



**Sport as a State's Soft Power Strategy: The Case of South Korea
and the UK**

by

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Doctoral Thesis

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Abbreviations

AF	Asian Sports Federation
ANOC	Association of National Olympic Committees
ARISF	Association of IOC Recognised International Sports Federations
ASC	Advisory Sports Council
BAGOC	2002 Busan Asian Games Organising Committee
BOA	British Olympic Association
CCPR	Central Council of Physical Education
CGA	Commonwealth Games Association
CGF	Commonwealth Games Federation
COG	Commonwealth Observer Group
DAC	Development Assistance Committee
DCMS	Department for Culture, Media, and Sport
DFID	Department for International Development
DNH	Department of National Heritage
DoE	Department of the Environment
DPRK	Democratic People's Republic of Korea
ECB	England and Wales Cricket Board
EDCF	Economic Development Cooperation Fund
EEC	European Economic Community
EFTA	European Free Trade Association
EPL	English Premier League
EU	European Union
FCO	Foreign and Commonwealth Office
FIFA	International Federation of Association Football
FIS	International Ski Federation
FISU	International University Sports Federation
FTA	Free Trade Agreement
GAISF	Global Association of International Sports Federations
GDR	German Democratic Republic
GUOC	Gwangju Universiade 2015 Organising Committee
IAAF	International Association of Athletics Federations
IAGOC	Incheon Asian Games Organising Committee
ICRC	International Committee of the Red Cross
IF	International Sports Federation
II	International Inspiration
IMF	International Monetary Fund
INGO	International Non-governmental Organisation
IOC	International Olympic Committee
ISA	International Sports Alliance
ISDI	International Sports Diplomacy Institute
ISO	International Sports Organisation
ISR	International Sport Relations Foundation
ISU	International Skating Union
KOC	Korean Olympic Committee

KOICA	Korea International Cooperation Agency
KSPO	Korea Sports Promotion Foundation
MCST	Ministry of Culture, Sports and Tourism
MCWUO	1997 Muju and Chunju Winter Universiade Organisation
MDG	Millennium Development Goal
MLB	Major League Baseball
MNC	Multinational Corporation
MOFA	Ministry of Foreign Affairs
MOU	Memorandum of Understanding
NAK	National Archives of Korea
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation
NZOC	New Zealand Olympic Committee
OCA	Olympic Council of Asia
OCWCD	Organising Committee for the IAAF World Championship Daegu
ODA	Official Development Assistance
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
OIF	International Organisation of La Francophonie
OWI	Office of Wartime Information
	PyeongChang Organising Committee for the 2018
POCOG	Olympic & Paralympic Winter Games
	PyeongChang Organizing Committee for the 2018
POCOG	Olympic & Paralympic Winter Games
RCT	Randomised Controlled Trial
ROK	Republic of Korea
SESI	Social Service for Industry
SNU	Seoul National University
THAAD	Terminal High-Altitude Area Defence
TPC	World Taekwondo Peace Corps
UKTI	UK Trade and Investment
UN	United Nations
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
UNIFIL	United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon
UNOSDP	United Nations Office on Sport for Development and Peace
VOA	Voice of America
WTF	World Taekwondo
WTO	World Trade Organisation
YLP	Youth Leadership Programme

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Abstract

As a consequence of the growing awareness of the limitations of an over-reliance on the deployment of hard power governments have shown an increasing willingness to add soft power strategies to their portfolio of diplomatic resources with sport emerging as a major element. The aim of this study is to analyse the utilisation of sport as a part of soft power strategies in South Korea and the UK. Specifically, the study centres on an analyse of the interpretation of the concept of soft power by the governments of South Korea and the UK. The study is also concerned to provide an understanding of the role and significance of sport soft power in the diplomatic and political strategies of South Korea and the UK. With reference to the theoretical frameworks, consideration is given to macro-level international relations theories, particularly realism, liberalism and constructivism. Data were collected through semi-structured interviews and documentary evidence published by relevant organisations. These data collection techniques were conducted within a comparative case study research design. Among the key findings of the research were that: a) the recognition of sport as a soft power resource was more rapid in South Korea than the UK; b) the deployment of sport soft power was strongly influenced by South Korea's regional geopolitical environment; c) South Korea's use of sport soft power has increased steadily in scope over the last 40 years; d) the UK's use of sport soft power has, to an extent, been a complement to its use of hard power. The study concludes that the results indicated that although realist and constructivist theories provide valuable insights, the neoliberal perspective had the greatest capacity to accommodate the role and significance of sport soft power in international relations and also demonstrated that sport is a clear and prominent element in the soft power strategy in both countries.

Key words:

Soft Power, Sport soft power, International relations theory, South Korea, UK

Chapter 1. Introduction

1.1. Research Aims and Objectives

The aim of this thesis is to analyse the utilisation of sport as a part of soft power strategies in South Korea and the UK. In short, the thesis centres on an analysis of the interpretation of the concept of soft power by the governments of South Korea and the UK. The strategy is also concerned to provide an understanding of the role and significance of sport soft power in the diplomatic and political strategies of South Korea and the UK.

With reference to the theoretical frameworks, consideration is given to macro-level international relations theories, particularly realism, liberalism and constructivism. These macro-level theories are important to address the fundamental questions of the power relationships between states, the nature of power resources, and the significance of the state and non-state actors (Lukes, 2007). As Nye (2002) has argued the increasing complexity of world politics and trends such as economic interdependence and the growing significance of transnational actors, and the emergence of new complex political issues has had significant effects on the nature of power and have led to an increased interest in a wide range of power sources including soft power. Therefore, with the theoretical framework which provides analytical guidance, the aim of this research is to analyse the utilisation of sport as a part of soft power strategies in South Korea and the UK.

In order to achieve the research aim, the following objectives were developed:

- To understand the concept of soft power within the context of current international relations theory and how the concept of soft power accommodates the role and significance of sport in international politics
- To analyse the understanding and use of sport as a part of soft power strategies primarily by the South Korea and also the UK
- To analyse the sport soft power strategies adopted in relation to the diplomatic objectives of South Korea and the UK

1.2. Research Justification

There are two main rationales for investigating the utilisation of sport soft power and how the role of sport soft power can be accommodated in international politics. First, the concept of soft power is still a very novel concept. Even though the concept of soft power has been adopted so readily by politicians, policy-makers, media commentators and scholars, there is still little agreement on what it is, whether and under what conditions soft power can be created and maintained (Grix, Brannagan and Houlihan, 2015). Moreover, despite the potential theoretical contribution of soft power and the popular usage of the term in international politics, the concept of soft power has also drawn a significant volume of criticism. For example, the notion of soft power in academic literature has been criticised for being 'too soft' (Ferguson, 2003), 'too blunt' (Lukes, 2007) and 'too vague' (Mattern, 2007). In general, these problems arise from the lack of specificity of the concept of soft power and the difficulties associated with measuring the impact and effectiveness of soft power (Kearn, 2011). In particular, the inadequately developed linkage between hard and soft power is rarely addressed. A series of other issues have been identified regarding the operationalisation of the concept of soft power. First, there is still challenge of determining whether soft power is a more manageable diplomatic resource than other resources towards the hard power end of the diplomatic spectrum. Second, it is extremely difficult to assess and measure the precise impact of soft power generally and the diplomatic value of soft power in particular. Third, there are debates on the relationship between hard and soft power, for example, whether soft power is an alternative to the use of hard power in sensitive regional politics, whether it is regarded as weakness rather than strength (Watson, 2012), and whether soft power strategies have the ability to do more than reinforce hard power objectives (Gallarotti, 2011). However, despite these criticisms and limitations of soft power, there is a general recognition that soft power is considered by many governments to be an important element in enhancing influence over international outcomes in the international system because of the lack of flexibility and the risks involved in the deployment of hard power (Nye, 2004a). Consideration of these theoretical criticisms of soft power in this research can be a way to reduce the unresolved issues of the use of soft power.

The second rationale for the investigation is that even though the concept of soft power is still vague, a number of countries seem to be keen to use sport as a part of soft power strategy and also a diplomatic resource. In the Cold War era following the Second World War, sport was clearly connected with national and international politics (Riordan, 2002). Not only had sports activities become increasingly incorporated into the domestic welfare policies of the capitalist liberal democracies, but sport had also been increasingly used as an element of foreign policy (Maguire, 2002). For example, at the level of international politics, sport had played a vital role in helping some states such as the GDR to break out of political isolation; had also been used as a tool of propaganda by the Soviet Union and America to promote the superiority of their ideology; had been deployed as a form of protest and sanction through the use of boycotts by and of teams and states; and had been used to foster improved diplomatic relations such as the Ping-Pong diplomacy between the USA and China (McPherson, Curtis and Loy, 1989).

In more recent years, many states have used sport to promote their national interests and image as a primary tool of diplomacy, and international sporting success is increasingly acknowledged to be a highly visible and normally (though not always) a positive signal to other countries (Houlihan, 1994). Therefore, there have been signs of a growing interest in the role of sport among international relations scholars and with a particular interest in the concept of soft power which is seen as offering a lens through which to explore sport as a global phenomenon (See for example, Grix and Houlihan, 2014 and Merkel, 2008). The concept of soft power in the field of sports studies is considered to be an important element in enhancing influence over international outcomes such as in the competition to win an Olympic bid (Lee and Chappelet, 2012), enhancing a country's international reputation, and achieving foreign policy objectives as it has become more difficult to achieve diplomatic objectives, through the use of hard power (Nye, 2004). As a consequence of the growing awareness of the limitations of an over-reliance on the deployment of hard power governments have shown an increasing willingness to add soft power strategies to their portfolio of diplomatic resources with sport emerging as a major element. Accordingly, sport as a tool of soft power has been utilised by governments in the pursuit of both domestic and international policy objectives such as nation-building (Nygard and Gates, 2013) and feelgood factor (Grix and Carmichael, 2012)

at the domestic level and enhancing a national image or overcoming diplomatic isolation at the international level (Grix and Houlihan, 2014; Murray, 2012; Potter, 2008).

However, the current literature on soft power fails to explain fully the concept and how it pertains to sport or provide examples that operationalise the concept empirically over the medium to long term. Moreover, there is the continuing relative lack of systematic empirical analysis of sport as a soft power resource within the study of international relations and still little consensus as to its effectiveness in achieving foreign policy objectives. In this regard, this research provides a systematic investigation of the utilisation of sport as a tool of soft power based on the empirical findings in two case studies within the context of current international relations theory.

In terms of a case study approach which is considered in more depth in a later section of Chapter 3, two countries, South Korea and the UK, are selected for a focused comparison under a comparative research design. While there has been some analysis of the use of sport soft power in relation to the UK, the main gap in the literature is in relation to South Korea. This research adopts the 'most similar systems' design (Peters, 1998) as the countries selected for this research (South Korea and the UK) both share the following characteristics: sport is a significant cultural element; public diplomacy has emerged as a significant element of diplomacy; there is a concentration on sport as a part of soft power strategies such as hosting sport mega-event is evident; there is evidence of strong government commitment to invest in sport; and democracy is well-established and stable. However, Peters (1998) notes that, despite its advantages, the most similar systems design may not enable the identification of all the relevant factors that can produce variations amongst systems. Therefore, in this regard, this research also cautiously considers the different system approach in exploring the development of sport soft power in South Korea and the UK on the grounds that these two countries also have significant geopolitical¹ differences.

¹ Geopolitics is defined as 'analysis of the geographic influences on power relationships in international relations' (Deudney, 2006, p.1).

1.3. Thesis Structure

Chapter 2, *Theory*, outlines the theoretical framework used throughout the thesis. The first section explores a number of alternative theoretical perspectives on international politics and evaluates them in terms of their utility in explaining the location of soft power. Within the study of international politics, this section focuses on three major perspectives: realism, liberalism and constructivism and reviews the key elements of these perspectives: the unit of analysis; important political actors and resources; and the strategies adopted. Then, the location of soft power within each perspective is analysed. The next section considers the ways of conceptualising power by two leading theorists, Steven Lukes and Michel Foucault, and then, which of the conceptualisation of power is the most compatible with the concept of soft power is discussed. Following the review of international relations theories and theoretical perspective on power, the third part of the chapter provides an analysis of the concept of soft power. The section examines the emergence of the concept of soft power then explores the conceptualisation of soft power as defined by Joseph Nye. In addition, this section explores the development of soft power, different soft power resources and the significance of soft power in international relations. At the end of this section, several theoretical criticisms of the concept of soft power are explored. The chapter then reviews a number of studies which identify the utility of sport as a soft power resource. This section gives explicit examples within each of two main categories: hosting international sports mega-events as a tool of soft power; and different sport strategies as tools of soft power including sports diplomacy strategy, sports activities, sport education, and hosting multi-sports events.

Chapter 3, *Research Strategy and Methods*, sets out the methodology for the study including the philosophical assumptions, methodological approach, and methods of analysis. The first section of this chapter reviews the different ontological and epistemological paradigms and then specifies the philosophical position adopted for the study. The second section explores the research strategy and a range of methodological issues following from the choice of the strategy. The last section of this chapter outlines the methods adopted for the study: case study design, particularly comparative research design; semi-structured interviews; and document

analysis. Throughout the chapter, consideration is given to the advantages and limitations associated with the research paradigm, design frame and methods underpinning the study.

Chapter 4, *The awareness of sport as a diplomatic resource and its soft power strategies in South Korea*, presents the major findings from the primary research in the case of South Korea and a discussion of the research findings. The beginning of chapter describes South Korea's foreign relations in order to explain the key diplomatic concerns and priorities. Then, through an analysis of documents from the 1980s, which was the period when sport was widely adopted as a political resource in connection with the foreign policy and diplomatic objectives of South Korea, and semi-structured interviews, this chapter provides an empirical investigation of South Korea's strategic use of sport over the period 1980 to 2018 to understand how and why sport as a soft power strategy was attractive to both authoritarian and democratic governments of South Korea. Finally, four themes are examined in the concluding section of this chapter.

Chapter 5, *The awareness of sport as a diplomatic resource and its soft power strategies in UK*, provides the awareness and utilisation of sport soft power strategies in the case of the UK. This chapter begins with an overview of the UK's foreign policy since 1945 to explain the key contemporary diplomatic concerns and priorities. Then, the analysis of the development of sport policy in UK is identified as moving through four broad stages: emergence of sport policy (1964-79 and 1980s); restructuring sport policy (1990-1997); New Labour and Sport (1997-2010); and the Coalition and Conservative governments (London 2012 and beyond), which was the period in which sport was widely adopted as a political resource in connection with diplomatic objectives and soft power strategies of UK. Third, this chapter provides an investigation of the UK's strategic use of sport over the period 1960 to 2018 to understand how and why sport as a soft power strategy was attractive to the UK government. Finally, considering the data presented in this chapter, three themes are examined.

Chapter 6, *Conclusion*, addresses the research objectives identified in chapter 1 using the theoretical concepts discussed in chapter 2. The first section compares the empirical findings regarding the development of soft power and sport as a soft power

resource in South Korea and the UK, with specific consideration given to commonalities and differences in the key findings from the political and diplomatic use of sport by the South Korean and UK governments discussed in Chapters 4 and 5. The second section is concerned with a discussion of the concept of soft power within the context of current international relations theory explored in Chapter 2 and how the concept of soft power accommodates the role and significance of sport in international politics. In addition, this section evaluates the utility and limitations of the concept of soft power including its potential contribution to our understanding of the state's use of sport as a soft power resource. Limitations of this study and reflections on the research process are also outlined in this concluding chapter.

Chapter 2. Theoretical Framework

2.1. International Relations Theory

2.1.1. Realism

On the basis of the realist perspective, which is that the nature of the international system is anarchic, states are the principal actors in international relations and consequently the primary unit of analysis. Non-state actors and other transnational organisations such as the United Nations or the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) are less important. These organisations, for the realist, are seen as arenas for playing out state politics but also as the instrument for the pursuit of national interest by other means (Carr and Cox, 2001). Their actions do not have independent standing as what these international organisations will do is determined by sovereign states (Viotti and Kauppi, 1999 and Houlihan, 1994). In terms of the nature of this actor, realists view states within the system as both unitary and rational. The former is because any differences of view among political leaders within the state are resolved so that the state speaks with one voice. States are considered to be a rational actor as they seek to maximise utility such as security and trade benefits limited only by their existing capabilities to make the best possible decision (Viotti and Kauppi, 1999).

Within the realist perspective, power is the core concept and an understanding of the realist image of international relations starts with a discussion of this crucial concept. Even though there is no clear definition of the term power, the realist understands power as the control or influence of important resources such as military, economic, technological, diplomatic, and other capabilities (Viotti and Kauppi, 1999; Houlihan, 1994; Weber, 2013). However, Viotti and Kauppi provide a more dynamic definition of the power as follows: 'A state's influence is not only determined by its capabilities but also by its willingness to use these capabilities and its control or influence over other states' (1999, p. 64). In short, power focuses on the interactions of states and the relative power of states is revealed by the outcomes of their interactions (Houlihan, 1994 and Viotti and Kauppi, 1999, p. 65).

Many realists have emphasised anarchy as the critical component of the international system. While the word anarchy is conventionally described with reference to images of violence, destruction, and chaos, realists argue that anarchy is simply the absence of authority (Viotti and Kauppi, 1999 and Weber, 2013). States are sovereign and they claim a right to be independent from other states, not to dominate another sovereign state (Milner, 1991). Realists, however, argue that no central authority helps to explain why states come to rely on power and aim to increase their position relative to other states. The condition of anarchy is seen by realists as contributing to a lack of trust among states in this environment. Each state faces a self-help situation and realists believe that no other states can be relied upon to help guarantee the state's survival. Therefore, realists argue that international affairs are a struggle for power between self-interested states and they are pessimistic about the prospects for eliminating conflict and war and for the prospects of greater international cooperation (Daddow, 2013). Within this anarchical environment, various distributions of capabilities or power among states are possible, thus, realists are concerned to maintain a balance of power in order to maintain the system itself and avoid the triumph of a dominant power (Viotti and Kauppi, 1999 and Bull, 2002). According to the classical realist, Morgenthau (2014), he believed that states had an instinctive desire to dominate other states, which led them to fight wars. Therefore, he stressed the multipolar balance of power system, which means three or more states engaging in checks and balances and he argued that the bipolar balance of power, that is two states such as the United States and the Soviet Union, with relatively equal power is dangerous. However, the neorealist, Waltz (2010) claimed that the bipolar balance of power was more stable than multipolar balance of power. Because each state has to survive on its own so that this condition would lead weaker states to balance against more powerful rivals rather than align with them.

Leaving aside the question of uncertainty concerning the relative stability of the balance of power, how to deal with the issue of change in the system is taken into consideration in the realist's work. For most realists, change is the outcome of an interaction between the actions of states and systemic factors (Houlihan, 1994). The key factor that accounts for change is the tendency in an international system for the power of states to change at different rates and this differential growth in power of

the states in the system causes a fundamental redistribution of power in the system (Gilpin, 1983). Therefore, states with increasing power may attempt to change the nature of the system. For the realist, the principal mechanism of change was war as it determined which states would govern the system (Viotti and Kauppi, 1999). However, although power politics are central to realist analysis, this does not mean that change is limited to war or fundamental change is not possible (Gilpin, 1983 and Modelski, 1987). Gilpin argued that 'the state is the principal actor in that the nature of the state and the patterns of relations among states are the most important determinants of the character of international relations.....but this does not presume that states need always be the principal actors.....the contemporary nation-state is the ultimate form of political organisation' (1983, p. 300). In other words, there is, for the realist, great difficulty in explaining the dynamic of the international system.

Realists aimed at understanding how international stability is achieved. However, the concern with the nature of the international system, the role of the state, and balance of power politics indicate that the realist view focuses heavily on sources of stability. The result is a concern to understand the balance of power to maintain the system itself, not to maintain peace (Houlihan, 1994 and Bull, 2002). Therefore, in terms of the concern with national security issues, realists show their normative preoccupation (Viotti and Kauppi, 1999). Although balance of power has been a constant theme in realist writings, it has also come in for a great deal of abuse. There were many different meanings of the term so that it created definitional confusion and led to the vagueness of the central concept of balance of power (Haas, 1953 and Viotti and Kauppi, 1999). Furthermore, balance of power has been criticized for leading to war as opposed to preventing it and serving as a poor guide for statesmen.

2.1.1.1. Realism and the location of Soft power

For realists, power is the core concept and the image of states struggling for power and security provides the solid foundation of the realist ontology of international politics. Power focuses on the interactions of states and the relative power of states is obviously revealed by the outcomes of their interactions (Viotti and Kauppi, 1999). Power, in particular, is largely defined in military terms (hard power)

by realists as force is the ultimate factor in international politics (Pallaver, 2011). However, in the process of development upon realist power analysis, there was a growing awareness of the weakness and gaps in the power analysis of world politics. According to Morgenthau (2014), the state as the principal actor in world politics, for realists, has limited the scope of analysis of outcomes caused by non-state actors and realists' focus on the visible dimension of power relations has led to the neglect of the multiple and less easily observed processes. Mearsheimer (2011) argued for the importance of analysing latent power to provide a reliable way to measure state power and Carr and Cox (2001) described international power in three categories: military, economic, and what they called the power over opinion. This perspective was seen as complementing the realist perspective on international relations by highlighting non-material forms of power and non-visible forms of power relations (Wilson, 2008).

In the realist perspective, the state seems to manipulate soft power through other organisations. For instance, America, Russia, or China used the International Olympic Committee, which was not a significant independent actor, to get what they wanted. In particular, international sporting contact is often used by governments to foster and sustain a sense of national identity (Taylor, 1988). Even though realists acknowledge the existence of soft power, the capacity of realist theory to provide a sufficient explanation of the use of soft power is limited and the realist perspective would seem to have only a limited contribution to an understanding of the significance of soft power.

