attract

Source of cultural attraction

and influence through culture or values (Nye, 1990). As a matter of fact, Murray (2016) also confirms the enormous potential of sport diplomacy, to bring peoples and communities closer together. The concept of SD as a form of soft power was introduced by Nygård and Gates (2013) – who interpret it as the power to persuade an actor without coercion – and explored by several other scholars (e.g. Johnson, 2018; Kuo and Kuo, 2020). In general, these authors assert, sport can be used as a tool of soft power both nationally and internationally, and it is a key foreign-policy lever for major and middle-ranking powers.

This theoretical approach has been explicitly adopted by the High-Level Group (HLG) on SD mandated by the European Union in 2016. This body comprised personalities with complementary skills and experience in the sporting arena (athletes, ex-athletes, politicians, researchers, writers, representatives of sport organisations, IOC members, etc.). It proposed **SD as an effective tool for cultural diplomacy**, exchange diplomacy (visits between citizens of different countries to promote international understanding) and advocacy for particular policies or ideas in the public mind abroad.

The HLG's final report in 2016 recognises and champions an advanced idea of SD. The report has become a fundamental international reference on this topic, as it shares scholars' conceptualisation of SD as a tool of "**soft power**", stating specifically that "**sport is a part of soft-power diplomacy, because it is a source of cultural attraction**" (See Annex 1 for more details). Along the same lines, building on the HLG recommendations, the Council Conclusions on Sport Diplomacy proposed under the Slovak Presidency of the European Council in 2016 were adopted by all EU Ministers for sport. The Conclusions stated that "Sport diplomacy can be understood as the use of sport as **a means to influence diplomatic, intercultural, social, economic and political relations**. It is an inseparable part of public diplomacy, which is a long-term process of communication with the public and organisations with aims such as heightening the attractiveness and image of a country, region or city and influence decision-making on policy areas. It helps to achieve **foreign-policy goals in a way that is visible and comprehensible for the general public.**"

2. NATIONAL BRANDING, ATTRACTIVENESS AND GLOBAL REPUTATION

Over the last few decades, SD has become increasingly important to the countries that use it, for their different purposes. In particular, SD has proved to boost **national branding, attractiveness and global reputation**. Examples of SD's contribution to these goals can be found both in academic frameworks and in various discussions of the strategic objectives of many countries worldwide.

In recent years, therefore, sport has been credited with helping to build a **country's appeal** and influence, offering real opportunities for **diplomatic engagement** (Deos, 2014). SD has become increasingly important for countries and cities looking to improve their **global reputation and branding**.

A clear example of this approach is China, which leveraged the 2008 Olympic Games to enhance its global image (Berkowitz, 2007). More recently, it adopted "The medium- and long-term Development Plan for Chinese Football (2016–2050)", which clearly links SD to the notion and practice of national branding and economic attractiveness: "It is of great significance with regard to the construction of a powerful sporting nation, the promotion of economic and social development and the realisation of the Chinese Dream, which is the great rejuvenation of the Chinese nation" (National Development and Reform Commission – People's Republic of China, 2016).

Let us define more terms.

SD as a tool to promote national interests

Building a national brand

SD is often conceived of as **a tool to promote national interests** (Abdi et al., 2018; Qingmin, 2013). Australia, for example, unveiled its initial country SD strategy in 2015, which links national interests to sport, deepening the nation's interpersonal and institutional ties, promoting development outcomes in the region and strengthening its diplomatic influence and global reputation. The current strategy looks ahead to 2030 with a vision "to strengthen Australian sport and opportunities for athletes globally and unlock their full potential to support our national interests". An explicit role has also emerged in growing trade, tourism and investment opportunities as one of the strategy's four pillars. Thus, SD is also understood as a "corporate diplomacy" framework for organising sport (Postlethwaite and Grix, 2016) involving various actors (Black and Peacock, 2013; Rofe, 2016). In addition, the media narratives determine new forms of spectator and consumer relations. Above all, though, they help anchor the **construction of a national brand** through conditioning media production or surpassing it through new forms of production, narration and participation (Hutchins and Rowe, 2016; Rowe, 2011) to build a supranational value heritage. Thus, **SD is a political tool that leverages value heritage to showcase a nation** (Padhi, 2011). Indeed, SD has been defined as "the whole range of international contacts and competitions that have implications for general relations between the nations concerned" (Peppard and Riordan, 1993, p. 2; Peppard, 1988). While this definition highlights issues and relations between and within states, it also provides space for analysing how non-state organisations use sport as a diplomacy tool in order to build that state's national brand (See Annex 1 for more details on the concept of national brand and national interests).