2.1.2. Liberalism

The school of liberalism provides a contrasting perspective to that of the realists. Even though states exist in a condition of anarchy, liberalists believe that there is more incentive to cooperate than to mutually threaten security (Daddow, 2013). For classical liberal theorists, the individual is the most important unit of analysis. In the view of the liberal tradition in international relations, Jackson and Sørensen (2007) argue that it is optimistic about human nature. Moreover, liberalists suggest that human beings are perfectible and democracy is necessary for the perfectibility of human beings to develop. Liberalists, who extrapolate international relations from the

domestic state level to the level of the international system, treat states as individual units and focus on the mechanisms for states to manage the security dilemma in regulating their interaction in international organizations and institutions (Daddow, 2013). Such organisations and institutions can be established influential global actors such as the United Nations or the World Bank (Daddow, 2013, p. 87 and Abbott and Snidal 1998).

Viotti and Kauppi (1999) state that the image of international relations, in case of the liberalism, is based on four key assumptions. First, non-state actors are important entities in world politics. For example, as independent actors in their own right, international organisations are more than simply forums within which states compete and cooperate with one another. They may play an important role in implementing, observing, and adjudicating disputes arising from decisions made by constituent states of the organisation. Moreover, transnational organisations such as multinational corporations (MNCs) and environmental groups play important roles in world politics. Second, the state is not a unitary actor as the state consists of competing individuals, interest groups, and bureaucracies (Viotti and Kauppi, 1999, p. 199). Third, the realist assumption of the state as rational actor is challenged by liberalists as statesmen in the realist perspective evinced more concern for their personal standing or power position than for the good of the country as a whole. Last, for liberalists, there are a wide range of issues in international politics. They are concerned with a number of economic, social, and ecological issues arising from the increasing interdependence among states and societies. They emphasize the international agenda such as free trade among all states for removal of economic barriers, monetary issues, and the world population problem rather than an exclusive preoccupation with national security or military matters. Hence, liberalists are concerned with general questions, which are how and why states cooperate and how international norms of behaviour develop and influence state preferences and actions.

Liberalists emphasized that public opinion played the positive role in providing guidance and producing good public policy as well as foreign policy (Viotti and Kauppi, 1999, p. 201). This view of the domestic polity had an impact on the international field. Liberalists recognised that the state of anarchy contributed to distrust among states, which is posing an obstacle to cooperation and peace.

Therefore, liberalists assumed that there could be an underlying harmony of interests among individuals, so that they argued that there was a possibility to harmonise the interests among states.

In terms of allowing for this optimistic view of interstate relations, there were four key arguments that directly or indirectly influenced the liberalist image of international politics. The first is the intimate connection between international economy and politics (Rosecrance, 1986), The second is the spread of democratic political system, with the implication that 'questions of war and peace were no longer confined to a small group of political and military elites, as in the past. Instead, leaders would have to be concerned with domestic public opinion' (Viotti and Kauppi, 1999, p. 202). The third is the importance of international law and organisations to enhance global cooperation (Keohane, 2002), and the last is the ability of leaders to learn from past historical mistakes and disasters.

To see the international politics through domestic political lenses, Viotti and Kauppi (1999) use the term 'interest group liberalism' to describe the perspective within American political science. For the liberalist (also referred to by many in the field as pluralist), the image of politics held by adherents of interest group liberalism is described as a fragmented political system as power is dispersed among a politically active citizenry and among a multiplicity of elites, institutions and organisations (Houlihan, 1994). The state is not an independent, coherent, autonomous actor separated from society and its primary function is as an arena for the expression of such interests and as an arbiter of conflicting demands and claims.

In order to manage inter-state relations in an international system dominated by conflicts, liberalism developed in recognition of the growth of international organisations (Daddow 2013; Duffield 2007; Keohane 1988). Daddow argued that 'organisations create opportunities for wider and deeper strategic interactions between states and it is argued that they inspire trust and build confidence' (2013, p. 95). According to Keohane (1988) and Abbott and Snidal (1998), international organisations play an important role as follows: centralising collective activities, avoiding duplication and unproductive competition, sharing the outputs, helping manage inter-state conflicts and promoting agreements in the realms of both hard and soft security. Moreover, institutions, which have similarities yet also the subtle

differences compared to organisations, are something broader and deeper than organisations where identities and interests are in play (Daddow, 2013). According to Duffield (2007, p. 2), 'institutions are stable sets of related constitutive, regulative and procedural norms and rules that pertain to the international system, the actors in the system'.

The liberalist model of international politics also has some weaknesses. In contrast to the realist, it emphasises aspects of individual and organisational behaviour without basing them securely on empirical research. According to Houlihan (1994), it loses the capacity to understand the broader pattern of relations within the international system and the impact of organisational behaviour. Furthermore, Viotti and Kauppi (1999) argue that the utility of liberalist perspective is weakened as it is developed within the context of American political system. If American processes are understood to conform to a liberalist image, then the same image is imposed on the rest of the world, where it may bear little relation to reality.

2.1.2.1. Liberalism and the location of Soft power

Joseph Nye, who developed a concept of soft power mentions that the concept of soft power that reflects the changing landscape of international relations is close to the liberal tradition (Gallarotti, 2011). Compared to the realist perspective, soft power for liberalists emphasizes the possibility of cooperation and the power of ideas; not the possibility of war and military power (Nye, 2011). According to the Nye, Liberalism identifies one main problem in international politics which is the structured factors that make the use of soft power

The first factor concerns policy making in democracies. Liberalists argue that democracies generally have more peaceful relation with all other states and are especially reluctant to go to war with other democratic states. Thus, democracies are more inclined to use soft power in disputes. The second is that liberalism emphasised the importance of economic interdependence. Even though a state with significant economic resources is likely to put pressure on other states which are economically weaker, liberalists affirm that a free trade economy can also produce soft power, as it will attract others to its model (Nye, 2011, p. 85). Furthermore,

international trade can bind states together because the interests of a state become those of other states (Gallarotti, 2011). The final factor is the significance of international institutions. For the liberalist, they foster peaceful relations in promoting cooperation through common rules and norms, which is a core assumption of neoliberalism (Nye, 1990). Furthermore, 'institutions can enhance a country's soft power' (Nye, 2004, p. 10). They promote a country's values and ideas with other members and states. For instance, Britain and the United States promoted their values of the liberalism and democracy by creating a structure of international rules and institutions such as the World Trade Organization and the United Nations in the case of the United States (Nye, 2004). Thus, soft power conforms to much liberal theory, particularly of neoliberalist's perspective.

2.1.3. Constructivism

Whereas realism and liberalism tend to stress material factors such as power or trade, constructivist approaches focus on the impact of ideas. In the processes of interaction between states, the identities and interests of states are created (Wendt, 1992). Weber refers to 'what states do depend on what their identities and interests are, and identities and interests change' (2013, p. 60). However, constructivists argue that identities and interests in international politics are not stable as they have no pre-given nature (Onuf, 2012). The more important point is to look at how these identities and interests are constructed and how they are made in specific international interactions (Wendt, 1992).

Constructivism suggests that even though there is no objective international system, there are still ideas which are mutually shared among the public and constitute a conceptualised international order. Wendt (1992) argued that the term constructivism does not simply apply to the international relations field but is more widely evident as a form of "structural idealism" in sociology. From this perspective, constructivism attempts to explain how international contexts are constructed by actors such as politicians and international organisations. Thus, the world is made by human consciousness and such constructions are evidenced in language, discourse, signs and symbols and other forms of human understanding and communication (Jackson and Sørensen, 2007)

Finnemore (1996) focuses on the norms of international society and the way in which they affect a state's identities and interests. The norms of international society are transmitted to states through international organisations as the 'teaching agent' and it is exemplified by three case-studies. The First case-study is the creation of science bureaucracies in states. The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) has taught states how to develop science bureaucracies and successfully propagated the idea (p. 34). Second, states accepted rule-governed norms of warfare. In the case of the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC), they can offer to act as an impartial instrument of humanitarian protection during armed conflicts (p. 69). The final case-study is the World Bank's influence on attitudes to poverty. The bank plays an essential role in promoting poverty alleviation in developing countries (p. 89). In short, she argues that international norms promoted by international organisations can influence national guidelines for states to adopt these norms in their national policy. Systemic constructivists consequently emphasize the importance of the international environment in shaping state identities.

The constructivist approach has been productive as it focuses on the social content involved in the production of international relations, including state interests (Wendt, 1992). While many non-constructivists argue that the content of interests is defined by the desires for survival, power, and security, most constructivists acknowledge that state interests are fundamentally basic needs. For the constructivist, the influences on interest formation are social (Legro, 2005). Wendt (1992) also argues that the social constitution of interests encompasses all the ways that actors' interests and identities might be influenced by their interactions with others and with their social environment.

2.1.3.1. Constructivism and the location of soft power

According to Gallarotti (2010), similar to neoliberal perspective, the idea of soft power is also a manifestation of constructivist concept of the utility of power. First, while realists stress the importance of material capabilities such as military resources and manpower and also tend to ignore intangible resources, a constructivist approach considers diverse factors including 'ideas, culture, the

attractiveness of identities and influence of prevailing norms' in international relations and enables accommodate the idea of soft power (Vyas, 2010, p.121). Second, constructivism highlights non-material forms of power, such as 'symbolic power', which may also be used for the purpose of coercing another (Wilson, 2008). For instance, 'during the Arab Cold War, symbolic power was used by radical Arab states to bring into line their conservative counterparts by touting the attractiveness of Arab nationalism for Arab peoples across the Middle East' (p. 13). Third, a constructivist approach shows the significance of forms of international interactions. The movement and communications of people between countries can be considered as to their influence on international relations through a constructivist perspective (Keohane, 1988; Lukes, 2005; Wendt, 1992).

While a constructivist approach is useful way to view for understanding of soft power, there is, however, a consideration of taking the state as a given identity. Ashley (1995), therefore, argues that critical constructivists deny the possibility of generalisation or stability of identities and interests. In the industrialised democracies, it is arguably impossible 'for such a monolithic state identity to form, and to some extent at least, various parts of the state have different interests and identities' (Vyas, 2010, p. 123). Moreover, in international relations the constructivists' discussions of the power of ideas and norms did not develop into a new concept of power with concrete policy implications (Barnett and Finnemore, 1999; Haas, 1992; and Risse, 2016). Therefore, despite the constructivist's discussions of power which contain many elements of soft power in international relations, constructivist ideas 'have not developed into a systematic merge of separate constructivist discussions of ideational power' (Lee, 2009, p. 2).

2.2. The Conceptualisation of Power

2.2.1. Introduction

According to Gilpin (1983) and Waltz (1986), thinking about the concept of power is a matter of controversy in the field of international relations. Steven Lukes in his 2007 article, *Power and the battle for hearts and minds* suggested some reasons for the controversy, which are that 'the concept of power is primitive in the specific sense' and 'the concept of power is essentially contested'. Berenskoetter (2007, p. 1), similarly comments that power is an essentially contested concept, 'with different interpretations held together more by a family resemblance than a core meaning' and we need to think carefully about power as the meaning we choose determines which relations we consider relevant and where we locate political spaces. With regard to Lukes' (2007, p. 83) second reason, 'power is essentially contested', when some judgement is made about the presence or absence of power or the extent of some agent's power, what counts as exercising power and as being more or less powerful/ powerless cannot be disconnected from various controversial assumptions about what is important. Moreover, in extending John Locke's definition (1946, p. 111), which is that 'to have power is to be able to make, or able to receive, any change', Lukes (2007, p. 84) complements this definition by commenting that 'having power is being able to make or to receive any change, or to resist it'. This definition implies that power identifies a capacity: power is a potentiality, not an actuality. This specific implication is helpful to see why and in what ways power is essentially contested.

In the field of International relations, despite the long-standing interest in power, there is no consensus on the nature and definition of power. Barnett and Duvall (2005) try to capture different conceptions of power systematically and explore connections between them. However, their analysis neglects the theoretical contexts in which the concept has been embedded and does not discuss the power debates in social and political theory (Berenskoetter, 2007). Moreover, Barnett and Duvall (2005) do not refer to the link between different conceptualisations of power and approaches to theorising world politics.

When thinking about power, it is important to see how different conceptualisation of power are embedded in different theoretical frames and to acknowledge that power use may be different in nature and have different determinants in different contexts. For a deeper and more satisfactory analysis of power, Lukes' (2005) conceptualisation of power and Foucault's conceptualisation of power will be discussed.

2.2.2. Steven Lukes' conceptualisation of power

Steven Lukes (2005, p. 37) offers a generic definition of the concept of power as 'A exercises power over B when A affects B in a manner contrary to B's interests'. However, this is too generic a definition, and Lukes (2005), in his radical framework, which is responsive to the restrictive scope of the one dimensional view of Dahl (1961) and the two dimensional view of Bachrach & Baratz (1970) proposed a more satisfactory interpretation by conceptualising the three dimensions of power. Each dimension of power involves different assumptions regarding an agent's awareness and ability to mobilise their own interests. Table 2.1 identified the distinctive features of the three views of power.

Table 2. 1 The features of the three view of power

	One-dimensional view	Two-dimensional view	Three-dimensional view
Proponents	Dahl, Polsby, classic pluralists	Bachrach and Baratz, neo-elitists	Lukes, Marxists, neo-Marxists and radical elitists/pluralists
Conception of power	Power over decision	Power over non-decision	Power over interest
Nature of power	Visible, transparent and easily measured	Both invisible and visible (visible only to agenda setters), but can be rendered visible through gaining inside information	Largely invisible – power distorts perceptions and shapes preferences; it must be demystified
Focus on	Decision-making Issues Observable (overt) conflict	Decision-making and non-decision making Issues and potential issues	Decision-making and control over political agenda (not necessarily through decisions)

	Subjective interests, seen as policy preferences revealed by political participation	Observable (overt or covert) conflict Subjective interest, seen as policy preferences or grievances	Issues and potential issues Observable (overt or covert), latent conflict Subjective and real interests
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Adapted from Hay (2002, p. 180) and Lukes (2005, p. 29)

The one-dimensional view of power

Based on the pluralistic perspective of power, the one-dimensional view of power is about power over decisions. Agents are assumed to be able to mobilise their own interests. Interests are to be understood as policy preferences and revealed in political participation and provide an experimental test of actors' capacity to affect outcomes (Dahl, 1961). Consequently, in the process of decision-making, the conflict of interest is assumed to be crucial. In this way, the one-dimensional view of power involves a focus on behaviour in the making of decisions over key issues where there is an observable conflict of interest (Lukes, 2005, p. 19). According to the critics of this view, power is not only reflected in concrete decisions as an indication of power but also provides a misleadingly optimistic view of politics (Lukes, 2005, Wilson and Thompson, 2001). For example, this one-dimensional view does not consider that interests may be unarticulated or unobservable. Furthermore, individuals or groups can limit decision-making to relatively non-controversial issues by influencing community values and political procedures (Lukes, 2005).

The two-dimensional view of power

In response to this narrow view of power, Bachrach and Baratz (1970) proposed the two dimensional view of power. This view is that 'not only is power exercised, as within the pluralist framework, in the arena of decision-making, but it is also exercised by preventing issues from reaching that arena' (Haugaard, 2002, p. 26). The fundamental assumption of the two-dimensional view is that power can be perceived in non-decision making processes while power is also exercised in the

decision-making process. A non-decision is 'a decision that results in the suppression of alternative issues in order to limit decision-making to safe issues' (Lukes, 2005, p. 22). An issue can be excluded from the decision-making process by powerful or elite groups, which exercise their power over others for their own interest or benefit and it is difficult for a specific issue to enter the political arena (Bachrach and Baratz, 1962). In this way the focus of the two-dimensional view is on structural bias and the extent to which the powerful can influence the bias. According to Schattschneider (1960, p. 71), 'All forms of political organisation have a bias in favour of the exploitation of some kinds of conflict and the suppression of others, because organisations are the mobilization of bias. Some issues are organised into politics while others are organised out'. In other words, the second dimension of power is about control over the agenda and it involves agent's capacity to influence the bias to keep opposing views away from the agenda (McCabe, 2013). In this view, power is exercised by mobilising bias in the system for the benefit of certain persons and groups at the expense of others (Bachrach and Baratz, 1962). In short, the second dimensional view of power allows for 'consideration of the way in which decisions are prevented from being taken on potential issues over which there is an observable conflict of interests, seen as embodied in express policy preferences and sub-political grievances' (Lukes, 2005, p. 25). However, there is the major limitation with the two-dimensional view of power. It is too focused on actual behaviour, which associates power with actual observable conflict and non-decision making power only relies on grievances which are denied entry into the political process in the form of issues (Lukes, 2005).

Three-dimensional view of power

These shortcomings led to a consideration of the perspective of the three-dimensional view of power suggested by Lukes (2005). Lukes' radical perspective pays more attention to the invisible nature of power. An exercise of power is to prevent grievances by shaping actor's preferences and perception. In this way, power in the third dimension is not merely about keeping issues away the agenda, but also out of the minds of the dominated actors (Lukes, 2005). In the extension of the second dimensional view, the third dimension of power is that 'structural bias

may be mobilised to prevent alternative or conflicting issues reaching the political arena' (McCabe, 2013, p. 59). But, the difference between two dimensions is their perspectives on observable behaviour, which means that while the second dimensional view of power may limit or reduce B's ability to participate in the political activity, the third dimension of view actually renders B powerless (Haugaard, 2002). The power may be exercised as action or inaction, which shape the perceptions and preferences of actors and it may occur in the absence of conflict. Moreover, power can distort actor's perceptions and shape preferences at invisible levels (Hay, 2002). In this dimension, latent conflict, which 'consists in a contradiction between the interests of those exercising power and the real interests of those they exclude' (Lukes, 2005, p. 28), provides an indicator for power in the absence of observable conflict. As such, from the third dimensional view of power, the major point is that the power can be exercised to stop conflict from occurring in the first place. In other words, 'the most effective and insidious use of power is to prevent such conflict from arising in the first place' (Lukes, 2005, p. 27). In this way, the power may operate to shape interests and the actors may not be aware of their 'true' interests (McCabe, 2013).

2.2.3. Michel Foucault's conceptualisation of power

Michel Foucault's conceptualisation of power incorporates the idea that knowledge and truth exist in an essential relation with social, economic and political factors (O'Farrell, 2005). His theories have been concerned largely with the concept of power, knowledge and discourse. Foucault (1995; 1998; 2002) proposes the notion of productive power, which is derived from his analysis of the constitution of the subject and highlights forces constituting identities through discourses of normality. Moreover, he focuses on the power-knowledge nexus and on the mechanisms through which power produces different types of knowledge. This focus has produced a range of concepts including disciplinary or bio power, as well as governmentality with the latter being of particular relevance to this study (Berenskoetter, 2007; O'Farrell, 2005; Gaventa, 2003).

The first important feature is Foucault's view that, 'power is not a 'thing' or a 'capacity' which can be owned either by State, social class or particular individuals.

Instead it is a relation between different individuals and groups and only exists when it is being exercised' (O'Farrell, 2005, p. 99). He initially referred to power as coextensive with the social body and there were no freedoms without power relations and also that resistance existed wherever power was exercised (Foucault, 1998). In a more refined version of the same ideas, he argued, according to O'Farrell (2005, p. 99) that 'power still pervades the social body at all levels, but it does not encompass every social relation... power comes from relationships of exchange and production and from relationships of communication... power becomes a way of changing people's conduct or 'a mode of action upon the actions of others'.

A second feature of his work, of particular relevance to this study, is his argument that power is not owned by the States. Foucault criticises models which see power as being purely located in the state or the administration. According to Foucault (1998), the state is not mainly something that owns power, but rather something which builds a system of relations between individuals so that the political system works.

Third, Foucault argues that power is productive. Power is not simply oppressing individuals, social classes or natural instincts but it generates particular types of knowledge and cultural order (O'Farrell, 2005). In other words, power and oppression should not be reduced to the same thing as power produces certain types of behaviours by regulating people's everyday activities (Gaventa, 2003). According to Foucault, he describes this view as the 'microphysics of power and the capillary level': where 'power reaches into the very grain of individuals, touches their bodies and inserts itself into their actions and attitudes, their discourses, learning processes and everyday lives" (1980, p. 30). Thus, he develops this view of power as 'productive' rather than 'repressive' (1998). Moreover, in the same vein, he also argues that power is positive as it is not necessarily repressive or prohibitive. In the *Discipline and Punish* (1995, p. 194), he points out that 'power produces; it produces reality; it produces domains of objects and rituals of truth. The individual and the knowledge that may be gained of him belong to this production'.

Fourth, in Foucault's view, power is inseparable from knowledge. In his collection of essays entitled *Power/Knowledge* (1980), Foucault describes knowledge as being a conjunction of power relations and information seeking, which

he terms power/knowledge. In his work (Sheridan and Foucault, 1980, p. 283), 'there is no knowledge on one side and society on the other, or science and the State, but only the fundamental forms of power-knowledge'. In short, knowledge and power operate almost interchangeably or they are mutually constitutive (Foucault, 2002). In the same vein, Foucault claims that 'there is no power relations without the correlative constitution of a field of knowledge, nor any knowledge that does not presuppose and constitutes at the same time power relations' (1995, p. 27) and 'no form of knowledge emerges independently of complex networks of power and that the exercise of power produces certain types of knowledge' (1998). In this perspective, the mechanisms of power produce different types of knowledge for investigating and collecting information on people's activities and existence (O'Farrell, 2005). In this general nexus of power-knowledge, Foucault proposed different configurations of power and knowledge: disciplinary power, bio power and then governmentality.

Discipline, Foucault defines as a 'technology' aimed at: 'how to keep someone under surveillance, how to control his conduct, his behaviour, his aptitudes, how to improve his performance, multiply his capacities, how to put him where he is most useful: that is discipline in my sense' (O'Farrell, 2005, p. 102). He suggested that disciplinary techniques were first developed in the army, schools, hospitals, or prison and disciplinary power relies on surveillance to transform the subjects. Moreover, Foucault introduced the concept of the 'Panopticon' to explore his concepts on power-knowledge (Rabinow, 1984) and he saw that space was arranged to achieve disciplinary power through knowledge of surveillance (Foucault, 1995).