SD to improve a country's attractiveness

Japan, for instance, has established the SPORT 4 TOMORROW (SFT) consortium, involving public and private stakeholders including the Foreign Ministry. Japan's SD strategy centres on cooperation with developing countries. It views SD as a tool to promote "mutual understanding between Japan and other countries by increasing the number of pro-Japanese and Japan experts. Moreover, it aims to contribute to raising the status of Japanese sports-related personnel in the international arena." (SFT Report, 2020). The result is **greater national attractiveness** (See Annex 1 for more details).

As another example, France explicitly includes SD in its diplomatic repertoire, **linking it with its economic interests**. France considers sport key to the country's **attractiveness**; it has a Sport Ambassador and a complete outline strategy based on three areas: increasing French influence in sport, making sport a priority for the ministry and its network, and making sport integral to French economic diplomacy (Commission des Affaires Étrangères – Assemblée Nationale, 2015).

3. NORMALISING OR REINFORCING DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS

Through the centuries, sport has been considered central to the geopolitical balance and a universal language, an effective and truly supranational communication tool. Sport, endowed with a language and rules understandable to all, can act as a vehicle for both constructing a shared collective imagination and reinforcing diplomatic relations.

Here are some more terms.

Sport as a platform to normalize relations

Parrish et al. (2016) argue that **sport acts as a diplomatic lubricant for diplomatic relations**: it can appeal directly to the general public, creating public interest and goodwill, thus providing fertile ground for a nation to manage its international relations. Various authors (Jarvie et al., 2017; Stevenson and Alaug, 2008) note that, while rarely sufficient in itself for diplomacy, sport can generally be effective in facilitating change or building momentum in diplomatic practices. Peppard and Riordan (1993) agree that SD is now one of the most important means for nations to conduct their international relations. SD covers the full range of international contacts and competitions, with implications for the broader relationship between the nations concerned (Merkel, 2008).

In their study of sport's effectiveness as a platform for diplomatic relations, Trunkos and Heere (2017) systematise the most common strategic aims: "(a) providing an unofficial reason and location for international leaders to meet and begin a dialogue; (b) providing insights into the host country and educating others about it; (c) bridging cultural and linguistic differences among nations and seeking common ground through sports; (d) creating a platform for new trade agreements or legislation; (e) creating awareness for the international relationship through sport ambassadors; (f) creating a legacy for the host country, improving its image in the world; and (g) using sport to provide legitimacy for a new nation" (p. 2). Some of these factors also emerge from the study by Sabzi et al. (2021): business development, religious affairs, interactions, cultural affairs, national unity, diplomatic currents and friendship (See Annex 1 for more details).

SD for political rapprochement and bilateral contacts

Scholars (Deschamps, 2020; Kobierecki, 2017) have explained how countries can establish bilateral sporting contacts, e.g., by organising training meetings with qualified coaches and athletes, supporting the development of a given sport in a given country, or sending high-profile athletes as envoys to countries around the world. Situations will then arise where sporting contacts offer a convenient meeting opportunity for politicians or diplomats: **sport as diplomatic vehicle** (Min and Choi, 2019). The sporting meeting is thus used as a **direct diplomatic tool**, sometimes as a **catalyst for political rapprochement between states**.

**Sport to
champion
foreign-policy
priorities**

At national level, there are several experiences and policies explicitly focused on this aspect; some have been formalised in strategies and representative bodies that work together to spread SD knowledge. An early example comes from the USA. After 9/11, they established the State Department Sports Diplomacy Division within the Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs. Its initial aim was to reach out to young people in the Middle East through soccer; today, it is active worldwide across the sporting spectrum. Their official approach to SD is that “sports can be a platform to champion foreign policy priorities – inclusion, youth empowerment, gender equality, health & wellness, conflict resolution, and entrepreneurship”. They are active on social media, e.g., on Twitter as @SportsDiplomacy, and they spread the word through events, debates and various other projects (See Annex 1 for more details).

4. SPORT FOR PEACE AND DEVELOPMENT

Sport offers a chance to **promote, spread and share values**. These include **peace**, democracy and respect for human rights – although not countries actively use sport for spreading such values – along with sport-related principles of fairness, openness, broad participation, solidarity and good governance, as the EU HLG maintains.

The theme of SD as a recognised lever for peace has been widely underlined in the academic debate. Specifically, Nygård and Gates (2013) identified mechanisms for promoting peace through SD, based on forging a platform for dialogue and building trust. In general, the two authors report, sporting events strengthen ties between nations and peoples, offering **a forum for peaceful cultural exchange** and thus a potential basis for dialogue. This key SD objective will be explored more deeply in the Country Reviews.

But first, some more term definitions.