If disciplinary power focuses on the creation and control of the individual via methods of training the body and behaviour, Foucault describes the technologies used to manage populations as 'Biopower' (Foucault, 1998). The focus of bio power is to manage the life, death and health of entire populations and thus the forms of knowledge and practices relating to public health, sexuality and the control of reproduction became the subject of administrative interest in order to manage populations (O'Farrell, 2005).

However, a configuration of power which is particularly significant for this research is 'governmentality'. The idea of governmentality allowed for the

incorporation of freedoms, instead of restricting freedoms as did discipline, into the mechanisms which guide people's behaviour in the social body (O'Farrell, 2005). Furthermore, this concept allowed Foucault to consider debates centred around 'how to govern oneself, how to be governed, and how to govern others' (Foucault, 2007).

According to Hancock and Garner (2009), the term governmentality, which is the semantic linking of 'government' and 'mentality', refers to the practices of government. Modern governmentality does not refer to 'objectifying power that turns bodies into docile objects but rather to subjectivizing power that constructs individuals who are capable of choice and action' (2009, p. 139). In short, governmentality is a process of turning individuals into active subjects and a form of rationality and systemicity of exercising political sovereignty through the government of people's conduct (Hancock and Garner, 2009 and O'Farrell, 2005). Moreover, Foucault's analysis is not focused on the state but it pays more attention to all particular practices of governing locally in multiple and local sites such as the family, the school, or places of worship, which are all about socialization and social regulation (O'Farrell, 2005).

The concept of governmentality shifts government functions from coercion and public spending to the manipulation of individual self-regulation and the coordination of organizations like private enterprises and non-profits (Light 2001). Moreover, in terms of the development of governing authorities to promote security, Foucault's argument is that the practice of governmentality governs a population by promoting the well-being of the subjects in both political and economic life rather than secure complete control (Hancock and Garner, 2009).

Foucault uses the notion of governmentality to develop a new understanding of power (Shoshana, 2012) which includes the forms of social control in disciplinary institutions such as schools, hospitals and psychiatric institutions as well as the forms of knowledge (Dean, 1999). Power can manifest itself positively by producing knowledge and certain discourses that get internalised by individuals and guide the behaviour of populations.

However, while Foucault's work is interesting and resonates to an extent with the concept of soft power, it tends to be more easily applied to domestic political systems rather than to the international political systems. Foucault's concept of

governmentality, according to Cerny (2010, p. 47), 'is confined to the governance of the domestic political system of nation-states of particular policy issue-areas and agencies'. Moreover, Foucault's conceptualisation of political reason concerns governmentality's focus on government within a state and is relatively neglectful of the international system of states (Hindess, 2005 and Lukes, 2005). Furthermore, Foucault's view of power is productive and controlling. It produces 'constituted' subjects (Lukes, 2005). Therefore, in terms of the subject-centred, structural view of Foucault's work, it is less easy to see how it would be integrated with the definition of soft power given by Nye's agent-centred, strategic view (Lukes, 2007).

2.2.4. Conclusion

This section has reviewed the way power has been conceptualised by two leading theorists, Steven Lukes and Michel Foucault. As the conclusion to the previous section states, Foucault's work is interesting, but not directly relevant. In explaining Foucault's conceptualisation of power, Foucault's view of power operates not only by presenting the subject of power, but instead by changing how subjects understand the world in which they live. This, for Foucault, involves the constitution of certain types of subjects (Parmar and Cox, 2010). Moreover, through the concept of governmentality by Foucault, power can manifest itself positively by producing knowledge, which leads to more efficient forms of social control and power. Consequently, according to Foucault, a consideration of conceptualisation of power promises to supplement rather than negate the notion of soft power (Lock, 2010).

While Lukes' three face of power can be applied to the study of IR they are not all compatible with the concept of soft power. Lukes' 'first face of power' focuses on the visible dimension of power relations, in which the powerful are considered those who prevail in decision-making (Lukes, 2005). This view of power resonated with realist perspective in IR but it does not appear to relate to the concept of soft power here. However, Lukes' 'second dimensional views of power', which looks at non-visible forms of power relations, in the attempt to capture the ways in which non-material power is expressed and the 'third dimensional views of power', which pays more attention to the invisible nature of power and the power to shape, influence or determine others' beliefs and desires, thereby securing their compliance (Lukes,

2005) resonate more strongly with Nye's soft power's conception (1990, p. 166): 'which occurs when one country gets other countries to want what it wants' in contrast with the command power of ordering others to do what it wants. Therefore, as will be seen, Lukes' second and third dimensional views of power overlap with or are considered compatible with Nye's conceptualisation of soft power.

2.3. The Conceptualisation of Soft Power

2.3.1. The emergence of the concept of soft power

According to Nye, 'Power is the ability to influence the behaviour of others to get the outcomes one wants' (Nye, 1990, p. 154, 2004a, p. 2). Traditionally, the test of a great power was its strength in war (Nye, 1990). However, as world politics has become more complex, the nature of power in world politics has changed. The concept of power is losing its stress on military force that marked earlier eras. The reason is that the factors of economic growth, technology and education are becoming more significant in international power (Nye, 1990). Therefore, the power of major states to achieve their objectives is diminished and these major states have to confront the changing nature of power in world politics (Nye, 2002 and Pallaver, 2011).

According to Nye, the appropriate way to face changes occurring in world politics today is not to cast aside the traditional concern for the military balance of power, but instead, to accept its limitations and to supplement it with insights about interdependence (1990). Compared to the traditional view that states are the only significant actors, today other actors like international non-governmental organisations are becoming increasingly important and these more complex coalitions affect outcomes in modern times (Nye, 1990, 2004a). Moreover, according to Nye (1990, 2002, 2004a), the use of military force has become more costly for modern great powers than in earlier time. Furthermore, the instruments of power have been changed from considering the goal of security and military force to considering economic and environment issues, which involve large elements of mutual advantage that can be achieved only through cooperation. Consequently the world powers today are less able to use their traditional power resources to achieve their purposes than in the past.

In addition, new trends such as economic interdependence, transnational actors, nationalism in weak states, the spread of technology and changing political issues have contributed to the diffusion of power to private actors and small states (Nye, 1990). Thus, world politics encompasses different issues within different spheres with different structures. Although traditional instruments of power may play

a role, new power resources such as the capacity for effective communication and for developing multilateral institutions may prove more relevant to deal with the new political situation in world (Nye, 1990; Parmar and Cox, 2010).

In the same vein, according to Nye (2004b), due to the changing nature of international politics, intangible forms of power have become more important. New resources such as national cohesion, universalistic culture, and international institutions have become significant and 'power is passing from the 'capital-rich' to the 'information-rich' (p. 75). Information is becoming more and more plentiful and a capacity for a timely response to this new information is a critical power resource (Nye, 1990 and Wilson, 2008). Furthermore, intangible changes in knowledge also affect military power. Compared to investing in human espionage traditionally, now major powers employ electronic surveillance from space in order to provide quick access to a variety of economic, political, and military information (Nye, 1990).

In this regard, these trends suggest more fruitful ways of exercising power than traditional means. Nye (2004b, p. 76) adds that '*a state may achieve the outcomes it prefers in world politics because other states want to follow it or have agreed to a situation that produces such effects... it is just as important to set the agenda and structure the situations in world politics as to get others to change in particular cases*'. In this sense, this more attractive aspect of power is called 'co-optive' or 'soft power', which occurs when one country gets other countries to want what it wants in contrast with the hard or command power of ordering others to do what it wants (Nye, 1990, 2004b). The ability to affect what other countries want shows a tendency to be associated with intangible power resources such as culture, ideology, and institutions (Nye, 1990). If a state's culture and ideology are attractive, 'other states want to follow it, admiring its values, emulating its example, aspiring to its level of prosperity and openness' (Nye, 2002, p. 5, 2004a, p. 5). In this sense, it is important to set the agenda and attract others in world politics, not only to force them to change by economic threats and military coercion.

Co-optive power or soft power, which tends to arise from such resources as rules and institutions of international regimes and cultural and ideological attraction, has become the ability of a state to structure a situation so that other countries develop preferences or define their interests in ways consistent with its own (Nye,

1990 and 2004a). For example, institutions enhance a country's co-optive power or soft power. Britain and the United States advanced their values by creating a structure of international rules and institutions that were consistent with the democratic nature of the British and American economic system such as free trade, the gold standard, the International Monetary Fund, the World Trade Organisation (WTO), and the United Nations (UN) (Nye, 2004a). Moreover, culture is another useful soft power resource. American popular culture, embodied in products and communications, television shows, films, and even language has widespread appeal and it provides more opportunities to get messages across and to affect the preferences of others (Nye, 1990; 2004a; 2011).

Sometimes the same power resources can affect the entire area of behaviour from coercion to attraction. However, given the changes in world politics, the use of power is becoming less coercive, less transferable, and less tangible. Changes in political issues and modern trends are having significant effects on the nature of power. The next section explores the conceptualisation of soft power in more detail.

2.3.2. The conceptualisation of soft power

Joseph Nye defines 'hard power' in terms of the ability to 'get others to act in ways that are contrary to their initial preferences and strategies and this is the ability to coerce through threats and inducements' (Nye, 2011, p. 11) and sees 'soft power', on the ability to 'get others to want the outcomes that you want' (Nye, 2004a, p. 5) and more particularly 'through attraction rather than coercion or payment' (Nye, 2008, p. 94) (See Table 2.2). In a future refinement of the concept, Nye introduced 'smart power' as the combination and balance of hard and soft power (2004, p. 32).

Table 2. 2 Type of Power

	Hard	Soft
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Spectrum of Behaviours	<div style="display: flex; align-items: center; justify-content: space-between;"> <div style="text-align: center;"> Command ← ● ● ● ● → </div> <div style="text-align: center;"> Coercion Inducement Agenda setting Attraction ← ● ● ● ● → </div> <div style="text-align: center;"> Co-opt </div> </div>			
Most Likely Resources	<div style="display: flex; justify-content: space-around;"> <div style="text-align: center;"> Force sanctions </div> <div style="text-align: center;"> Payments bribes </div> <div style="text-align: center;"> Institutions Values Culture Policies </div> </div>			

Source: Nye (2004a, p. 8)

Hard and soft power are related and can reinforce each other as they are ‘aspects of the ability to achieve one’s purpose by affecting the behaviour of others’ (Nye, 2004a, p. 7). But the difference between two powers is one of degree, both in the nature of the behaviour and in the tangibility of the resources.

The nature of soft power rests on the ability to shape the preferences of others (Nye, 2002; 2004a; 2008) and as such is similar to Lukes’ third dimensional view of power, ‘the power to shape, influence or determine others’ beliefs and desires, thereby securing their compliance’ (Lukes, 2007: 90). At the personal level and also in the business world, the ability to establish preferences tends to be associated with intangible power resources such as an attractive personality, culture, ideology, and institutions (Nye, 2002; 2004a; 2008). According to Nye (2002, p. 5; 2008, p. 95), ‘If I can get you to want to do what I want, then I do not have to force you to do what you do not want to do’.

Soft power is ‘not only the same as influence. After all, influence can also rest on the hard power of threats or payments. And soft power is more than persuasion or the ability to move people by argument, through that it an important part of it’ (Nye, 2004a, p. 6; 2008, p. 5). Moreover, soft power is also the ability to entice and attract, and attraction often leads to acquiescence or imitation (Nye, 2008). Simply, in terms of behaviour, soft power is attractive power and in terms of resources, soft power resources are the assets that produce such attraction (Nye, 2004a; 2008).

The sources of soft power drawn upon by a state are very different to those of traditional hard power. The soft power of a country, according to Nye (2004a, p. 11), rests mainly on three key sources: a state’s culture, its political values and its foreign policies. Culture is the set of values and practices that create meaning for a

particular people or society (Nye, 2008). According to Nye (2004a, p. 11), 'when a country's culture includes universal values and its policies promote values and interests that others share, it increases the probability of obtaining its desired outcomes because of the relationships of attraction and duty that it creates'. For example, according to Pells (1997, p. 31), the French government sought to repair the nation's devastated prestige by promoting its language and literature after its defeat in the Franco-Prussian War and this projection of French culture abroad became a significant component of French diplomacy. However, although popular culture is often a resource that produces soft power, the effectiveness of any power resource depends on the context. American films make the United States attractive in China or Latin America but it has the opposite effect in Saudi Arabia or Pakistan (Nye, 2004a).

In terms of the political values, government policies at domestic and international level are another potential source of soft power. For instance, the racial discrimination in the 1950s diminished American soft power in Africa and today the practice of capital punishment and weak gun control laws weaken American soft power in Europe (Nye, 2008). Similarly, a state's foreign policies 'when they are seen as legitimate and having moral authority' (Nye, 2004a, p. 11) strongly affect soft power. Nye argues that the values a government champions in foreign policy promoting peace and human rights strongly affect the preferences of others (Nye, 2004a). However, soft power is less under the control of the government than hard power is and government hard power policies can undermine a country's soft power strategy (Nye, 2004a and 2008). For example, after the Iraq War in 2003, the attractiveness of the United States was diminished as indicated by polls due to the unpopularity of the war (Luke, 2007 and Nye, 2004a). After all, as will be discussed in the next section, many soft-power resources are separate from the American government and are only partly responsive to its purpose. (2004a, p.15)

Nye's central practical and political concerns are clear. After the attack on Iraq, he argued that it was a mistake that 'the means the Bush administration chose focused too heavily on hard power and did not take enough account of soft power' (Nye, 2004a, p. 25). He also comments that 'winning the peace is harder than winning a war, and soft power is essential to winning the peace' (Nye, 2004a, p. xii). More generally, he argues that 'the countries that are likely to be more attractive and

gain soft power in the information age are those with multiple channels of communication that help to frame issues: whose dominant culture and ideas are closer to the prevailing global norms: and whose credibility is enhanced by their domestic values and policies' (Nye, 2002, p. 6; 2004a, p. 31-2; Lukes, 2007, p. 91).

2.3.3. The development of Soft Power

Given the limitations of the large-scale use of military force, many countries are seeking to focus greater attention on soft power as core diplomacy. Moreover, as connectivity and interdependence between states have increased and also non-state actors have been increasingly influential, the deployment of soft power is at the forefront of international policy objectives (Fisher, 2014). Governments and states rest primarily on cultural resources such as education, media, popular-culture, and even sport and seek a range of activities or actions to maximise the ability to utilise soft power (Nye, 2004a).

In terms of education as a source of soft power, many countries regard that education as the best way to promote their national interests on the world stage and they pay special attention to the use of education as an effective source of soft power (Amirbek and Ydyrys, 2014). A successful national education system can help create a more favourable image thus enhancing a country's soft power internationally (Amirbek and Ydyrys, 2014) and also domestically (Annells, 2014). For example, American higher education produces significant soft power for the United States (Nye, 2004a, p. 44-45) and also academic and scientific exchanges such as the Fulbright scholarship programmes play an important role in enhancing soft power (Fisher, 2014, p. 2).

Popular culture also contributed to major foreign policy objectives. One example is the Hollywood. According to Nye (2008, p. 98), the Office of Wartime Information (OWI) worked to shape Hollywood into an effective soft power tool and Pells (1997, p. xiii) also argued that 'Hollywood studios were selling not only their products but also America's culture and values to the rest of the world'. Moreover, according to Nye (2008), an external media service has been one of the instruments of public diplomacy that a government uses to exercise soft power to capture the

attention of a global public. For example, the Voice of America (VOA) service in the post-Cold War era provided the framework of the information revolution and became a leading example of informational soft power (Nye, 2004b and Alexandre, 1988) and in the same vein, BBC radio and BBC world service play a role as important instruments of British soft power (Danby and Thompson, 2011). Furthermore, according to Nye (2004a), states are increasingly seeking to maximise their soft power in an effort to promote cultural understanding and avoid cultural misunderstanding. Under this condition, cultural organisations of countries such as British Council of the UK (British Council, 2013), International Organisation of La Francophonie of France (OIF, 2009), Goethe Institut of Germany (Goethe Institut, 2011) are powerful states' soft power actors.

The information age has been marked by an increasingly important role of nonstate actors on the international stage thus, according to Nye (2004a, p. 90), 'many NGOs claim to act as a global conscience representing broad public interests beyond the purview of individual states'. As NGOs are able to attract followers, governments have to take NGOs into account as both allies and adversaries.

To sum up, each of these different soft power resources plays a significant role in helping to create an attractive image of a country that can improve its prospects for obtaining its desired outcomes.

2.3.4. Soft power in International Relations

The changing nature of international relations and the risk of traditional military forms of power, according to Nye, have led to intangible power resources becoming more important in inter-state relations (Grix and Houlihan, 2014). However, this does not mean that Nye advocates replacing hard power with soft power in international relations but he argues that soft power is as important as hard power, and even more so in international relations (Nye, 2004b).

Soft power, according to Kearn (2011), works by influencing how actors define their objectives and the means they employ to achieve those objectives. Thus, soft power operates at the level of interests, or vital goals and preferences, or strategies for achieving vital goals. In IR theory, the role of interests and preferences has been

long debated. The realist typically presents interests as fundamental while preferences, such as competition or cooperation, may vary based on the constraints and opportunities presented by the system (Keohane, 1988; Mearsheimer, 2001; Waltz, 2010). Liberalists and neoliberal institutionalists affirm that international institutions can enhance a country's soft power (Keohane, 2002 and Nye, 2004b). Therefore, 'If a country can shape international rules that are consistent with its interests and values, its actions will more likely appear legitimate in the eyes of others' (Nye, 2004a, p. 11-12). From the perspective of constructivist scholars, identities are the basis for interests and therefore more fundamental (Wendt, 1992). Kearn (2011, p. 68) mentions that 'the introduction of state identity problematizes interests, allowing for both interests and preferences to change over time. As states interact, the consequences of behaviour inform future strategies and shape state identity over time'. In these theoretical approaches, soft power as a point of conceptual overlap among the major approaches to IR theory may indeed be an important force in IR (Gallarotti, 2011). Kearn (2011, p. 68), building on Nye's work, argues that after some number of positive interactions with State A (leading state), State B (target state) develops a positive view of State A's goals, as well as the way it pursues those goals. Nye (2004a) also adds that it may also grow to appreciate State A's culture, though this would seem to demand an even deeper type of interaction. In this regard, State A's soft power shapes the motives and intentions of State B and the perception of State A's positive example is reinforced throughout the system thus its soft power is enhanced (Kean, 2011 and Nye, 2004a).

However, it cannot be ruled out that soft power can also lead to unexpected negative interactions, Kearn (2011, p. 69) exemplifies that 'if State A previously possessed some measure of soft power, State B's reaction would seem to undermine the perception of A's attractiveness, potentially contributing to an erosion of its soft power if others follow suit'. Moreover, if State B follows dramatically different policies from those of the State A, the example of the leading state may not be attractive as its preferences or strategies for achieving vital goals are ambivalent or undeveloped (Kearn, 2011). Particularly, in the decision-making process, powerful states seek to optimize their utilization of soft power resources to maximize their influence and avoid undermining their position by an over-reliance on either

approach (Gallarotti, 2011). Then, the potential for real damage to the underlying relationship is possible and a loss of soft power is likely (Nye, 2004a).

This discussion of soft power working through the interests and preferences of states reflects the importance of the concept in international relations. Nonetheless, soft power indicates that an opposite outcome could also hold true if conflicts of interest or preferences are involved. The next section will explore several theoretical criticisms of the concept of soft power.

2.3.5. The limits of soft power

Despite the potential theoretical contribution of soft power and the popular usage of the term in international politics, the concept of soft power has also drawn a significant volume of criticism. In academic circles, the notion of soft power has been criticised for being too soft (Ferguson, 2003), too blunt (Lukes, 2007) and too vague (Mattern, 2007). In general, these problems arise from the lack of specificity of the concept of soft power and the difficulties associated with measuring the impact of soft power (Kearn, 2011). In particular, the implicit assumptions of soft power, which relate to its scope and conditions of use, are often inadequately addressed. Moreover, there are problematic issues in relation to the concept of 'attraction', which is the primary mechanism through which soft power works and also in terms of the relationship between hard and soft power.

First, the major criticism of soft power pertains to its scope and context (Kearn, 2011). According to Gallarotti (2010), it seems clear that an implicit assumption of the influence of soft power is the degree of underlying shared values and interests among actors. However, there is a limit on applicability of soft power in inter-state relations. For instance, within a formal institutional setting like the UN, states hold different ideas about appropriate behavior and also possess divergent interests (Kearn, 2011). In contrast, Checkel argues that, within an organization like the EU, the influence of soft power is at work, but this cannot be generalised to refer to the larger patterns of global politics (Checkel, 2001). In particular, Kearn argues that 'the underlying necessary condition for this soft power to be accrued is the existence of a prior relationship which constitutes a multilateral institutional context constructed to resolve collective problems' (2011, p. 72). It means that soft power is

particularly significant where rules of appropriate behavior are clear and where some level of mutual interest is present. However, conversely, outside this context, the relevance and impact of soft power is less likely to play a major role (Gallarotti, 2011).

Second criticism of soft power is the problem of attraction. Attraction is the primary mechanism through which soft power works in the international system and this attraction is a state's values or ideals, culture, or policies, and it works through the interests and preferences of the target state (Nye, 2004a). However, these attributes are not easily and predictably manipulated by states. According to Nye, it may be possible to couch policy choices in ways that link them to the attractive underlying ideals or values of the leading state, but this reduces soft power to effective persuasion or manipulation (2004a, p. 7). However, persuasion shifts the analytical focus to behavior and outcomes rather than to interests and preferences (Kearns, 2011). In other words, the focus seems to shift from influencing interests and preferences to directly manipulating behavior. A leading state, according to Kearns (2011) may be able to threaten another state to achieve a desired outcome of a deliberate policy choice.

Third criticism of soft power is that the relationship between hard and soft power continues to be unsatisfactorily developed (Gallarotti, 2011). In particular, the issue about the implicit significance of hard power resources to the attractiveness of a state has been debated. Hard power resources generally are known as military force and economic power (Nye, 2004a) but the influence of hard power resources can be expanded to include technological acumen, infrastructural development, industrial capacity (Kearns, 2011). In other words, it is difficult to envision a state possessing a significant degree of soft power without a certain amount of hard power resources. Soft power can be enhanced through the use of tangible resources because those hard power resources may be necessary to institute the policies and actions that deliver soft power (Gallarotti, 2011).

In addition, the other side of soft power needs to be considered carefully. Brannagan and Giulianotti (2014) introduced the concept of 'soft disempowerment' to refer to 'those occasions in which a given state may upset, offend or alienate others,

leading to a loss of attractiveness or influence' (2014, p. 12). For example, in terms of human rights issues, China's domestic crackdown and human rights activists undercut its soft power gains (Nye, 2012) and the violation of the right of workers who employed in Qatar on 2022 World Cup-related projects has had an adverse impact on Qatar (Brannagan and Giulianotti, 2014 and Dorsey, 2015).

But despite these limitations of soft power, there is a general recognition that soft power is an important element in enhancing influence over international outcomes in this transformed international system as it has become more difficult to compel nations and non-state actors through the use of hard power (Nye, 2004a; Gallarotti, 2011). Consideration of these theoretical criticisms of soft power ought to be a way to reduce the ongoing misuse of the term in policy discussions. Although soft power is exceedingly difficult to use through policies precisely as it works indirectly through the interests and preferences of states and other actors (Nye, 2004a), this concept is best understood as a lens through which to consider alternatives in world politics in the modern age (Gallarotti, 2011; Kearn, 2011; Mattern, 2007; Nye, 2004a;). Therefore, policy-makers or decision-makers should pay close attention not only to understand explicit nature of soft power but also to consider the desired consequences of any course of action and potential unintended or negative consequences (Kearn, 2011).

2.4. Sport and Soft power

2.4.1. Introduction

In the Cold War era following the Second World War, sport was clearly connected with national and international politics (Riordan, 2002). Not only had sports activities become increasingly incorporated into the domestic welfare policies of the capitalist liberal democracies, but sport had also been increasingly used as an element of foreign policy by various nation- states (Maguire, 2002). At the level of international policies, sport had: played a vital role in helping some states such as the GDR to break out of political isolation; been used as a tool of propaganda by the Soviet Union and America to promote the superiority of their ideologies; been deployed to as a form of protest and to impose sanctions (e.g., boycotts by teams); and been used to foster improved diplomatic relations (e.g., Ping-Pong diplomacy between the USA and China) (McPherson, Curtis and Loy, 1989). In the 1980s, as international sporting events were receiving greater global media coverage, sport had become more prominent among governments as significant instruments in domestic and foreign policy (Kissoudi, 2008). Governments, either directly or through agencies, began to intervene in sport at the domestic level and also at the international level (McPherson, Curtis and Loy, 1989). Sport was increasingly utilised by governments in the pursuit of both domestic and international policy objectives (Houlihan, 1994; Jackson and Haigh, 2008; Murray, 2012) and also used as tool of soft power both domestically and internationally (Grix and Houlihan, 2014; Nygard and Gates, 2013).

A number of studies have identified the utility of sport as a soft power resource. First, Murray (2012) describes the attraction of sport as a tool of diplomacy by defining sport-diplomacy², which falls under the wide umbrella of public diplomacy. He argues that 'in the post-modern information age, sport, culture and diplomacy are no longer niche or backwater institutions but powerful foreign policy

² Sport-diplomacy involves representative and diplomatic activities undertaken by sports people on behalf of and in conjunction with their governments and the practice uses sport people and sporting events to engage, inform and create a favourable image among foreign publics and organisations, to shape their perceptions in a way that is conducive to the sending government's foreign policy goals (Murray, 2012: 8).

tools' (2012, p. 9) and also 'sports can be a more effective foreign policy resource than the carrot or the stick' (2012, p. 10). Second, according to Potter (2008), international sporting success, whether by national teams and athletes competing abroad or by the effective hosting of a sports mega event, provides an opportunity for the deployment of soft power. Third, Nygard and Gates (2013) focus on four mechanisms through which sport constitutes an instrument of soft power, namely: image-building (best exemplified by hosting sports mega-events); a platform for dialogue (using sport to promote relationship between states); trust-building (sport can be used to build trust between nations, and through trust-building build peace); and reconciliation, integration and anti-racism. These mechanisms have both intended and unintended consequences and are not easily controllable. However, this mechanism approach shows that sport can be employed as a form of soft power domestically and internationally. Moreover, according to the publication, *Persuasion and Power in the Modern World* (The House of Lords, 2014), UK sport identified several mechanisms through which sport was seen as having the potential to enhance the UK's soft power: through athletes achieving world-class success; through playing a leading role in shaping decisions taken by international sport organisation; and through hosting sport mega events.

In order to explore sport as a tool or resource of soft power, this section will give explicit examples within each of three categories: hosting mega-events as a tool of soft power; different sports strategies as a tool of soft power; multi-sports events as a tool of soft power.

2.4.2. Hosting sports mega-events as a tool of soft power

Soft power now forms part of many states' foreign policy strategies and the potential role of sports mega-events in this regard is now well-recognised. Hosting sports mega-events potentially provides an emerging power with opportunities to generate attraction domestically and internationally, and it has been one arena in which the politics of attraction aroused through soft power has been deployed (Grix and Lee, 2013). Moreover, staging a successful sports mega-event, as an international dimension of sporting success, is increasingly acknowledged to be an

effective means of sending positive signals to other countries about the host (Houlihan, 1994).

States seek to attract others through activities that increase understanding among the foreign public through creating a favourable impression of the country and its values (Potter, 2008). In this regard, the most important point of sports mega-events is that the host country is able to communicate their attractiveness through the shared cultural values of sport. Notably, through cultural showcasing broadcasting around the world, attracting tourists, and boosting national pride, the hosting a successful sport mega-event appears to provide national governments with significant opportunities to increase their soft power (Manzenreiter, 2010 and Grix and Houlihan, 2013).

Likewise, hosting sports mega-events, as 'important elements in official versions of public culture' (Grix and Houlihan, 2013, p. 573), has become key factors in local and national development strategies that make states of interest in relation to the concepts of soft power and public diplomacy.

There has been an acknowledgment of the beneficial impact of hosting a successful Olympic Games or World Cup in terms of generating a more positive impression domestically and internationally as was the case with the 2006 World Cup in Germany, the 2008 Beijing Olympic Games, the 2010 World Cup in South Africa and the 2012 London Olympic Games.

2006 FIFA World Cup, Germany

Post-war Germany was characterised by a strong commitment to multilateral institutional arrangements, the expanding EU and consistent efforts to overcome Germany's traumatic past and the negative image held by foreign elites and publics (Watts, 1965) and forge a more positive national image (Markovits and Reich, 1991). Germany has invested in a range of soft power strategies, including academic and cultural exchanges with the purpose of changing the negative image abroad in this regard. Sport has played a particularly central role in this strategy illustrated most clearly through the staging of the 2006 FIFA World Cup (Grix and Houlihan, 2013). Despite the difficulty in measuring soft power's impact, some data such as increased tourism (German Tourist Board, 2007) and enhanced Germany's national image, which ranked 3rd place in 2007 (Anholt National Brand Index, 2007) would suggest

that hosting the sports mega-event offered an effective platform to showcase German people and culture.

2008 Beijing Olympic Games

The 2008 Olympic Games offered China an unparalleled stage on which to demonstrate the extent of its economic development and its future potential to a global audience (Young, 2008). Not only in terms of the gold medal success of Chinese athletes in the Games, but also in terms of the successful hosting of the Games, China has advanced its prestige and attraction to other countries (Qingmin, 2013). China also adopted sport to assist domestically in validating its own political ideology and the 2008 Games was as much about generating domestic legitimacy as it was about showcasing the nation to the wider world (Brownell, 2008). China used the Games to promote its rise as an emerging power and aid its integration in the international system (Qingmin, 2013).

Hosting the 2008 Olympic Games presented China with an opportunity to counter the negative image based on its poor human rights record and undemocratic governance. In 2008 the global public received greater exposure to China (people and culture) than in any year prior (Young, 2008). China's staging of the Olympics was considered to be an important opportunity to re-socialise others towards a more positive image and to present China as a global, rather than merely regional, power (Grix and Lee, 2013).

2010 South Africa World Cup

South Africa began staging major international sports events after the dismantling of apartheid in 1990 and becoming a democracy in the post-apartheid era in 1994 (Lepp, and Gibson, 2011). Hosting the very successful Rugby World Cup in 1995 signalled the international credibility of this once-pariah state and provided a platform for the exercise of the politics of attraction (Grix and Lee, 2013). Despite social, political and economic instability, war, terrorism, crime and so on, South Africa's hosting of the World Cup was the event for both internal state building and external showcasing (Harris, 2011). South Africa, through hosting sports mega-events, fulfilled one of its central foreign policy goals of presenting itself as a global middle range democratic power and an open economy for foreign investment.

Hosting the 2010 football World Cup produced a second opportunity to change perceptions from negative to more positive (Holtzhausen and Fullerton, 2015).

2012 London Olympic Games

As the UK's international reputation was already very positive, the 2012 London Olympic Games did not improve the country's reputation internationally (House of Lords, 2014) but the Games was adopted by the Foreign and Commonwealth Office as a key opportunity to promote a refinement of the UK's image (Grix and Houlihan, 2013). Many attractive features of the UK such as high technology, developed infrastructure, helpful volunteers and organisational skills have been showcased through the 2012 London Olympic Games and these aspects enhanced and maintained Britain's positive global image (FCO, 2011).

The Games contributed positively to the achievement of the Foreign and Commonwealth Office's objectives which were to: promote British culture through the opening/closing ceremony; increase commercial opportunities for businesses such as selling these organizational skills to future host cities; and enhancing national security with strongly positive response of international media (FCO, 2011). In terms of the diplomatic value of sports mega-events as a soft power resource, the domestic and international perception of the London 2012 Games was generally very positive.

However, hosting sports mega-events does not always deliver a successful soft power result. In terms of over-investment in underutilised sporting infrastructure, Athens 2004 Olympic Games and Sochi 2014 Winter Olympic Games have shown that hosting of sports mega-events can exacerbate financial problem and, in the case of Russia increase perception of corruption (Papanikolaou, 2013; Burchell, O'Loughlin, Gillespie, and McAvoy, 2015). In terms of human rights issues, China's domestic crackdown and human rights activists undercut its soft power gains (Nye, 2012) and the violation of workers' rights who employed in Qatar on 2022 World Cup-related projects has shown an adverse impact on Qatar (Dorsey, 2015). Moreover, in terms of a lack of preparation, India through hosting the Commonwealth Games in 2010 showed a staggering deficiency in its social and physical infrastructure and staging the Games did not seem to advance its soft power ambition (Das, 2010).

2.4.3. Different sports strategies as a tool of soft power

According to Houlihan (1994), the development of international sporting contact for many governments has provided them with a low-cost, but high-profile resource for promoting their policy on international issues or towards specific states. Government's intention in intervening in sport policy is directed at the achievement of foreign policy objectives, such as improving relations with other states. In this context, states are increasingly turning to sport as a foreign policy instrument; and they cannot ignore the corresponding influence that international sport has on their core interests (Jackson and Haigh, 2008).

2.4.3.1. Sports Diplomacy as a soft power tool

Sport can create an alternate channel for diplomacy, allowing states to move beyond entrenched foreign policy positions (Murray and Piman, 2014) and can be a 'soft' way of exploring or signalling a foreign policy shift between estranged states. In addition, sports diplomacy can promote international understanding and friendship through sports exchange (Murray, 2012), as the following examples illustrate.

Ping-Pong diplomacy

The role of sport as a tool of soft power can be observed when it paves the way for communication between superpowers. The best example is the case of Ping-Pong Diplomacy. It was one of the first public signs of improved United States-China relations (Murray, 2013). According to Hong and Sun (2000), the American Ping-Pong team received an invitation for an all-expense paid visit to China for several friendly games. They were the first US delegation allowed to Beijing since the Communist takeover in the 1949. The next year, the US invited the Chinese team for a game in basketball. The sports were carefully chosen to avoid any loss of 'face' by either country and to provide symbolic evidence of cooperation and the opportunity to improve political relations between two countries. Both Washington and Beijing saw the events as a way of signalling their openness to change (Lin, Lee and Nai, 2009).

Indian-Pakistani cricket diplomacy

A more recent example is the case of cricket diplomacy between Pakistan and India. After the 2008 Mumbai terrorist attacks, relations between India and Pakistan were hostile. However, in 2011 India invited Pakistan to attend the Cricket World Cup semi-final match (Ushkovska and Petrushevska, 2015). This symbolic offer was seen as an attempt to use sport to improve their relations and create a better atmosphere between the countries. Sports diplomacy had strong potential in this situation, and it served to initiate new meetings between senior government officials on both sides (Murray, 2012).

Norway Cup

The Norway Cup is an international youth football tournament which has been held annually since 1972. This event involves invited teams from all over the world including sponsoring teams from the third world (Nygard and Gates, 2013). The role of this project is to facilitate cooperation between Norway and other countries and the aim is to create bonds between children and nations with a shared interest in football which brings young people together across cultural and social boundaries (Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2005).

Baseball Diplomacy

Another good example of soft power of sport is the game of baseball, which has had a major impact on Cuba-United States relations. While growing American influence arrived in Cuba during the late nineteenth century, the game of baseball reflected the political and economic connections between both nations (Turner, 2012). A significant baseball exchange showed talented Cuban players channelled into MLB (Major League Baseball) and it was a starting point of communication to increase attention to both nations' relations (Schur, 2012). When Cold War tensions eased in the 1980s, efforts to boost Cuban exposure to MLB developed as part of a general policy to use American culture and influence to erode Communism. Baseball diplomacy was designed not only to improve both nations' relations but also to provoke a democratic regime change in Cuba (Turner, 2012).

2.4.3.2. The role of international cultural organisations (Contribution to soft power through using sport activities)

According to Nye (2004a), states are increasingly seeking to maximise their soft power in an effort to promote cultural understanding. Cultural organisations such as British Council of the UK are powerful states' soft power actors. Among their activities, sport is one of the core expressive activities to share and communicate their culture internationally and community sporting programmes are considered to be powerful in supporting development and promoting the nation's influence (British Council, 2013). British Council's rugby and football projects are good examples.

Premier Skills, as a football project of British Council, is a partnership between the English Premier League and the British Council to train football coaches and referees. Through this project, young people including the most vulnerable in society are given opportunities to develop their skills for better integrating into their communities (Premier Skills, 2015). According to British Council (2015), 'it has become a tool for international development, promoting inclusion, rights, role models and people-to-people engagement'. Try Rugby is a project developed by the British Council with Premiership Rugby. Rugby coaches engage with young people helping tackle health, education and social issues in growing range of countries (British Council, 2015). Moreover, this project generates good will and influence for the UK. According to the British Council, these sport programmes can create positive pathways for young people across the world, 'giving hope, inspiration and life skills' with confidence and self-respect (British Council, 2015, p. 1).

2.4.3.3. Sport Education as a resource of soft power

Sport educational links can also enhance the state's soft power. As discussed in section 2.3.3, *Development of soft power*, many countries regard education as the best way to promote their national interests on the world stage and they pay attention to the use of education as an effective source of soft power (Amirbek and Ydyrys, 2014). A successful national education system can help create a more favourable image and is considered to have the potential to enhance a country's soft power internationally and also domestically (Amirbek and Ydyrys, 2014 and Annells, 2014).

For example, academic scholarship programmes play an important role in enhancing soft power (Fisher, 2014). According to Professor Jarvie (2015), Norway funds sport and development scholarships for international students to attend Norwegian universities and they can learn about sports policy and management. Furthermore, Chevening scholarship, the UK government's global scholarship programme funded by the FCO, provides an excellent opportunity for international students who wish to study in sports management (Loughborough University, 2015).

The educational links related to the Olympic Games can also be a tool of soft power. *Dream together programme*, which is part of the educational project of PyeongChang Winter Olympics launched in 2004, is an initiative to introduce winter sports to young people who have limited access to winter sport (POCOG, 2015). This project has helped foster closer relationship among nations and enriched the participants through cultural exchange. *Dream Together Master programme*, which was launched by the South Korean government, The Korean Ministry of Culture, Sports and Tourism (MCST) and the Korean Olympic Committee (KOC) in 2013, is a Master's degree education programme to provide an integrated approach to the study of sport management (DTM, 2015). This programme is designed for visionary and passionate sport administrators in countries where sport is underdeveloped to promote global sport development and establish a global sport network.

2.4.3.4. Multi-sports events as a tool of soft power

As discussed in previous section, hosting sports mega-events, especially Olympics and Football World Cup, has become a key factor in the national development strategies of many states. However, there are several other types of multi-sports events that have significance in relation to the deployment of soft power and include those based on occupation such as the Universiade, organisation and language such as the Commonwealth Games and the Francophone Games, region such as the Asian Games and the European Games, or other criteria such as the World Master Games.

In terms of the cultural values of sport, many multi-sport events have also been founded by different organisations to advocate a set of values, underpinned by a shared culture and language among its members, which is an invaluable resource

of soft power (Rebour, 2009). In this respect, the Commonwealth Games and Francophone Games are good examples to explore multi-sport events as a tool of soft power.

The Commonwealth Games

The Commonwealth Games is held every four years and is open to competitors of the affiliated Commonwealth Games Associations (CGAs) of all Commonwealth Countries, which are collectively referred in the Constitution as "the Commonwealth" (CGF, 2014). The Games have generally followed the model of the Olympic Games. But the Games differ from the Olympics, most obviously in their explicit political foundation and general absence of excessive international rivalry (Houlihan, 1994). The Commonwealth Games is a unique and multi-sports event, which is often referred to, according to the Federation, as the 'Friendly Games' (CGF, 2014).

Although the Commonwealth Games are not equal in scale the World Cup or the Olympics, the Games play a significant role in sustaining the political identity and public profile of the Commonwealth and in providing an international platform for many of the smaller cities or nations to have a presence on an international stage (Palit, 2012). The Commonwealth Games is pursued by members as an opportunity to engage with a wider international audience, to raise its global identity and to build soft power attraction so that events can hold out the potential for global reach and impact (Byrne, 2014).

In terms of the values as a vehicle for the diplomatic ambitions of individual Commonwealth members, the 2010 Commonwealth Games was intended to foster 'democracy, progress and peace' in India in order to advance its soft power ambition (Cornelissen, 2010). Despite of the negative reportage of New Delhi's 2010 Commonwealth Games such as India's corruption, lack of infrastructure, and an inability to take care of its people, this event was seen as the country's first chance to exploit soft power on a global stage (Das, 2010). According to Palit (2012), 'New India's' mood of enterprise, youth and openness is likely to bolster India's reputation and help it to overcome such hurdles. Moreover, the hosting of the Games was meant to solidify India's emerging world leadership and developmental vision to the world community (Cornelissen, 2010).

In terms of cultural values of sport, the experience of both Manchester and Melbourne confirm that the events can provide external global visibility and appeal (Byrne, 2014). The Manchester Games can reaffirm the impact of the Games on both city and nation brands and as the experience of this event, host city enhanced the city's attractiveness and country's international reputation as a part of wider public diplomacy strategies (House of Commons, 2002). The Melbourne Games, with the objective to 'expose a cultural Commonwealth alive with arts, culture and energy' was importantly about the cultural and city-based showcasing that accompanies the sport (City of Melbourne, 2006, p.41). This event promoted the image of Melbourne and the city retained its positive city brand following the Games (Byrne, 2014).

The Francophone Games

The Francophone Games is held every four years and bring hundreds of athletes and artists from Francophone countries (Francophone Games, 2015). The Games is the major international sporting event that presents both sports and cultural competitions. Moreover, this sporting event is 'a unique opportunity to showcase the scope and originality of the French culture and athletic ability in French-speaking countries around the world' (CIJF, 2013, p. 1).

In France, as a country's ability to exert soft power or influence others through the cultural sphere became more important, sport was used to cultivate soft power internationally, to transmit fair play to the youth, and to examine and create modern, postcolonial French identity in a globalizing world (Krasnoff, 2012). In this respect, the Francophone Games provide France with an important opportunity to renew its past colonial links as a diplomatic tool (Coakley and Dunning, 2000) and this event can potentially be an effective medium to attract young people into the francophone community that would promote and sustain francophone identity (Dallaire, 2003).

For Canada, but particularly for the province of Quebec, sports play an essential part in defining the "national" image. International sports as an instrument of public diplomacy offers a significant insight into the powerful link between sport and national image (Potter, 2008). In this regard, in the Francophone Games, Canada can show a powerful message to the world: for instance, Canada's willingness to

allow Quebec and New Brunswick athletes to compete under their own flags (Potter, 2008).

Each of the Games have a common language and a shared culture, which are invaluable sources of soft power and have converged to promote political values or identity. As Nye (2004a) referred noted 'soft power rests on culture, political values and foreign policies', both Games as a multi-sport events have a real potential for exerting soft power to achieve their objectives. As the case of Commonwealth Games and Francophone Games demonstrate different types of multi-sports events hold the potential to mobilize the soft power resources of the host city or nation through expressing in values, culture and policies, and engaging with and influencing the publics of other countries.