Sport to promote inclusion and non-discrimination

The UN, for example, places a distinctive emphasis on SD as **a tool to promote peace and development objectives**. The Declaration of the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development states that “sport is also an important enabler of sustainable development. We recognise the growing contribution of sport to the realisation of development and peace in its **promotion of tolerance and respect** and the contributions it makes to the empowerment of women and of young people, individuals and communities as well as to health, education and social **inclusion objectives**”. This view of SD – “sport for development”, in essence – underpins several EU and UNESCO agreements and projects. It is also championed by philanthropic bodies such as Sportanddev.org, the Laureus Sport for Good Foundation, and Peace and Sport, along with more specialist players like Fundación Fútbol Más. A dedicated international day of “Sport for Development and Peace” (6 April) has been on the calendar since 2014. Over the years, various international sporting organisations have signed partnerships embracing this view of SD. These include the IOC–UN agreement to use **sport as a tool for peace and development**, the Arrangement for Cooperation between the European Commission (EC) and the Union of European Football Associations (UEFA), and the Memorandum of Understanding between the EC and the Fédération Internationale de Football Association (FIFA) to make football a force for development in African, Caribbean and Pacific countries.

This approach also informs various EU-funded SD projects, such as the “Grassroots Sport Diplomacy” initiative, a collaborative partnership led by the International Sport and Culture Association (ISCA), focusing on the role of civil society and people-to-people exchanges.

Finally, the IOC has a similar take on SD. The Olympic Charter states that the Olympic Movement uses diplomacy to promote the fundamental principles of Olympism and **peaceful coexistence, tolerance and non-discrimination among countries, communities and ethnicities**.

ANNEX 1 – SPORT DIPLOMACY DICTIONARY

Key word	Quote
Grassroots sport diplomacy	<p>“Grassroots Sport Diplomacy (GSD) is an inductive concept and can be considered as a new type of diplomacy, complementary to traditional and formal diplomacy, where individuals and civil society play a key role. GSD can be defined as a set of practices, methods and activities built on grassroots sport actions developed at a global scale and benefiting from a sectorial and cross-sectorial approach. GSD aims to strengthen intercultural relations between actors and where civil society and individuals have a strong commitment to carrying out sustainable and impacting effects of the initiatives (like exchanges between communities, transfer and sharing of good practices, events, network etc).” (Gomez, 2019)</p>
Public diplomacy	<p>“Sports diplomacy falls under public diplomacy, which is used to improve intermediate and long-term relations between states by influencing the public abroad to accomplish foreign policy goals” (Trunkos and Heere, 2017)</p> <p>“In using sport as a tool, much of that function relates to mega-sport events, elite sports and professional athletes and neglects to include the grassroots level, where the organisations, interventions and stakeholders are considered irrelevant for state-led public diplomacy” (Garamvölgyi et al., 2020)</p> <p>“By adopting a relational public diplomacy approach, characterised by the development and maintenance of relationships, collaboration across networks and exchange of resources both material and ideational, New Zealand executed what has been broadly acknowledged as a successful sports-diplomacy initiative” (Deos, 2014)</p> <p>“Sport draws interest. It is an attractive and popular vessel through which to conduct diplomacy, with officials keen to attend events and large audiences for public diplomacy campaigns” (Gavin and Murray, 2020)</p>
Soft power	<p>“In a rapidly changing international relations system, several governments are turning to sport as a cost-effective and high-profile soft power asset” (Garamvölgyi et al., 2020)</p> <p>“Sport politics and diplomacy constitute a form of soft power. They aim to persuade and not coerce. As a tool of soft power, sport diplomacy is an important staple of foreign policy—used by great powers or middle powers. Sport diplomacy takes many forms. Previous research has looked at different types of sport diplomacy, for example, by examining the role of the Olympics or the World Cup” (Nygård and Gates, 2013)</p> <p>“The use of sports as a soft power for states and governments has become obvious, repetitive, and sometime clichéd” (Abdi et al., 2018)</p>