2.5. Conclusion

This chapter outlined the theoretical framework used throughout the thesis and examined the utilisation of sport as a soft power strategy. First, within the study of international politics, the opening section focused on three major perspectives: realism, liberalism and constructivism and reviewed the key elements of these perspectives to determine how the various international relation theories regarded soft power and the extent to which the concept was incorporated into the various theorisations. The concept of soft power is generally more easily accommodated within the liberalist, particularly the neoliberal, perspective rather than the realist and constructivist perspectives. In terms of the ways of conceptualising power, the work of two leading theorists, Steven Lukes and Michel Foucault was considered particularly in relation to the compatibility of their conceptualisations of power with the concept of soft power. Although the concept of governmentality by Foucault leads, arguably, to more efficient form of social control and power, it was Lukes' conceptualisation of power, particularly his second and third dimensional views of power, that was considered more compatible with Nye's conceptualisation of soft power.

Following the review of international relations theories and theoretical perspectives on power, the third part of the chapter provided an analysis of the concept of soft

power. This section explored the development of soft power by examining different soft power resources and the significance of soft power in international relations. This review was followed by a consideration of several theoretical criticisms of the concept of soft power. On the basis of the understanding of soft power, the last section reviewed a number of studies which identified the utility of sport as a soft power resource. As can be seen from the foregoing discussion sport is recognised as an important opportunity for the exercise of soft power. Although measurement of the impact of sport soft power is a challenge the fact that such a wide range of governments have been willing to invest heavily in a variety of sport projects is an indication that the judgement regarding the efficiency of sport as an element in a soft power diplomatic strategy is positive. It is the intention that the subsequent analysis of the utilisation of sport soft power in South Korea and the UK will provide firmer evidence of its impact and value as a diplomatic resource.

Chapter 3. Research Strategy and Methods

3.1. Introduction

This chapter explains and evaluates the research strategy adopted for the study. First, it is important to restate the aim and objectives of this research. The aim of the research is to analyse the utilisation of sport as part of a soft power strategy in South Korea and the United Kingdom. The objectives of this study are to:

- *understand the concept of soft power within the context of current international relations theory and how the concept of soft power accommodates the role and significance of sport in international politics*
- *To analyse the understanding and use of sport as a part of soft power strategies primarily by the South Korea and also the UK*
- *analyse the sport soft power strategies adopted in relation to the diplomatic objectives of South Korea and the UK*

As with all research, it is essential to explore and make explicit the ontological and epistemological assumptions on which the research design will be based. A clear and transparent knowledge of ontology and epistemology is considered as these philosophical traditions dictate the researcher's view of reality (Grix, 2010). Sparkes (1992) explained the relationship between ontological and epistemological positions and how they impact later stages of the research position.

Ontological assumptions give rise to epistemological assumptions which have methodological implications for the choices made regarding particular techniques of data collection, the interpretation of these findings and the eventual ways they are written about and presented (Sparkes, 1992, p. 14)

This chapter begins with a consideration of the key concept of 'ontology' and 'epistemology' and then explains the implications of these assumptions for the study's methodology, methods and sources including consideration of their strengths and weaknesses as well as the potential of these methods to answer the research questions.

3.2. Philosophical Assumptions

Ontological and epistemological assumptions either form the basis of research implicitly or explicitly (Sparkes, 1992) and these core assumptions underpin methodology, methods and sources (Grix, 2010). To clarify the researcher's philosophical position is important to understand the researcher's assumptions about the nature of social reality (Blaikie, 2007). As different paradigms offer a different view of reality, it is significant to be aware that ontology and epistemology form the base of the research and provide insight into the guiding principles that instruct important decisions in regard to the research strategy (Bates and Jenkins, 2007).

Questions of social ontology, which are the very starting point of all research, are considered with the nature of social entities (Bryman, 2012 and Grix, 2010). Blaikie gives one of the clearest definitions of ontology as:

The claims and assumptions that are made about the nature of social reality, claims about what exists, what it looks like, what units make it up and how these units interact with each other (2000, p. 8).

With this in mind, ontology is concerned with the nature of the social reality and awareness of 'what exists that we might acquire knowledge of' (Hay, 2002, p. 61). Examples of ontological positions are principally referred to as 'objectivism' and 'constructivism' (Bryman, 2012; Grix, 2010; Smith, 2010). Broadly speaking, objectivism is an ontological position that 'asserts that social phenomena and their meanings have an existence that is independent of social actors' (Grix, 2010, p. 61). Thus, it implies that social phenomena and categories have an existence that is beyond the influence of social actors (Bryman, 2012). Constructivism is an alternative ontological position that 'asserts that social phenomena and their meanings are continually being accomplished by social actors' (Bryman, 2012, p. 33). Social actors search for 'social meaning' in order to be aware that reality is in a state of flux and revision (Blaikie, 2010 and Smith, 2010). Research in areas of sport physiology or biomechanics for example, would view social reality from an objectivist perspective and in areas of sociology of sport or social psychology, reality would generally be viewed from a constructivist perspective (Smith, 2010). In the case of soft power, Nye assigns two ontological statuses: one as an essential condition; one as a result of social interaction (Mattern, 2007). The study of soft power in sport

tends to rely on the latter, constructivist ontology, in explaining how sport as part of soft power strategy is attractive to different states.

If ontology is concerned with how we view the world, epistemology is one of the branches of philosophy concerned with the theory of knowledge, paying attention to methods, validation and the ways of gaining knowledge of social reality (Blaikie, 2010 and Grix, 2010). Epistemology is concerned with the knowledge-gathering process and developing new models and theory that govern the methods of inquiry (Smith, 2010). In other words, epistemology is about 'how we come to know what we know' (Grix, 2010, p. 63).

It is possible to distinguish between two epistemological positions, positivism (foundationalism) and interpretivism (anti-foundationalism). Grix, in his work, criticises this dichotomy in social research preferring to conceptualise a constitution between foundationalism and anti-foundationalism position. A view of foundationalism is that 'reality is thought to exist independently of our knowledge of it' and this is the starting point for positivist and realist traditions of research. On the other hand, a view of anti-foundationalism is that 'reality is socially and discursively 'constructed' by human actors' (Grix, 2010, p. 64). Figure 3.1 is a description of key epistemological positions in human and social sciences.

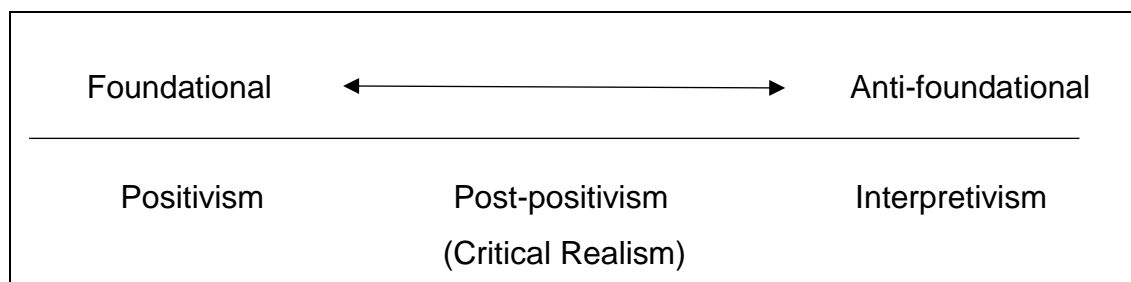


Figure 3. 1 Continuum of epistemological positions (Source: adapted from Grix, 2000)

Turning to the contrasting epistemological positions, it is important to outline the particular epistemological assumptions: positivism, interpretivism and Post-positivism (critical realism). First, positivism as one of the epistemological position advocates 'the application of the methods of the natural sciences to the study of social reality and beyond' (Bryman, 2012, p. 28). Positivists view the social world as an entity involving facts and figures that can be measured, observed and understood (Sparkes, 1992). Interpretivism stands in direct opposition to positivism and is based on the assumption that 'a strategy is required that respects the differences between

people and the objects of the natural sciences and therefore requires the social scientist to grasp the subjective meaning of social action' (Bryman, 2012, p. 30). In this respect, knowledge is gained from individual interpretations of social reality, which is viewed as a 'human construction' (Blaikie, 2007). Lastly, critical realism, viewed as 'critical social science', recognises 'the reality of the natural order and the events and discourses of the social world' (Bryman, 2012, p. 29). It accepts that social reality exists and also accepts that knowledge is a social construct (Baert, 2005). Thus, critical realism allows the researcher to link positivist and interpretivist perspectives combining the objective and explanatory value of positivism with the subjective understanding offered by interpretivism (Blaikie, 2010 and Bryman, 2012). Table 3.1 outlines the core perspective of, and differences between, the three main research paradigms that have been used in social and political studies.

Table 3. 1 Core assumptions of, and difference between, Positivism, Interpretivism and Critical Realism

Positivism	Interpretivism	Critical realism
Positivism is based upon a foundationalist ontology – so, to the Positivist, like the Realist, but unlike those from the Interpretivist position, the world exists independently of our knowledge of it	Interpretivism is based on upon an anti-foundationalist ontology – the world does not exist independently of our knowledge of it – unlike the Positivist and Realist paradigms	Realism is based upon a foundationalist ontology, like the positivist and against interpretivists – so, to realists, the world exists independently of our knowledge of it
Regular relationships between social phenomena can be established, using theory to generate hypotheses that can be tested and that will thereby allow explanations of laws to be assessed	The world is socially, or discursively constructed – at odds with positivism, but, with significant differences, a view like realism	For realist, there are deep structures that cannot be directly observed– unlike positivists
For the positivist position, there are no deep structures that cannot be observed – unlike the Realist	There is no 'real' social world beyond discourse – a view at odds with positivism and realism	Unlike interpretivists but like positivists, realists argue there is necessity in the world. Objects/structure have causal powers, so we can make causal statements
For the positivist, there is no appearance/reality dichotomy and the world is real and not mediated by our senses or socially constructed	Social phenomena do not exist independently of our interpretation of them; it is this interpretation/understanding of them which affects outcomes and it is the interpretation of social phenomena that are crucial	While social phenomena exist independently of our interpretation, or discursive construction, of them, nevertheless that discursive construction affects outcomes
	However, meanings can only be established and understood	In this sense, structures do not determine outcomes, rather they constrain and facilitate; social science involves the

within discourses. The Interpretivist position acknowledges that objective analysis is impossible. Knowledge is theoretically or discursively laden	study of reflexive agents who are capable of constructing, deconstructing and reconstructing structures
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Source: Adapted from Bryman (2012) and Marsh et al (1999)

3.3. The Research Paradigm

In order to set out the ontological and epistemological positions that underpin the study, a more detailed discussion of the research paradigm, is required. The research paradigm, which is an understanding of what one can know about something and how one can gather knowledge about it, can be seen as the philosophical foundations which directs key decisions and guides the research (Bryman, 2012 and Grix, 2010). Generally, in the philosophy of the social and human sciences, there are three broad paradigms: positivism, post-positivism (critical paradigm) and interpretivism. First, the positivist position, which is based on a foundationalist epistemology, views the world as existing independently of our knowledge of it (Guba and Lincoln, 1988). Sparkes (1992, p. 10) reflects a view of the social world as ‘a real world made up of hard tangible and relatively immutable facts that can be observed, measured and known for what they are’ and Hollis (1999, p. 41) considers that positivism ‘embraces any approach which applies scientific method to human affairs conceived as belonging to a natural order open to objective enquiry’. Positivists believe in the possibility of making causal statements. Many researchers therefore seek to use scientific methods to analyse the social world (Denscombe, 2002). They lay stress on explanation in social research, as opposed to understanding and emphasise the observational and verificational dimensions of empirical practice (Grix, 2010). Furthermore, research which adopts a positivist position has implications for research methodology which generally seeks to establish regular relationships between social phenomena by using theory to generate hypotheses that can be tested by direct observation.

Interpretivism, in direct opposition to positivism, is an umbrella term that covers a very wide range of perspectives in the social sciences. Interpretivists share a view that the subject matter of social sciences is fundamentally different from that

of the natural sciences (Bryman, 2012). Therefore, research of the social world requires a different logic of research procedure. A number of core premises of the interpretivism can be identified. For the interpretivist, knowledge is essentially viewed as a human construction that is gained from individual interpretations of social reality (Blaikie, 2007 and Sparkes, 1992). Moreover, the interpretivist position views that the world is socially constructed through the interaction of individuals (Grix, 2010). As opposed to explanation, this paradigm puts stress on understanding because interpretivists do not rely on only observation for understanding social phenomena (Bryman, 2012). Consequently, interpretivist research is not only an exercise in generating objective facts and explanation but also an exercise in developing understanding. According to Grix (2010), in contrast to positivism, this position sees the social world as needing to be studied from within a methodology and with methods different from those used in research of the natural sciences. Thus, researchers are part of the social reality that they are studying. In general researchers working within this paradigm tend to put stress on meaning in the study of social life, to facilitate consideration of experience, belief and understanding and to demonstrate the highly subjective nature of human behaviour (Balikie, 2007; Bryman, 2012; Grix, 2010).

Post-positivism (Critical realism) can be understood as a research paradigm placed between both positivism and interpretivism as can be seen in Figure 3.1. The positivist or foundational view can be seen to rely on empirical realism, which treats the world as consisting of observable objects and with no unobservable qualities (Sayer, 2000). However, post-positivism tends towards critical realism as a broad research paradigm which Bhaskar (2010) viewed as 'critical social science'. This research opts for the term 'critical realism' as it reflects the most influential strand of realism in the human sciences. Critical realism, according to Bryman (2012), is a specific form of realism that recognises the reality of the natural order and the events and the discourses of the social world. Put simply, critical realism, as a powerful alternative to both positivism and interpretivism, has tried to combine the why (explanation linked to positivism) and how (understanding linked to interpretivism) approaches by filling a gap between the two perspectives (May, 2011). According to Baert (2005), critical realism as a legitimate critical paradigm provides a strong methodical approach to the social sciences. Critical realism implies two fundamental

beliefs. First, whereas positivists consider that the scientist's conceptualisation of reality directly reflects that reality, critical realists argue this simply as way of knowing that reality (Bhaskar, 2010). Thus, critical realists, unlike naive realists, recognise that there is a fundamental distinction between the objects, which are the focus of their enquiries and the ways in which they describe, account for, and understand them (Bryman, 2012). Second, critical realists are willing to admit into their explanations theoretical terms that are not directly observable (Bryman, 2012). They merely can understand that events and discourses arising in the social world are able to be identified through a combination of practical (empirical investigation) and theoretical (theory construction) work of the social science (Bhaskar, 2010). They understand reality as a construction of both observable features that include the actions of individuals and organisations and unobservable features that include deeper structures and relations such as social class, ethnicity and gender (Bhaskar, 2010 and Bryman, 2012). In this regard, critical realism suggests that there is a distinction between the social and natural world. Furthermore, social structures are maintained and reproduced by the activities of agents and the activities of agents are affected by pre-existing social structures (Bhaskar, 2013; Grix, 2010; Hay, 1995).

Critical realism is now widely used to refer to Bhaskar's work (Blaikie, 2007) and he proposed that experiences, events and mechanisms constitute three overlapping domains of reality, which are the domains of the empirical, the actual and the real as can be seen in Table 3.2.

Table 3. 2 Domains of Reality

	Domain of Real	Domain of Actual	Domain of Empirical
Mechanisms	V		
Events	V	V	
Experiences	V	V	V

Source: adapted from Bhaskar (2013, p. 13)

First, the 'domain of real' consists of the structures and mechanisms that produce events (Bhaskar, 2013). He asserted that 'causal structures and generative mechanisms of nature must exist and act independently of the conditions that allow men to access them, so that they must be structured and intransitive' (1978, p. 56). Second, the actual domain refers to existing phenomena and consists of events

whether or not they are observed. Thus, this domain is concerned with the events and experiences (Blaikie, 2007). Third, the 'domain of the empirical' is concerned with direct observation which, according to Bhaskar (2013), is experience mediated by individual perceptions of actual events.

Critical realism offers a distinction between transitive and intransitive objects of science. The former are the concepts, theories and models that scientists develop to understand and explain some perspectives of reality and the latter are the real entities and relations that form the natural and social world (Blaikie, 2007). By distinguishing between these objectives, Bhaskar's critical realism claims the existence of an external reality, accepts that knowledge of this reality is fallible and defines the task of science as making more accurate our interpretations of reality (Bhaskar, 2013). Therefore, this approach is compatible with a wide range of research methods and it, according to Sayer (2000, p. 19), suggests that 'the particular choices should depend on the nature of the object of study and what one wants to learn about it'.

The ontological and epistemological assumptions underlying critical realism provide the philosophical foundation for this study. Given the assumption of critical realists that there are deep structures that cannot be directly observed (Marsh et al., 1999), social phenomena or social events are considered to be generated by complex causal links within structure and agency (Blaikie, 2007). Therefore, research in the critical realism paradigm seeks to identify, explain and understand the influence of unobservable structures (Bhaskar, 2010 and Bryman, 2012). From this perspective, the critical realism is very obvious research paradigm to adopt in order to explore the concept of soft power in sport. In the case of soft power, as mentioned above, Nye assigns two statuses: one as an essential condition; one as a result of social interaction (Mattern, 2007). In relation to sport, a tangible phenomenon would be hosting particular sports events but the perceptions of those who involved in organising events, taking part of events and using those events as a political purpose, are based on an interpretation of the impact on a country. To conclude, in this study, the philosophical view is premised on a set of ontological and epistemological assumptions related to the critical realist paradigm as this approach sheds light on the mechanisms of complex policy processes and changes which take place within a broader social structure context, whereas both positivism and

interpretivism would not be capable of determining so effectively the deep relations of structure and agency to investigate political and social phenomena.

3.4. Research Strategy and Methodological Issues

This section will explore the research strategy and a range of methodological issues following from the choice of strategy. By identifying the research strategy, a clear direction is set from the start and appropriate methods are selected which would allow for effective data collection and analysing the data. Then, by clarifying methodological issues: a consideration of different forms of data; issues relating to the reliability and validity of data, a bridging mechanism between philosophical paradigms and methods will be considered.

3.4.1. Research Strategy

The research strategy, according to Blaikie (2010, p. 104), can be seen as 'the logic of enquiry and series of stages' to answer the research questions. The act of producing a research strategy provides the practical framework that supports the research process. Furthermore, it is important that the strategy follows from and is consistent with the ontological, epistemological and methodological assumptions (Smith, 2010). As outlined in Figure 3.2, when deciding on the research approach, a number of questions (such as: what does our world consist of? what and how can we know about it?; how can we go about acquiring that knowledge?) will lead to decisions that have a decisive and direct effect on the research strategy.

In relation to how researchers consider the sources of theories and hypotheses and how these are tested, the researchers need to understand and distinguish methodological approaches. In this context, two distinct approaches, deductive and inductive research are considered (Bryman, 2012).

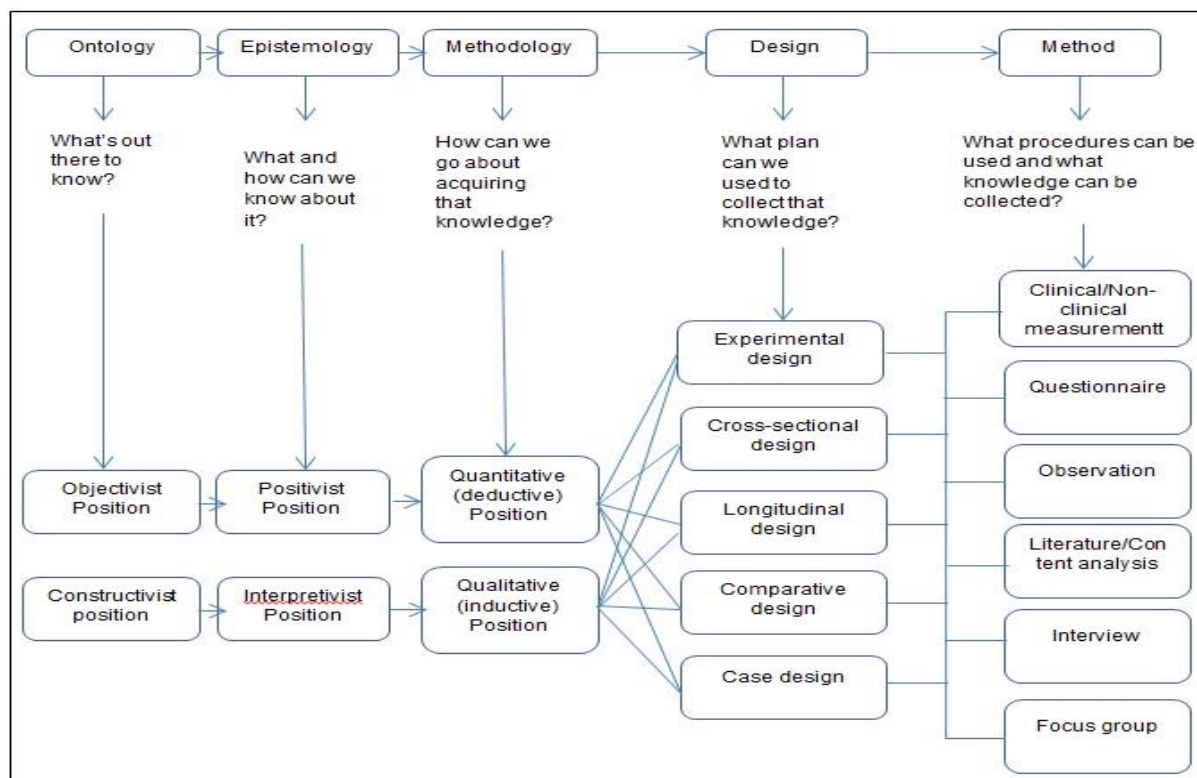


Figure 3. 2 The interrelationship between important elements of research (Source: adapted from Grix, 2000 and Smith, 2010)

Very simply, a deductive approach is referred to as 'theory to data' and conversely, an inductive approach is referred to as 'data to theory' (Blaikie, 2010). A deductive approach represents a common view of the nature of the relationship between theory and social research (Bryman, 2012) and it is more commonly associated with the positivist research paradigm (Grix, 2010). On the basis of theoretical considerations in relations to a particular domain, this approach deduces a hypothesis that must be subjected to empirical scrutiny (Blaikie, 2010 and Grix, 2010). In other words, 'the social scientist needs to specify how data can be collected in relation to the concepts that make up the hypothesis' (Bryman, 2012, p. 24).

In contrast, the inductive approach involves drawing generalizable inferences out of observations (Bryman, 2010) and, according to Landman (2000: 226), induction refers to 'the process by which conclusions are drawn from direct observation of empirical evidence'. The conclusions are fed into the development of theory and theory is generated and built through the analysis of the empirical data, not hypotheses-driven (Grix, 2010). Therefore, the researcher is looking for patterns and relationships in the data in order to construct an understanding or explanation of a particular phenomenon (Blaikie, 2010; Bryman, 2012; Grix, 2010). This approach is

usually associated with interpretivist research and qualitative research strategies (Grix, 2010; Smith, 2010).

It is useful to distinguish between the underlying logic of research, deductive and inductive research, but according to Ragin and Amoroso (2010), most research relies on the interaction between ideas and evidence and uses both deduction and induction in reality. They refer to this as 'retroduction', which is the interplay of deduction and induction with the argument that almost all research has at least an element of deduction with typically a dialogue of ideas and evidence in social research. However, this research upholds the strengths of the inductive approach, although the element of retroduction is acknowledged, as providing insightful empirical generalisations in order to enhance understanding of the strategy of soft power in hosting sports mega-events. Furthermore, the deductive process is not relevant for this research as the relevance of a set of data for a theory may become apparent after the data have been collected (Bryman, 2010). With an inductive stance, this study looks for relationship in the data/finding to construct an understanding of a particular phenomenon in sports as a soft power strategy.

3.4.2. Methodological issues

Section 3.2 and 3.3 regarding ontological and epistemological assumptions raise methodological implications for the choices made regarding particular techniques of data collection (Grix 2010 and Sparkes 1992). In relation to this, Hay refers to methodology as a bridging mechanism between philosophical paradigms and methods which relates to 'the choice of analytical and research design which underpins substantive research' (2002, p. 63). Moreover, as Blaikie notes, 'methodology is the analysis of how research should or does proceed' (2010, p. 7). According to Grix (2010), methodology is concerned with the logic of scientific enquiry. In this regard, key methodological issues, which are different forms of data and the reliability/validity of data, is considered to investigate the potentialities and limitations of particular techniques and procedures for this research.

A consideration of different forms of data

Methodological approaches are typically split in accordance with whether numerical data is collected or not although there are many differences that distinguish forms of data (Smith, 2010). In simplistic terms, data is available in two principal forms: first, as numbers or words; second as visual data in the form of images. This distinction refers to characteristics or the use of different types of the data collected by the researcher (Gratton and Jones, 2010). The different types of data can be clearly distinguished as either quantitative or qualitative. The quantitative and qualitative distinction represents a useful means of classifying different methods of social research and with regard to a range of issues concerned with the practice of social research it is a useful umbrella (Bryman, 2012).

Quantitative research is a research strategy that emphasises quantification in the collection and analysis of data. As can be seen in Figure 3.2, quantitative research has incorporated the practices and norms of positivism in particular as positivists assume that behaviours can be observed and numerically measured and analysed (Bryman, 2012 and Gratton and Jones, 2010). A range of variables are directly measurable and converted into numerical form and are then analysed statistically (Grix, 2010). According to Bryman (2012), quantitative research involves a deductive approach to the relationship between theory and research, which is focused on the testing of theories.

However, there are some criticisms of this research approach. First, this type of research relies on concepts seeking 'measurable' phenomena and it is difficult to 'match concepts with their referents in the social world' (Grix, 2010, p. 120). Second, quantitative research can neglect the social and cultural context and be often difficult to move from statements of correlation to causal statements (Bryman, 2012 and Grix 2010). Third, the researcher's categories or theories may not reflect other's understandings (Smith, 2010). Fourth, the knowledge produced may be too general for direct application to specific situations and individuals (Gratton and Jones, 2010 and Smith, 2010).

In contrast, qualitative research strategy focuses on words in the collection and analysis of data. It usually entails in-depth investigation of knowledge and does not rely on, but can involve, numerical measurements (Grix, 2010). In general, qualitative research is associated with interpretive approaches to knowledge, using

methods of data generation that are sensitive and flexible to the social context (Bryman, 2012; Grix, 2010; Smith, 2010). Moreover, it emphasises an inductive approach to the relationship between theory and research, which is focused on the generation of theories (Bryman, 2012). Furthermore, this research strategy seeks to collect information from studies on a particular event, decision, issue or institution with a view to identifying patterns and relationships between key variables and tends to have case studies and social contexts as the main subject instead of 'variables' and 'hypotheses' (Blaikie, 2010 and Grix, 2010). However, qualitative research is open to criticism including that: the knowledge produced may not be generalisable to other contexts due to the small samples or few cases; the results are more easily influenced by the researcher's personal opinion, a lack of 'objectivity' (Grix, 2010 and Smith, 2010).

The questions regarding this study about the role of sport and international sporting events as part of soft power strategies emphasise the differing structure and strategy of states in relation to the use of soft power that influence the sports policy area at a national and international level. This research relies on the understanding and application of the international relations theories, the interpretation of the concept of soft power and accommodation of the role and significance of sport in international politics and it cannot be measured using statistical methods or in easily quantifiable categories. According to Bryman (2012), the strength of the qualitative approach is emphasising the importance of contextual understanding of social behaviour and it allows the researcher to acquire an in-depth understanding of the phenomena in question. In conclusion, the collection of qualitative data will provide this study with the in-depth information required to explain the role of sport as part of soft power strategies across different categories of states.

Issues relating to the reliability and validity of data

Given a research approach based on the use of qualitative data, the methodological issues arising from this choice should be considered. Bryman (2012) argued that the reliability and validity considerations are important criteria for the researcher to establish and assess the overall quality of the research. Reliability and validity are particularly important criteria in connection with quantitative research but

there has also been discussion among qualitative researchers concerning the relevance of the concepts.

According to Bryman, reliability is concerned with 'the question of whether the results of a study are repeatable' (2012, p. 46) and the question of whether a measure is stable or not. Validity is concerned with 'the integrity of the conclusions that are generated from a piece of research' (2012, p. 47). In general, both reliability and validity are essentially concerned with the adequacy of measures that are obviously concerned in quantitative research. However, some writers have sought to apply those concepts to the practice of qualitative research (Golafshani, 2003; Kirk and Miller 1986; Lincoln and Guba, 1985; Mason, 2002). They argued that the term 'reliability' is a concept relevant to all kinds of research (Golafshani, 2003). According to Bryman, adapting reliability and validity for qualitative research is to assimilate those concepts into qualitative research 'with little change of meaning other than playing down the salience of measurement issues' (2012, p. 389). Mason (2002) argues that reliability and validity are different kinds of measures of the quality, which are achieved according to the conventions of specific methodologies. Therefore, Lincoln and Guba (1985) propose that it is necessary to identify different criteria to judge and evaluate qualitative research, namely 'trustworthiness', which is an alternative to reliability and validity.

Trustworthiness consists of four criteria: *credibility*, which parallels internal validity; *transferability*, which parallels external validity; *dependability*, which parallels reliability; *conformability*, which parallels objectivity (Lincoln and Guba, 1985). The notion of credibility focuses on multiple accounts of social reality. With regard to transferability, the development of thick description that is rich accounts of the context provides the opportunity for others to judge the possible transferability of findings to another milieu (Bryman, 2012). Dependability indicates that researchers should adopt an auditing approach in all phases of the research process: problem formulation, selection of research participants, interview transcripts and data analysis decisions. In this sense, thorough records of each stage of the research process will be maintained (Lincoln and Guba, 1985). The confirmability recognises that complete objectivity is impossible in social research (Bryman, 2012). In this respect, the researcher can be shown to have acted in good faith. Lincoln and Guba (1985) propose that establishing confirmability should be one of the objectives of auditors.

3.5. Research Methods

As previously mentioned, this research draws on the methods of collecting data through adopting qualitative research techniques to examine the role and significance of sport soft power strategies in South Korea and the UK. Following from the general methodological considerations, this section examines the specific research methods to be used in this study. Data will be collected through primarily documentary evidence in both countries and semi-structured interviews in South Korea and these data collection techniques will be conducted within a case study research design.

Primary sources of data this research looked for are documentary sources such as annual reports, strategy documents of government and its sport agencies, statement of foreign policy objectives, investments in different type of sport initiatives and its formal official evaluation and effectiveness. However, in case of South Korea, the overall quality and quantity of documents is poor by comparison to the UK insofar as they tend to be relatively brief statements of policy or actions with little critical reflection or systematic evaluation. In particular there is generally less explanation of the thinking that underpins the aims and objectives of the policy. In the UK governmental policy documents tend to be fuller (in terms of statement of aims). Moreover, the series of investigations into aspects of sport soft power by Parliamentary committees and by the media provided rich sources of critical reflection. In particular, the House of Lords' series of reports in the form of interviews by the Select Committee on Soft Power and the UK's Influence (House of Lords, 2013; 2014a; 2014b; 2014c) provide very rich oral and written data for analysis. One important consequence of this imbalance in the quality and quantity of documentary sources is that it proved necessary to supplement documents with a series of interviews in South Korea. The semi-structured interviews in South Korea provided the triangulation of documentary sources that the Parliamentary committees provided in relation to the UK documents.

The following sections will address each of these methods: comparative research design; semi-structured interviews; and documentary analysis. In turn, each section

will address the general methodological issues already identified and those that are particular to the method itself.

3.5.1. Comparative research design

This section provides an overview of the value of comparative analysis and an assessment of the relative strengths and weakness of adopting a comparative research design for the study of the utilisation of sport soft power in South Korea and the UK. In relation to the research design incorporating two countries, consideration is given to study two cases using more or less identical methods. According to Bryman (2016) and Hague et al. (1998), it embodies the logic of comparison in the way that we can understand social phenomena better when they are compared in relation to two or more meaningfully contrasting cases and situations. Moreover, Hantrais and Mangan (1996, p.1) highlighted that such research occurs

when individuals or teams set out to examine particular issues or phenomena in two or more countries with the express intention of comparing their manifestations in different socio-cultural settings (institutions, customs, traditions, value systems, life styles, language, thought patterns), using the same research instruments either to carry out secondary analysis of national data or to conduct new empirical work.

Moreover, behind contemporary cross-national research, Antal et al. illustrated three key factors: 'first, the increasing recognition of common problems in different countries; second, the emergence of transnational issues; and third, the growth of international organisations' (1987, p. 512). In this respect, this research seeks explanations for similarities and differences or to gain a greater awareness and a deeper understanding of the role of sport as a tool of soft power in different national contexts.

When comparative design can be applied in relation to a qualitative research strategy, it takes the form of a 'multiple-case study' (Bryman, 2016 and Yin, 2014). Multiple-case study is emphasised as being more robust while the single-case study

cannot be regarded as a complete study on its own (Yin, 1994). In recent year, a greater use of case study that includes more than one case has been argued by a number of writers (Bryman, 2016). Hague et al. (1998, p.273) notes that multiple-case study involves a 'focused comparisons' which focuses on an 'intensive comparison of a few instances' that evidence from multiple-cases - for this research, sport strategies in South Korean and the UK - provides detailed descriptions of a specific topic in a particular setting and allows for the potential to draw cross-case conclusions on a particular topic (Hague et al., 1998). According to Yin (2014, p.57)' work on multiple-case design and the use of the 'replication logic', which has similar characteristics to focused comparison approach, 'each case must be carefully selected so that it either (a) predicts similar results (a literal replication) or (b) produces contrasting results but for predictable reason (a theoretical replication)'. In this sense, for this study findings from the two cases may not only provided similar features regarding sport soft power strategies, but also offer distinctive variations. For example, this study compares the findings regarding the development of soft power and sport as a soft power resource in South Korea and the UK, with specific consideration given to commonalities and differences from the political and diplomatic use of sport by both governments bearing in mind the different geopolitical situations of South Korea and the UK. In addition, the replication logic underlying this multiple-case design also should reflect some theoretical interest, 'not just a prediction that two cases should simply be similar or different' (Yin, 2014, p.57). By comparing two or more cases, the researcher is in a better position to establish the circumstance in which a theory will or will not hold (Bryman, 2016) and to 'become the main vehicle for generalising the results of the case study' (Yin, 2016, p.45). In this sense, the study, with the discussion of the concept of soft power within the context of current international relations theory, helps to examine the extent of the utility and limitations of the concept of soft power including its potential contribution to our understanding of the state's use of sport as a soft power resource.

Considerations involved in a case study design

There are three main issues and problems that need to be taken into consideration when using a case study design. The first potential problem is the concern regarding a lack of rigour. Yin (2014, p.19-20) suggests that many case study researchers have allowed 'equivocal evidence or biased views to influence the

directions of the findings and conclusions'. This issue is directly related to the 'reliability' problem. The objective must be that 'if a later investigator followed exactly the same case study all over again, the later investigator should arrive at the same findings and conclusions' (Yin, 2014, p. 48). In this sense, given the obvious temporal changes implicit in social and political research, an important point here is that social/policy researcher is not working under 'controlled' laboratory conditions. Therefore, it is important to note that 'the emphasis is on doing the same case over again, not on "replicating" the results of one case by doing another case study' and the goal of reliability is to minimise errors and biases in a study (Yin, 2014, p.48-49). A second issue is the concern regarding an apparent inability to generalise from case study findings: the external validity problem (Bryman, 2016 and Yin, 2014). According to Yin (2014, p.210), 'case studies, like experiments, are generalisable to theoretical propositions and not to populations or universes' and, to some extent, the multiple-case design helps to overcome the problem using the replications logic approach mentioned earlier. Lastly, a possible concern about the case study is its unclear comparative advantage. This issue especially was raised by those who favoured randomised controlled trials (RCTs) or true experiments to establish the effectiveness of various treatments or interventions. In their perspective, case studies and other types of nonexperimental methods cannot directly address the issue (Jadad, 1998). However, Yin (2014) argued that they overlooked the possibility that case studies can offer important insight, not provided by RCTs, which is the ability to explain 'how' or 'why' a particular proposition is (or is not) demonstrated and the case studies are needed to investigate such issues (Shavelson et al., 2003). Moreover, Scarrow argued that a case study has the capacity to be comparative and theoretical 'if the analysis is made within a comparative perspective [which] mandates that description of the particular be cast in terms of broadly analytic constructs' (1969, p.7).

There are three useful prerequisites for minimising errors and biases which will be followed in this study: a) use multiple sources of evidence (interviews and document analysis in this study), aimed at the development of converging lines of inquiry, a process of triangulation; b) create and maintain a case study database which is a way of organising and documenting the data collected for case studies including interview transcripts, audiotape recordings if possible, observations on document

analysis, and rigorous of references used; and c) maintain a chain of evidence - the principle here is to allow an external observer to be able to follow the derivation of any evidence from initial research questions to ultimate case study conclusions (Yin, 2014, p.118-128). These principles in this study helps to deal with the problems of establishing construct validity and the reliability of the evidence.

Rational for the selection of the cases

In selecting the cases, according to Houlihan (1997, p.8), 'if the intention is to compare particular policy issues, problems or sectors between countries, the question of the criteria and rationale for country choice needs to be addressed' and such a selection involves either a 'most similar' or a 'most different' approach to identify the logic of comparison evident in different types of comparative policy analysis (Anckar, 2008; Houlihan, 1997; Meckstroth, 1975; Peters, 1998). With regard to a 'most different' approach, Teune and Przeworski (1970) argues that this approach is able to identify more confidently the significance of issues and policy problems within political system if the emphasis is placed on subsystem characteristics. Moreover, the most different approach assumes that there are only a limited number of different types of political issues such as distributive, redistributive and regulatory and that the nature of the issue involves particular interests and imposes constraints on the policy options available, consequently generating broadly similar policy (Houlihan, 1997). Moreover, Houlihan (1997, p.8) also notes that 'comparative research design assumes that the political systems selected for study are as different from each other as possible except for the phenomenon to be explained'. For example, in the context of the 'most different' approach study, Houlihan (1997, p.9) concerned with exploring the development of elite sport policy in the People's Republic of China, Canada and Argentina on the grounds that these three countries exhibit significant differences in the key areas of wealth, political system and sporting tradition and noted that 'if the subsequent research found that all three countries adopted similar policies then it would be possible to draw conclusions with respect to the capacity of particularly salient issues to prompt a similarity of response by governments and other key actors in the policy process'. However, there is a major problem in this approach, which is the ability to identify confidently significant differences between countries (Peters, 1998) and the approach also generally fails to take account of the wider structural context to

international or global change (Henry, et al., 2005). Thus, it is difficult to claim that 'a similar policy response is the result of the intrinsic characteristics or imperatives of an issue rather than, for example, being the result of a poorly identified and underexplored aspect of political system' (Houlihan, 1997, p.9).

The 'most similar' approach is the preferred method when undertaking comparative policy analysis (Peters, 1998). Peters argues that countries are selected, within the most similar design, that appear to be similar in as many ways as possible to control for extraneous variations. In addition, Dogan and Pelassy (1990, p.133) argue that 'a comparison between relatively similar countries sets out to neutralise certain differences in order to permit a better analysis of others'. Furthermore, Lipset (1990, p.xiii) notes that a most similar approach takes similar countries for comparison on the assumption that 'the more similar the units being compared, the more possible it should be to isolate the factors responsible for differences between them'. However, although the most similar approach is preferred, caution is still needed as this approach may not enable the identification of all the relevant factors that can produce variations between systems (Peters, 1998) and provide illustrations of difficulties of defining and operationalising concepts in widely different contexts (Szalai and Converse, 1972) and also of explanations of causality (Houlihan, 1997). With these cautions in mind, the similar cases method is the preferred approach for the selection of countries for this research (South Korea and the UK) both share the following characteristics: sport is a significant cultural element; public diplomacy has emerged as a significant element of diplomacy; a visible concentration on sport as a part of soft power strategies such as hosting sport mega-event is evident; there is evidence of strong government commitment to invest in sport; and democracy is well-established and stable. However, this is not to argue that each country does not have its own distinctive features. Therefore, in this regard, this research also cautiously considers the different system approach with exploring the development of sport soft power in South Korea and the UK on the grounds that these two countries also have significant geopolitical differences and different foreign policy concerns.

The selection of the two countries included in this study can be justified in terms of both the 'most similar' and the 'most different' research designs. First, both countries' government have recognised and developed relatively recently the

concept of soft power as a strategy of public diplomacy. In the case of South Korea, the government has been using soft power assets such as culture, internationally recognised companies, IT, sport, and education as key sources of public diplomacy since 2010 and it has become increasingly important to the government to expand South Korea's foreign policy resources (MOFA, 2015). In case of the UK, the FCO began to refer to the concept of soft power in 1995. The increase in the awareness of the potential utility of soft power was reinforced by the growing interest in projecting a positive 'nation brand' around the mid-2010s. From around 2010 the concept of soft power was being widely used by the FCO to inform the governments' foreign policy strategy (House of Commons, 2016). Second, with regard to the utilisation of soft power in both countries' foreign policy, South Korea and the UK still place greater importance on hard power resources in their diplomatic portfolio and the deployment of soft power has generally been used as a means of complementing hard power. The South Korea government has worked hard to use the soft power as a tool of public diplomacy within its foreign policy strategy along with more traditional political and economic resources especially in a geo-political context dominated by the unresolved war with North Korea. In contrast, soft power in the British government's diplomatic strategy is more focused on winning hearts and minds of people in other countries and is considered to be a valuable and positive addition to the UK's range of traditional diplomatic resources. Third, in terms of a 'most different' approach, both countries have the different geo-political circumstance different foreign policy concerns. It is important to appreciate the diplomatic context from which the interest in utilising soft power emerged and within which it is deployed to understand the significance of soft power in general, sport soft power in particular. Therefore, the number of similarities between both countries and also differences in the geo-political context leaves little doubt that comparing South Korea and the UK is a valuable and useful exercise for this research.

3.5.2. Semi-structured Interviews

The interview is undoubtedly one of the most widely used methods in qualitative research (Bryman, 2016). In particular, the use of interviews fits well with the case study design and also is able to collect the rich and detailed data that case

studies require (Yin, 2014). When conducting interview research, interview styles are described as ranging from structured to unstructured. The structured interview mainly employed in quantitative research provides limited flexibility and reduces ambiguity of response as 'the interview is structured to maximise the reliability and validity of measurement of key concepts' (Bryman, 2016, p.466). However, structured interviews may not allow the researcher to explore the rich and in-depth data, contextual detail and phenomena in which responses are made (Mason, 2002). In the unstructured interview, 'there may be just a single question that the interviewer asks, and the interviewee is then allowed to respond freely, with the interviewer simply responding to points that seem worthy of being followed up' (Bryman, 2016, p.468). In this sense, it is possible to generate rich and deep data, but the use of that data can be problematic because of difficulty of identification and categorisation within diverse contents (Creswell, 1998).

Using semi-structured interviews, which is positioned in-between structured and unstructured interviews (Fontana and Frey, 1998) allows the researcher to follow a set topic guide for the interview, but the interviewer has the freedom to prompt and ask further questions as necessary to elicit additional information. The semi-structured interview 'based on an interview guide, open-ended questions and informal probing to facilitate discussion of issues' is the key qualitative method used this study (Devine, 2002, p.198). In contrast to structured interviews, the question and their order is open and flexible, but the researcher prepare an interview guide that outlines the desired discussion themes. Moreover, the use of open-ended questions has advantages as the interviewees are able to provide narratives in their own words (Patton, 2002). In terms of utilisation of probes, the research can encourage the interviewee to produce a rich and complete narrative as the researcher has the flexibility to investigate topics that arise during the interview discussion (Fielding and Thomas, 2001). This will be particularly useful in this research on sport soft power strategies as respondents are likely to have very different roles within and beyond the projects and different perspectives between the government and private sector. According to Devine (2002), within a broader political and social-structural context, interviewee's perceptions, beliefs, attitudes and experiences can be considered as insights provided from key actors help us to understand deep and complex social phenomena which cannot be directly observed.