<p>Source of cultural attraction</p>	<p>“Sport is a part of soft power diplomacy, because it is a source of cultural attraction” (High Level Group, 2016)</p> <p>“Recent years have seen an increase in the use of concept of “soft power” by scholars and commentators attempting to explain why states—including so-called “emerging states”—are seeking to acquire various forms of cultural and political attraction” (Grix, J., and Brannagan, 2016)</p> <p>“The second skillful strategy to assist the sports diplomacy endeavors in achieving the targeted diplomatic outcomes is the strategy of utilising the Competent Cultural Ambassadors. The human capital of sports human capitals, such as the individuals and teams (club/national) fans, players, coaches, trainers, referees, managers, and officials, act as two types of value ambassadors—universal and national. Universal values are those which are respected universally. These include valuing fair play, the pursuit of pleasure, tolerance, professionalism, and non-sports values like the human rights. National values differ from country to country, but rather concentrate on specific national traditions, customs, and culture which can earn a given country respect from other nations” (Abdi et al., 2018)</p> <p>“[...] music, art, sport, and even food are universal soft power languages which facilitate contact among diverse stakeholders at home and abroad” (Murray and Price, 2020)</p>
<p>National interests</p>	<p>“[...] To strengthen Australian sport and opportunities for athletes globally and unlock their full potential to support our national interests» (Australian Government, 2019)</p> <p>“Diplomacy traditionally involves government to-government contact, but there are other channels of communicating national interest and influencing other countries. After the official diplomatic recognition between states, the dialogue usually continues through other channels of diplomacy, such as educational exchange programs, concerts, or other cultural events” (Trunkos and Heere, 2017)</p>
<p>National branding</p>	<p>“Sport is one of the few examples of a career or profession where people are actively recruited from one country to another and either rewarded with, or required to assume, a new or supplementary national identity» (Jackson, 2013)</p> <p>“Norway can be regarded as an example of successfully exploiting a niche, but its well-planned and coordinated public diplomacy strategy is not oriented exclusively on peace. Efforts to formulate a comprehensive strategy began in 2003. Separate strategies were developed to boost product advantage, national branding and Scandinavian branding” (Kobierecki, 2017)</p> <p>“Sport diplomacy is an interesting example of diffusion around multistakeholder practices because it can appear in relation to both the emerging literature on public diplomacy, soft power, and place branding and the participatory development techniques used in promoting social change in developing countries” (Pamment, 2016)</p> <p>“Using sports diplomacy strategies raises the international profile of a nation’s cities and regions.” (Murray and Price, 2020)</p>
<p>Country attractiveness</p>	<p>“SD as a tool to promote mutual understanding between Japan and other countries by increasing the number of pro-Japanese and Japan experts. Moreover, it aims to contribute to raising the status of Japanese sports-related personnel in the international arena” (SPORT 4 TOMORROW, 2020)</p>

<p>Platform to normalise relations</p>	<p>“Sporting events could be used to cool tensions in flagging diplomatic relationships or to simply test the ground for a possible policy change. For example, during the 2018 winter Olympics, the People’s Republic of Korea and South Korea used it as an opportunity to unite under one flag, which reignited diplomatic relations” (Abdi et al., 2018)</p> <p>“The ideological underpinning of sport was even more obvious during the Cold War era when communist countries, for example, the former Soviet Union or East Germany, used the often outstanding success of their top level athletes to demonstrate the superiority of their political regimes, gain international recognition, promote relations with pro-communist countries and win support among developing countries” (Merkel, 2008)</p> <p>“At a 2015 conference on sport diplomacy, the British Council’s John Worne argued that sport stretches from one end of the international relations spectrum to the other, intersecting with almost the entire gamut of public diplomacy and cultural relations techniques along the way” (Pamment, 2016)</p>
<p>Bilateral and multilateral contacts</p>	<p>“Sport diplomacy has not only a series of bilateral components, but also a rather dramatic multilateral component in the form of its participation in the Olympic Games” (Peppard & Riordan, 1993)</p> <p>“Against the backdrop of the bitterness of the Korean War and the broader ideological struggle of the Cold War at the global level, sport represented a tangible means to showcase the proclaimed superiority of each political system in this intense, bilateral rivalry for national and international legitimacy» (Min and Choi, 2019) «The collapse of the Cold War brought dramatic changes in the use of sport as a policy tool in Korea, where division has continued even after the end of the Cold War. Bilateral confrontation on the playing field was attenuated considerably, and continuous friendly ‘unification’ matches – for football in 1990, basketball in 1999, table-tennis in 2000, etc.” (Min and Choi, 2019)</p>
<p>Foreign policy</p>	<p>“Sports can be a platform to champion foreign policy priorities—inclusion, youth empowerment, gender equality, health & wellness, conflict resolution, and entrepreneurship” (U.S. Department of State’s Sports Diplomacy Division)</p>
<p>Inclusion and non-discrimination aims</p>	<p>“Sport is also an important enabler of sustainable development. We recognise the growing contribution of sport to the realisation of development and peace in its promotion of tolerance and respect and the contributions it makes to the empowerment of women and of young people, individuals and communities as well as to health, education and social inclusion objectives” (Declaration of the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development, 2020)</p> <p>“Two diverging perspectives of sports-diplomacy seen either as a ‘panacea’ with the ability to ‘reduce estrangement, conflict, and poverty and promote greater development and dialogue’ that fosters ‘positive values such as mutual respect, comity, discipline, tolerance, and compassion’ or, conversely, as ‘a sham, a photo-op, or a political gimmick” (Deos, 2014)</p> <p>“The spirit of the Olympic Charter also echoes that of the United Nations (UN) Charter, which acclaims [...] to maintain international peace and security” (Qingmin, 2013)</p>

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