Thus, semi-structured interviews with key personal involved in sport policy and diplomacy can reveal an expert/policy maker's deep perspectives, perceptions, beliefs, and experiences, thereby offering useful insights in understanding the complex phenomena. The range of benefits associated with semi-structured interviews, particularly their flexibility to provide a rich narrative and potential to examine complex phenomena, provided justification for their selection as a research method within this study. The use of semi-structured interview is particularly important when there is a lack of alternative sources of data such as publicly available official documents and extensive news media.

However, the central issues and potential problems arising from the use of qualitative methods such as semi-structured interviews are: a) aspects of reliability; b) interpretation in relation to validity; and c) generalisability (Devine, 2002 and Bryman, 2016). With regard to aspects of reliability, a key issue concerns the collection of data. According to Myers and Newman (2007), the production of a rich and accurate narrative is dependent upon the interviewee being both forthcoming and truthful. Moreover, as interview responses can be analysed in terms of the interviewees' social, cultural and political context, the relationship between the researcher and interviewee in semi-structured interview is important. To address this issue, Spradley (1979) suggested that the researcher ask broad, minimal risk and open-ended questions to encourage the interviewee to talk and begins to engage and produce in-depth descriptions and also this style of questions can support the transition into the second phase of exploration. Therefore, a careful balance must be maintained for researcher to clarify information provided by the interviewee.

An additional factor to consider when conducting interviews is the selection of participants. Selecting appropriate interviewees is important due to its impact upon the interview quality. According to Devine (2002), qualitative research, more usually, identifies a group of potential interviewees according to social characteristics, patterns of behaviour, and close association with particular aspects of the research topic, thereby seeking a diverse range of responses. In this sense, specific criteria are identified to ensure the interviewees have enough organisational and policy knowledge to provide a rich and in-depth narrative. The first criterion for the selection of interviewees is that they hold a senior position in the area of sport policy/diplomacy within the organisation. The second criterion is someone who has

been in the role for a significant period of time. With regard to these criteria of selecting the interviewees, participants are sourced through reviewing the websites of relevant organisations, in particular key officials from MCST, MOFA, and KOC in South Korea and from DCMS, FCO, and UK sport in UK and other private sectors organisations which are involved in sport diplomacy. To identify additional potential interviewees, the strategy of snowball sampling that involves asking the interviewees for recommendations of people within their own or other organisations that meet the identified criteria (Bryman, 2016) is used.

The second considerations for semi-structured interview is the analysis and interpretation of interview data. Namely, is the interpretation placed on the interview data valid and how can we reach a valid conclusion? In contrast to qualitative research analysis utilising determined statistical methods, the analyses and interpretation of interview material in qualitative research might proceed in a different manner. Thus, according to Devine (2002), transcripts are subjected to numerous readings until themes emerge to be analysed. In addition, 'the interpretation of the material is usually presented by means of an interplay of quotes from the interviews and commentary on the selected transcript' (p. 144). However, a key difficulty is how to ensure the accuracy of the researcher's interpretation. In order to enhance validity of the interpretation of interview data, Devine (2002) suggests that these interpretations should be discussed with another researcher as well as the interviewee themselves to obtain a consensus on the interpretation. Furthermore, Sparkes (1992, p.31) argued that 'truth...is what we make it to be based upon shared visions and common understandings that are socially constructed'. Therefore, it is possible to enhance the validity of the interpretation through discussion with a group of expert and experienced researchers. In addition, Devine (2002) and Fielding (1993) argued that the internal consistency of an account can be assessed in order to establish whether an analysis is consistent with identified themes and triangulating the findings with other studies can enhance external validity.

The third consideration for qualitative research is the problem of generalisation. When qualitative interviews are conducted with a small number of people in a certain organisation or locality, there is a criticism that it is impossible to know how the findings can be generalised to other settings. In other words, 'it is

impossible to make generalisations about attitudes and behaviour from in-depth interviews' by utilising small cases (Devine, 2002, p.207). While qualitative research has to be tentative about drawing inferences from a small number of cases to a larger population, a carefully designed research programme can help to facilitate understanding of other situations (Rose, 1982). In this sense, as Devine (2002, p.145) notes, 'the findings of one in-depth study can be corroborated with other research to establish regularities and variation'. This comparison would be seen as a limited test of confirmation or non-confirmation of any results. In addition, according to Bryman (2016), the findings of qualitative interviews are to generalise to theory rather than to populations. Mitchell (1983, p.207) argued that it is 'the cogency of the theoretical reasoning', rather than statistical criteria, that is decisive in considering the generalisability of the findings of qualitative research. In other words, the quality of theoretical inferences that are made out of qualitative data is crucial to the assessment of generalisations.

3.5.3. Documentary Analysis

Documents are one of the most common and important sources for comprehending the meaning of social events, activities and phenomena and 'provides an important source of data for understanding events, process and transformations in social relations' (May, 2011, p.208). Moreover, as the fundamental technique for social science research, McDonald (2001, p. 194) describes documentary analysis as an 'invaluable part of most schemes of triangulation' and Yin (2014) notes that the main value of document analysis in qualitative research is the ability to corroborate and reinforce evidence from other methods such as from semi-structured interviews. Therefore, documents provide the study with, not only a tool for triangulation of interview data, but also a potential insight into deeper structures and processes that interviewees may not perceive or comment upon. In addition, document analysis is considered as a valuable and independent method within policy research as such written texts provide the foundations of policy and act as a key point of reference throughout the policy process (Gibton, 2015).

According to Bowen (2009), there are five main roles of document analysis within qualitative research. The first role is that documents can provide data on the context within which research participants operate. In this sense, documents provide background information and also historical insight which can 'help researchers understand the historical roots of specific issues and indicate the conditions that impinge upon the phenomena currently under investigation' (Bowen, 2009, p. 30). Second, the information contained in documents can aid the generation of potential interview questions. Goldstein and Reiboldt (2004) argued that the insight provided through document analysis can help generate numerous interview questions, which may otherwise have been unconsidered. Thirdly, information and insight derived from documents provide supplementary research data, which can be valuable additions to a knowledge base. The fourth role is that documents provide a means of tracking change and development. In other words, the researcher can compare them to develop chronological insight into the policy development. The last role is related to the verification of findings or corroboration of evidence from other sources. Bowen (2009, p. 30) notes 'when there is convergence of information from different sources, readers of the research report usually have greater confidence in the trustworthiness (credibility) of the findings'.

In terms of issues to be addressed when conducting documentary analysis, it is important to consider the clarity of the type of documents. Among a wide range of different sources of documents such as personal documents, official documents, mass media, and other non-written sources (Bryman, 2016), this study mainly focuses on official policy documents derived from governments. Accordingly, in case of South Korea, official government documents which are only published directly by state authorities and collected from National Archives of Korea-for example, sports White Papers, annual reports, and strategy documents of government and government's sport agencies including the MCST (Ministry of Culture, Sports and Tourism), MOFA (Ministry of Foreign Affairs), KOC (Korean Olympic Committee), and KSPO (Korea Sports Promotion Foundation) are analysed. In case of the UK, which had a much more extensive set of documents than available in South Korea, official documents published by the government's two sports agencies, UK Sport and Sport England; and sport policy documents from DCMS (Department for Culture, Media, and Sport), FCO (Foreign & Commonwealth Office), and House of Common

such as strategic plans and annual reviews are analysed in order to examine the role of sport as part of soft power strategies. In addition, the amount of political and social information via private resources including newspapers, reports, books and journals which are related to sport soft power strategies and sport diplomacy are used in understanding the phenomena of social and political events.

To address the limitations of document analysis, Scott (1990) identifies four issues that need to be addressed in the use of documentary analysis: a) authenticity, b) credibility, c) representativeness and d) meaning. As these criteria relate to a number of issues and potential problems, a consideration of each of them will identify the strengths and weaknesses of the study's approach to documentary analysis. Authenticity, a fundamental criterion in social research, concerns the genuineness of evidence and unquestionable origin. To ensure authenticity, Platt (1981, p. 34) suggested a useful checklist: a) Does the document contain obvious errors and/or inconsistencies? (b) Do different versions of the same document exist? (c) Is there consistency of literary style, content, handwriting or typeface? (d) Has the document been transcribed by more than one copy writer? (e) Has the document been circulated by someone with a vested interest in a particular reading of its content? and (f) Does the version derive from a reliable source? In this sense, this is unlikely to be a problem for the official and relatively recent documents that is considered in this study. Credibility concerns whether the evidence is free from error and distortion (Scott, 1990). In this respect, Gaborone (2006) suggested that credibility was increased through the selection of documents that were produced independently and prior to the research process. Representativeness refers to 'the general problem of assessing the typicality, or otherwise, of evidence' (Scott, 1990, p. 7), or whether the documents available can be said to comprise a representative sample of the totality of documents as they originally existed on an important question (Macdonald and Tipton (1993, p. 196). Lastly, analysing and interpreting the meaning of the documents, which refers to the extent to which the document is comprehensible and clear (Scott, 1990), is the most complex issue to be addressed. The issue of a document's meaning can involve understanding at two levels: surface meaning and the deeper meaning through some form of interpretive understanding or structural analysis (Macdonald and Tipton, 1993). As the notion of 'interpretive understanding' is seen as a more sophisticated form of documentary analysis

(Macdonald and Tipton, 1993, p. 197), analysis of documents will therefore be a process in which the 'researcher relates the literal meaning of the document to the contexts in which they were produced in order to understand the meaning of the text as a whole' (Scott, 1990, p. 30).

In sum, given the adoption of a case study design, documentary research is an important research tool as an invaluable part of most schemes of triangulation through using an intersecting set of different research methods in a single project (Denzin, 1970) and also 'the most important use of documents for case studies is to corroborate and augment evidence from other sources' (Yin, 2014, p. 121). In this sense, the utilisation of semi-structured interview and qualitative documentary analysis is possible to triangulate data obtained from interviews with and statements from key actors involved in sport policy and diplomacy with an analysis of policy documents related to sport soft power strategies.

3.6. Conclusion

This chapter set out the methodology for the study including the philosophical assumptions, methodological approach, and methods of data collection and analysis. Firstly, the ontological and epistemological assumptions underlying critical realism provided the philosophical foundation for this study. Critical realists seek to identify, explain and understand the influence of unobservable structures (Bhaskar, 2010). The critical realist paradigm has value as this approach acknowledges the challenge of shedding light on the mechanisms of complex policy processes and changes which take place within a broader social structure context. While both positivism and interpretivism offer considerable potential insights it is argued that they would not be capable of determining so effectively the deep relations between structure and agency necessary for an investigation of sport soft power as a political and social phenomena. Secondly, in terms of research strategy, the study adopted a qualitative research strategy as it acknowledged the importance of contextual understanding of social behaviour and acquiring an in-depth understanding of the phenomena of sports as a soft power strategy. Lastly, this chapter outlined the methods adopted for the study: case study design, in particular comparative research design was considered; semi-structured interviews; and document analysis. Given the adoption

of a case study design informed by Yin (2014), the utilisation of semi-structured interview and qualitative documentary analysis is possible to triangulate data obtained from interviews with and statements from key actors involved in sport policy and diplomacy with an analysis of policy documents related to sport soft power strategies.

Chapter 4. Sport as a diplomatic resource: sport soft power strategies in South Korea

4.1. Profile of South Korea

The Republic of Korea (ROK) is an East-Asian country with a population of 51.42 million and the 28th highest GDP per capita globally in 2018 (MOFA, 2018). After the Korean war ended in 1953 without a peace agreement, the ROK embarked on a period of sustained and rapid economic growth for four decades under an authoritarian political system, during which government-sponsored schemes encouraged family run corporations called ‘chaebols’ such as Samsung and Hyundai (NAK, 2003). They helped transform South Korea into one of the world’s major economies and a leading exporter of cars and electronic goods.

Following the transition to democracy the ROK has adopted a presidential system in which the president is elected by the direct vote of the people for a five-year term (MOFA, 2018). The government is composed of ‘three independent branches: the Executive branch; the Legislative branch composed of 300 four-year term members of the National Assembly; and the Judicial branch, which includes fourteen six-year term Supreme Court justices’ (MOFA, 2016a: p. 1). The heads of the local governments, which include 17 regional local governments and 226 basic local government, and the members of local councils are each elected for a four-year term.

In terms of divided nation, Cold War rivals, the U.S, and the Soviet Union, divided the peninsula at the 38th parallel, with the U.S.-backed South and the Soviet Union-controlled North. The two Koreas established their respective governments in 1948. Defined as two different countries under international law, the two Koreas joined the UN simultaneously in 1991.

4.2. South Korea’s foreign relations and key diplomatic priorities

After the Korean War, the foreign relations of the Republic of Korea have been shaped primarily by its relationship with North Korea and by its evolving relationship

with the United States, Russia, Japan and China. While the continuing tense relationship with North Korea is the dominant foreign policy concern, South Korea's increasing importance as an economic power, both regionally and globally, has provided an additional dimension to its foreign policy (Cho, 2012; Konishi and Manyin, 2009). South Korea has made considerable efforts to diversify its diplomatic links in the international community such as: joining the UN in 1991 and the OECD in 1996; being a member of WTO; chairing the G20 in 2010, which is a proof of its leadership and enhanced role in global governance (Shim and Flamm, 2013).

Inter-Korean relations

In terms of the inter-Korean relations, since the early 1970s, they have moved gradually toward frequent contact and mutual recognition a pattern that has accelerated since the end of the 1990s (Armstrong, 2005). After 1987, democratization led to an enhancement of public input and a strengthening of domestic political institutions where foreign policy-making increasingly became part of the electoral competition (Saxer, 2013). Consequently, foreign policy under the Kim Dae Jung administration (1998 – 2003) emphasised a 'sunshine policy' of engagement with the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK) (Konishi, and Manyin, 2009). The objective of this policy was reconciliation and cooperation between the two Koreas in order to secure regional peace and stability and all the efforts made under this policy led to the 'June 15 South-North Joint Declaration' in 2000. During the Kim Dae Jung period, the two Koreas have made substantial progress in inter-Korean relations (Armstrong, 2005 and Saxer, 2013). However, during this period, the unilateral promotion of inter-Korean relations without a thorough consideration of the strength of the national South Korean consensus and the continuing North Korean nuclear issue had a decisive effect on the next regime (2003-2008), which pursued a strategy of mutually-beneficial and co-prosperous inter-Korean relations based on a national consensus and in close collaboration with the international community (Konishi, and Manyin, 2009; MOFA, 2015; Shim and Flamm, 2013).

ROK-US Relations

The relations with U.S. have had a significant impact on the maturing of democracy and the rapid economic development of South Korea (Konishi and Manyin, 2009). The U.S. engaged in the decolonisation of Korea from Japan after World War II. Since the onset of the Korean War the U.S. Army has remained in South Korea under the terms of the 'Mutual Defence Treaty' (Kim, 2012). Over subsequent decades, the two countries have had strong economic, diplomatic and military ties, and since 2008 with President Lee's administration, relations between the South Korea and the U.S. have strengthened (Manyin et al., 2013). In particular, the two nations' economies are closely connected by the Korea-U.S. Free Trade Agreement (KORUS FTA). South Korea is the U.S.'s seventh-largest trading partner and the U.S. is South Korea's second-largest trading partner (Konishi and Manyin, 2009, p. 9). Moreover, North Korea's adversarial actions have led to a harmonisation of South Korea-U.S. policies and have enhanced cooperation with ROK-U.S strategic and tactical coordination (Shim and Flamm, 2013). According to the White House press release in 2009 (White House, 2009), the two nations built an alliance to ensure a peaceful, secure and prosperous future and cooperated on various issues including environment issues, terrorism, human rights promotion and development.

However, even though the alliance's fundamentals appear to be solid, there were some serious tensions between South Korea and the U.S. First, anti-American sentiments pervaded South Korean society during 1980s because of the Gwang-ju Uprising incident³. This rebellion was the most pressing Korean political issue that generally operated on the political margins in South Korea. This incident signalled the growing influence of South Korean public opinion on its foreign policy orientation, a factor which became a significant concern in the relationship between the US and ROK (Snyder, 2008). Second, trade had become a serious source of friction between South Korea and U.S. For instance, the protests against U.S. beef in 2008

³ This incident is known as Gwangju Democratisation Movement, which was an uprising in city of Gwangju, South Korea from May 18 to 27, 1980. Nearly a quarter of a million people participated in this rebellion and 606 people may have died. It is considered to have been a pivotal moment in the South Korean struggle for democracy. The role played by the U.S. military during the uprising led to an increase in anti-American sentiment among South Korean students and activists (Duncan, 2009).

resulted in a marked decrease in positive public attitudes toward the U.S. at a time when talks concerning the KORUS FTA were taking place (Manyin et al., 2013).

While, in many respects, ROK-U.S. relations are more stable today than they have been in years, South Korea's diplomatic approach to regional level issues and relationships have changed significantly in relation to neighbouring Northeast Asian states.

ROK-Japan Relations

After the division of Korea, South Korea and Japan had established basic diplomatic relations in 1965 under the 'Treaty on Basic Relations between Japan and the Republic of Korea' and in 1975 both countries tried to discuss economic cooperation and Japan joined the U.S. in providing assurances for South Korea's security (Kang, 2005). The relationship between the two countries improved in 1996 following FIFA's announcement that South Korea and Japan would co-host the 2002 FIFA World Cup. Both nations' leaders met to signal warmer relations in preparation for the forthcoming competition (Cha, 2002). Although neither nations' citizens were happy about having to share the honours, this event led to the 'Japan-South Korea Friendship Year' in 2005 when the two countries invested in cultural exchanges (Horne and Manzenreiter, 2013). Moreover, the U.S. government encouraged improvement in South Korea and Japan relations in consideration of geopolitical factors. As key U.S. allies in Northeast Asia, a co-operative relationship between South Korea and Japan was of direct importance to U.S. strategic interests in the region because of the value of coordination over the North Korea policy, the enhancement of regional stability, and the improvement of each nation's ability to deal with the strategic challenges posed by China's rise (Cha, 2002 and Manyin et al., 2013).

However, despite increased cooperation between the two countries over the past decade, mistrust on historical and territorial issues continued to linger. Major diplomatic issues have occurred because of the Japanese Prime Minister's visit of the Yasukuni Shrine which commemorates Japan's war dead and its second World War leaders (For more detail, see Deans, 2007). Furthermore, conflicts continue to exist over the long disputed Dokdo islands (known as the Liancourt Rocks dispute)

and more recently, relations between the two countries reached a low point when the two nations addressed the issue of 'comfort women' (or sex slaves) used by the Japanese military during World War II (Hicks, 1997 and Konishi and Manyin, 2009). Relations between South Korea and Japan involve both political conflicts and economic intimacies, but it is still complicated because nothing has been conclusively agreed upon by historians. According to Manyin et al. (2013, p. 25), it is difficult for South Korea to support initiatives to institutionalise improvements in bilateral ties as Japanese officials continue to downplay this history.

ROK-China Relations

The international relations between South Korea and the People's Republic of China have developed significantly since the late 1980s and were formally established with the normalisation of diplomatic ties in 1992 (Shambaugh, 2003). The two nation's bilateral political and economic relations have developed effectively such as through the China-Japan-South Korea trilateral conferences in 2008 and 'Six-Party Talks', which were attended by China, Japan, North Korea, Russia, South Korea, and the United States on North Korea's nuclear issue since 2003 (Wong, 2009). In view of the economic relationship, China has emerged as South Korea's most important economic partner since China's entry into the WTO in 2001 and more recently both countries signed a bilateral FTA. China's industrial rise has been an important source of South Korean economic growth and as well as introducing a major economic competitor (Manyin et al., 2013). The bilateral economic relationship between two nations has led to the development of people-to-people exchanges through tourism, education and culture (Wong, 2009).

However, despite the close economic relations between the two nations, there have been significant disputes over trade relations, historical issues, territorial sovereignty, political issues and cultural ownership. In particular, China's influence over North Korea and strengthened alliance relations between South Korea and the United States built up a sense of tension between South Korea and China, for example with regard to the Terminal High-Altitude Area Defence (THAAD) issue (For more detail, see Klingner, 2015 and Manyin et al., 2013). Moreover, China's historical claims surrounding the ancient Korean kingdom of Koguryo created tension between the two counties and this significantly undermined the idealised image of

China shared by many South Koreans (Konishi and Manyin, 2009). The diplomatic conflict reached a low point in 2008 through the Olympic torch relay in Seoul. Violence by Chinese students in Seoul resulted in increased tension between the two countries (Economy and Segal, 2008). These key issues and views became more emotional among the South Korean public which had the potential to affect political and economic decisions by policymakers (Wong, 2009).

ROK-Russia Relations

Before 1970, relations between South Korea and the Soviet Union were generally adversarial because the Soviet Union supported China and North Korea during the Korean War (Joo, 2002). However, in the 1980s both countries attempted to transform the pattern of East Asian international relations. South Korea's foreign policy, 'Nordpolitik', tried to normalise relations with the closest allies of North Korea, namely China and the Soviet Union (Ahn, 2012) and the Soviet Union's 'New Thinking' policy tried to improve relations with all countries in the Asia-Pacific region including South Korea (Fedorovsky, 1999). Consequently, improved relations between the two nations were planned in various stages such as sports, trade and political relations. For example, during the 1988 Seoul Olympic, the Soviet Union sent more than 6,000 people and a number of tourist ships to South Korea as this event was seen as an opportunity by the Soviet Union to build closer relations with South Korea (Ahn, 2012). In 1989 the Korean Trade Promotion Corporation and the Soviet Chamber of Commerce and Industry exchanged a trade memorandum, which enabled both nations to trade directly (Joo, 2002).

After the collapse of the Soviet Union, the improved relations were continued by the Russian Federation and the two countries established diplomatic ties in 1991 (Fedorovsky, 1999). Since the early 1990s, the both nations have seen greater trade and cooperation with the consequence that South Korea became the third largest trading partner of the Russian Far East in the 2000s (Korenevskiy, 2005). More recently, South Korea has attempted to deepen ties with Russia but economic and political ties between the two nations are still relatively underdeveloped and limited (Konishi and Manyin, 2009).

On the basis of these foreign relations, recently the MOFA proposed a vision, “realization of a happier Korean people, Korean Peninsula and global community” and MOFA sought to build peace and shared development of Korean Peninsula and Northeast Asia (MOFA, 2015, p. 2), which focused on the following policy tasks:

- 1. Providing an impetus for resolving the North Korean nuclear issue;*
 - 2. Developing relations with major neighbouring countries of the Korean Peninsula;*
 - 3. Promoting the Northeast Asia Peace and Cooperation Initiative and expanding cooperation with Eurasia;*
 - 4. Playing a role as a responsible middle power contributing to world peace and progress;*
 - 5. Protecting the safety and rights of Korean nationals residing abroad and expanding both public diplomacy and jobs diplomacy;*
 - 6. Strengthening the capacity for economic cooperation;*
- (MOFA, 2016)*

4.3. South Korean Public Diplomacy and efforts to promote the national brand value

Despite rapid economic development, a rich culture and technological advances, according to Cho (2012), South Korea lacked clear objectives and strategies for public diplomacy. However, in the age of globalization, public diplomacy has emerged as a significant style of diplomacy (Nye, 2008). South Korea has tried to make a concrete strategy for public diplomacy to promote a positive national image to other nations because a brand that successfully enhances a nation's image can have positive effects such as encouraging foreign investment and boosting tourism as well as providing greater visibility in the international community (Kim, 2011). In light of these benefits, the South Korean government realised that foreign policy, in recent years, in many countries had given greater emphasis to soft power and consequently increased its investment and efforts to promote South Korean culture all over the world (Kim, 2011; MOFA, 2015; Shim and Flamm, 2013).

South Korea's public diplomacy has in recent years been expanded by government. 178 Korean embassies are conducting a variety of public diplomacy projects and these projects provide opportunities to let the world know more about South Korea and generate greater interest (MOFA, 2015). Adjusting to the current diplomatic climate, MOFA emphasizes Korea as an education and cultural powerhouse as one of the main public diplomacy strategies in order to reach out to the foreign public through the arts, knowledge sharing, media, language, aid and sport (MOFA, 2014; 2016 and National Archives of Korea (thereafter, NAK), 2002). Recent efforts by the Korean government involve utilizing cultural diplomacy to enhance South Korea's image (Kim, 2011). MOFA has made cultural agreements with a number of countries in order to strengthen and institutionalize cultural cooperation. MOFA has also implemented various mutual cultural exchange programmes which stimulate exchanges in the field of the arts, sports and mass media (MOFA, 2015). Moreover, the Korean government is making active efforts to participate in international discussions on global cultural policies within UNESCO (Kim, 2011). As a board member of the Intergovernmental Committee of Intangible Cultural Heritage, the Korean government seeks to increase Korea's status and enhance Korea's cultural prestige in the international community (MOFA, 2015). In terms of an education, the Korean government gives practical assistance for Korean studies and language abroad. In particular, MOFA established a foundation to give support to foreign experts of Korean studies and operates scholarship programmes in order to enhance the understanding of Korea (Cho, 2012). In the field of the arts, the Korean government supports various cultural events, exhibitions of the Korean artworks and the broadcasting of Korean TV films and dramas. The Korean embassies support a number of cultural events, which contribute to promoting the Korean culture to foreign publics and even increase cultural relations with other countries (NAK, 2002). Moreover, the MOFA makes efforts to support art exhibitions abroad in order to promote Korean culture and to project a positive national image to foreigners (MOFA, 2015). In addition, the "Korean wave", which 'refers to the phenomenon of Korean popular culture rolling over the world with TV dramas, films, music and food' (Jang and Paik, 2012, p. 1), became an important element of Korea's public diplomacy (MOFA, 2015). The Korean government has been extremely supportive of overseas broadcasting of Korean TV dramas, exporting Korean Films and promoting Korean music and food (Kim, 2011). These aspects of

Korean culture have been key elements in broadening the international perception of South Korea (MOFA, 2015).

The MOFA also has tried to improve the national image and enhance its relations with other countries through sports. Sports (or sports diplomacy) has been a vital element of South Korea's nation branding strategy (Kim, 2011; MOFA, 2015; NAK, 2002; Shim and Flamm, 2013, Yoon and Wilson, 2014; Jin, 2016; Yeo, 2016).

4.4. Political and diplomatic awareness of sport in South Korea

At the end of World War II, Korea became independent from Japan and the newly formed government struggled to establish a new political regime. After independence, as can be seen in Table 4.1, modern Korean sport became a significant tool of political propaganda and it has been developed by three different political regimes: *Syngman Rhee* regime from 1945-1960; *Jung Hee Park* regime from 1961-1979; *Doo Hwan Chun* and *Tae Woo Roh* regime between 1980 and 1992 (NAK, 1993). Ha and Mangan (2002, p. 231) described the evolution of modern Korean sport policy as the four seasons,

'The 1960s was the spring when the seeds were sown, the 1970s was the summer when the roots took firm hold and the 1980s and 1990s were the autumn when the fruits ripened.'

Korean sport was based on the ideal of the militarisation of Korea that had informed Park's policies and political propaganda until the early 1980s (Ha and Mangan, 2002). During this time, the rationale for Korean sports policy was the promotion of sports nationalism (NAK, 2016). During this period, policies were characterised by government control and initially an elitist emphasis, which focused on the requirements of domestic policies (nation-building) rather than international politics (NAK, 1993).

After the Korean government paved the way for a sports policy based on sports nationalism, the 1980s brought an awareness of the diplomatic potential of sport. The Korean government had paid attention to and invested in policies in the field of sport in order not only to promote national physical education and

achieve national unity but also to enhance national prestige (NAK, 2016). The 1986 Asian Games and the 1988 Seoul Olympic Games were the result of a governmental plan to bring Korea into the world spotlight (Ha and Mangan, 2002). Thus, this is the period in which sport began to be used to advance national status generally and promote understanding and relationship among nations (Cho. Y, 2009; Ha and Mangan, 2002; NAK, 2016; Ok, 2007; Yoon and Wilson, 2014). Table 4.1 provides a summary of the development of sport diplomacy and how development related to political events.

Table 4. 1 Key Sports Policies of South Korea (1960-1990)

Year	Key Political events	Key Sports Polices	Political and Diplomatic purpose of sports policy
1961	Military coup puts General Park Chung-Hee in power	Sport is considered as a key tool, namely 'elite sports policy' and 'popular sports policy' in order to achieve the government's political purpose	Park believed in promoting sport to secure legitimacy for his regime and win popularity for his military rule
1964 - 1966	Third Republic. Major programme of industrial development begins	The Olympics could be viewed as a turning point to improve elite performances Taenung Athletes Village established Government presents a slogan 'Physical Fitness is National Strength'	The government focuses on the elite sports system in order to enhance national prestige The political value of sport was considered to be an extension of the martial spirit that could serve as a source of regeneration
1970 - 1972	Martial Law. Park increases his powers with constitutional changes. Both Koreas seek to develop dialogue	The government invested money in an expansion of sports with announcing '3 Year Plan for Expansion of Sport Facilities' (1970-1972)	A series of major developments in modern Korean sport are introduced as Park believed sport and physical fitness of a people can create a prosperous and strong nation
1979-1985	Park assassinated. General Chun Doo-Hwan assumes power Chun indirectly elected to a seven year term (1981-1988)	Chun continued the sports policies that Park had set in train Seoul decided as a venue of '88 Olympics and '86 Asian Games (1981)	The hosting of the Olympic and Asian Games are significant symbols of Korea's entry onto the world sporting stage Chun's government

Martial law ends, but government continues to have strong power to prevent dissent

focused on elite sport to improve performances

at '88 Seoul Olympics

and '86 Seoul Asian

Games; linked to issues of national identity and image

Korean Professional

Baseball League and Korean Professional Football League launched (1982 and 1983)

Professional sports leagues contributed to the popularisation of sport and played a significant role in shaping the sport culture

The revision of the National Sports Promotion Law (1982)

In order to emphasise the enhancement of national prestige through high performance sport (elite sport)

1986 - 1988

Constitution is changed to allow direct election of the president

Chun pushed out of office by student unrest and international pressure in the build-up to the Sixth constitution (Roh Tae-woo's regime)

First free parliamentary elections (1988)

The 10th Asian Games were successfully held in Seoul (1986)

Seoul wanted to ensure maximum participation for the Olympics, so the effort started with ensuring maximum participation at the 1986 Asian Games from countries across the Cold War divide

The 24th Olympic Games held in Seoul (1988)

In order to use sport as an effective tool to overcome Cold War barriers with the Soviet Union and China

Despite socialist countries' boycott due to political condition, South Korea had a good relationship with China through the Games

In order to improve diplomatic relations with the Socialist bloc nations and offer an opportunity to pursue the remodelling of an independent foreign policy

In order to promote the status of the country's economic development and traditional culture,

			and the potential of Koreans worldwide
1989 - 1990	North and South Korea join United Nations	<p>The Korea Sports Promotion Foundation inaugurated</p> <p>3 Year National Sport for All Promotion Plan (1990-1992)</p>	Substantial funds through 88 Olympic Games' surplus were directly allocated to sport for all objectives and elite sport in order to support for competitions at home and abroad and contribute to the strengthening of global sports diplomacy

Source: Adapted from BBC (2015); Ha and Mangan (2002); Merkel 2008); Nak (2016); Ok (2007); Yoon and Wilson (2014); Won (2013)

1988 Seoul Olympic Games

The late 1980s and 1990s' regime showed particularly strong interest in sport as a political and diplomatic tool in order to enhance national prestige and the international reputation of the country (Ha and Mangan, 2003). According to government publications by the National Archives of Korea related to the 1988 Seoul Olympic Games, this event was a typical example for South Korea to use the sport for diplomatic purposes. (NAK, 1979; 1982; 1987; 1988; 2015; and Ha and Mangan, 2002; Ok, 2007; Yoon and Wilson, 2014).

The 24th Summer Olympic Games were held in Seoul in 1988. South Korea was the second Asian country to host the world's biggest sports mega-event. Under the Games' basic spirit, 'Harmony and Progress', the 1988 Seoul Summer Olympics were significant in that they were focused on the number of participants, safety, cost-efficient management and, in particular, reconciliation between the Western and Eastern Blocs (IOC, 1989 and MOFA, 2016). After 12 years wait due to the Western Bloc's boycotting of the 1980 Moscow Olympics and the Eastern Bloc's retaliatory boycotting of the 1984 Los Angeles Olympics, both blocs participated in harmony in the Olympic Games (Won, 2013). According to Ha (2000), the Seoul Olympic Games

contributed to a reduction in ideological conflict and racial discrimination, living up to the spirit of the Olympics.

In terms of South Korea's political objectives, through hosting the Olympic Games, President Chun tried to continue the sports policies that President Park had set which were:

- To demonstrate Korea's economic growth and national power
- To improve Korea's status in the international sporting community
- To promote friendship with foreign countries through sport
- To create favourable conditions for establishing diplomatic relations with both Communist and non-aligned nations
- To consolidate national consensus through these international sports events, primarily the Olympic Games (NAK, 1979, p. 5; Park, 1991, p. 5)

Furthermore, interestingly Chun's regime also needed to divert the nation's attention from the fact that he was not democratically elected (Kim, 1990). In this regard, hosting the Olympic Games was a great tool to demonstrate his political and economic leadership to both domestic and international audiences (Gleysteen and Romberg, 1987). For example, from a political perspective, South Korea achieved a key political advantage, which was the consolidation of democracy and in this period, sport was considered to be an important means of political socialisation (Ha and Mangan, 2002 and Manheim, 1990). From an economic perspective, the events were a great opportunity to contribute to solving the economic challenge forced by the Chun's regime. During preparation for the Games, Chun invited the business community to become involved in the preparations for the Olympic Games (NAK, 1984). According to Kim (1990), the companies donated a great deal of money to the affiliated sports organisations in return for rewards such as tax exemptions or other political benefits.

The 1988 Seoul Olympic Games as a diplomatic vehicle, proved effective due to the promotion of the country through the international media. The international news media played a significant role in both the domestic and international exchanges that led to political change in South Korea (Manheim, 1990). Moreover, attracting world attention was an opportunity for South Korea to showcase its many

traditions and culture to the world (IOC, 1989). In other words, the events were for South Korea a great source of international recognition and the means of raising the image of the Korean nation.

4.5. Development of Sport as a diplomatic resource in South Korea (1993 - 2007)

From 1988 to 1997, with continued economic growth, South Korea rapidly enlarged its national infrastructure and enhanced the social welfare of its citizens. In the aftermath of the successful 1988 Seoul Olympic Games, public interest in sport grew dramatically and the government responded with a rapid provision of resources, facilities and equipment (Ha and Mangan, 2002). As a result of the government's support and increased public interest in sport, professional sports in South Korea emerged rapidly and sport remained a significant policy issue for the government (Ha, 2000). Due to these social changes, sport has been more widely adopted as a political resource not only domestically but also in relation to the conduct of foreign policy (Saxer, 2013).

The changing significance of sport as a diplomatic resource was clearly evident in the first 'Five-Year National Sport for All Promotion Plan (1993-1997)', which was implemented in 1993 (NAK, 1993). This plan focused on providing continued support for elite sport in order to promote the national brand. Moreover, acknowledging the growing importance of international sport policy, this plan also put stress on: promoting international cooperation with nations with which no diplomatic relations had yet been established; strengthening ties with influential figures in international sport fields; supporting sports infrastructure in developing countries; participating in international sports events and conferences in order to improve the nation's position and international friendship in the international sports field (MCST, 2003). According to the White Paper on Physical Education from the Ministry of Culture, Sport and Tourism (MCST, 2003), the plan has been developed up to the second and third 'Five-Year National Sport for All Promotion Plan' in 1988 and 2003 respectively (See Table 4.2).

Table 4. 2 Key Sports Diplomatic Policies in Five-Year National Sport for All Promotion Plans from 1993 to 2007

	The First Five-Year National Sport for All Promotion Plan (1993-1997)	The Second Five-Year National Sport for All Promotion Plan (1998-2002)	The Third Five-Year National Sport for All Promotion Plan (2003-2007)
Policy Issues	<p>⁴The total investment is around 36 billion US dollars (4,129 billion Won)</p> <p><Strengthening South Korea's position in international sport fields></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Support education and training for sports diplomacy (12 people every year // around 440 thousand dollars) • Support experts to work at international sports organisations (209 people work in 78 international sports organisations) • Provide support for sports infrastructure in developing countries (around 860,000 USD investment) • Promote international cooperation with nations with which no diplomatic relations 	<p>The total investment is around 27 billion dollars (3,200 billion Won)</p> <p><Enhancing the diplomatic capability of the Korean sport></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Support development of sport diplomacy expertise (100 people every year // around 1.1 million dollars) • Plan to establish international sports organization in South Korea (1 million dollars investment) • Support sports infrastructure in developing countries (1.5 million dollars investment) • Promote Taekwondo as a national sport (22 million dollars investment) 	<p>The total investment is around 24 billion dollars (2,770 billion Won)</p> <p><Effective use of the international sports events></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Plan to host international mega-sports events in South Korea (2010 PyeongChang Winter Olympic Games, various World Championships) • Vitalise international sports and tourism events • Increase participation in international sports events <p><Strengthening the sports diplomatic capability></p>

⁴ Total investment includes the government funds, national sports promotional funds, province funds and private funds.

	<p>had yet been established (China, Cuba and the five countries of the former Soviet Union)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Collect research materials of sport from abroad (0.3 million dollars investment) • Promote Taekwondo as a national sport (around 2.7 million dollars investment) <p><Effective promotion of international sport cooperation programs></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Dispatch athletes and teams to international mega-sports events (Total 206 different sports events) • Plan to host international mega-sports events in South Korea (1996 Asian Winter Games, 1997 Winter Universiade, 2002 Summer Asian Games and 2002 FIFA Worldcup) <p><Work on national unity through sport></p> <p>The total investment is around 2.9 million dollars</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Emphasise the importance of nongovernmental (people-to-people) diplomacy <p><Work on national unity through sport></p> <p>The total investment is around 12 million dollars</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Promoting sports cooperation between North and South Korea • Plan to have a joint parade in international sports events <p><Effective use of the international sports events></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Dispatch athletes and teams to international mega-sports events (Total 511 different sports events) • Host international mega-sports events in South Korea (1999 Winter Asian Games, 2002 Asian Games and 2002 FIFA World Cup) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Support development of sport diplomacy expertise (12 people every year // 4 million dollars investment) • Support executives to work at international sports organisations (235 people work in 78 international sports organisations) • Host international sports conferences • Enhance international (27 countries and 43 NOCs) cooperation through sport • Enhance regional (Japan and China) cooperation through sport (around 11 million dollars investment) • Support sports infrastructure in developing countries (around 300 thousand dollars investment) • Promote Taekwondo as a national sport (55 million dollars) <p><Work on national unity through sport></p> <p>The total investment is around 63 million dollars</p>
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	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Stimulate cooperation and exchanges in sports between the two Koreas (Participate in international sports mega-events as one team; exchange sports coaches) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Plan to host international mega-sports events (2001 Summer Universiade and 2008 Busan Olympic Games) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Invite North Korea team to international sports events hosted in South Korea • Plan to co-host international sports events • Hold sports seminar to exchange both countries' expertise <p><The exchanges and cooperation of Anti-doping></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Strengthen international exchanges on anti-doping issues • Strengthen anti-doping policy and establish a doping control centre
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Source: Adapted from (NAK, 1993;1988;2003 and MCST, 2003).

South Korea has formulated sports policies and foreign policies of sport, which reflected the changes over time in the importance of sport and in the socio-economic and political environment. According to the three different sports policies of South Korea from 1993 to 2007 (See Table 4.2), there are a number of common priorities, which are: to enhance the diplomatic capability of Korean sport; to use international sports events effectively; and to work on national unity through sport. The achievement of these aims would, it was argued, lead to the enhancement of the national image and prestige and the generation of positive socio-economic effects (MCST, 2003). However, each sub-policy not only had a number of common features but also had a number of subtle differences.

In terms of a plan for enhancing the diplomatic capability of the Korean sport, South Korea focused on supporting education programmes to train experts in sports diplomacy. The government steadily increased its investment from 440,000 US dollars in the first sports policy to 4 million dollars in the third as more experts in sports diplomacy would be expected to have a substantial impact on the international sports field (NAK, 1993). Furthermore, the government sought to support sports experts to work in international sports organisations as it secured greater international competitiveness (MCST, 2003). From 1993 to 2007, this sports policy produced good results with 235 Korean sports experts working in 78 international sports organisations by 2007 (NAK, 2003). In addition, the government aggressively promoted the national sport of taekwondo with 55 million dollars in the third sports policy and it has become one of the most important sports identified as a soft power resource in South Korea (NAK, 2003). Typically, in the second sports five-year plan, sport as a diplomatic resource has been developed effectively as the government acknowledged the importance of nongovernmental (people-to-people) diplomacy through sport (NAK, 1998) and started to use the concept of soft power in the third sport five-year policy. Moreover, the government enhanced regional cooperation through sport as a diplomatic tool in particular with Japan after the 2002 World Cup (NAK, 2003).

After the successful hosting of 1988 Olympic Games, South Korea made sustained efforts to host further international sports events which attract global interest and have economic spill over. Moreover, according to the Ministry, South Korea exerted great effort to promote international friendship and to enhance

national prestige through dispatching athletes and teams to international sports events (MCST, 2003). South Korea was successful in bids to host a number of host major international sports events from 1993 to 2007 such as 2002 FIFA World Cup, 1999 Winter Asian Games and 2002 Summer Asian Games and also sent athletes and teams to more than 511 different sports events including 1996/2000/2004 Summer Olympic Games, 1998/2002/2006 Winter Olympic Games, 1994/1998/2006 Summer Asian Games and 1996/2003 Winter Asian Games (NAK, 1993; 1998; 2003).

With regard to the objective to work towards national unity, sport played a significant role from 1993 and the investment in related policy increased to 63 million dollars in the third sports policy (NAK, 2003). Even though the first sport policy's (1993-1997) ambition to improve inter-Korean relations through sport fell short of the South Korean government's expectations, the continuing efforts to promote sports cooperation between the two Koreas achieved some success. For example, the two Koreas marched together at the Sydney Olympics in 2000 and North Korea sent their cheerleaders to the 2002 Busan Asian Games and to the 2003 Daegu Universiade which was held in South Korea. As a result of this effort, the Koreas accomplished an increase in sports exchange, thereby enhancing, even if only slightly, unification diplomacy through sport (MCST, 2003).

However, not all sports soft power policies were considered to be successful. The government spent 0.3 million dollars in the first sports policy to collect research material in various fields on sports from abroad in order to strengthen sports diplomacy by the rapid dissemination of oversea information and thereby increasing the quality and success of South Korea athletes (NAK, 1993). However, this policy only lasted five years. Moreover, the investment in supporting sport infrastructure in developing countries decreased more than one million dollars in the third sports five-year plan. Because of a disparity in economic power between the two countries, there were difficulties to promote 'Win-Win' international exchange business, thereby affecting the level of support for sport soft power initiatives focused on developing countries (NAK, 2003). Finally, since the successful hosting of the 2002 FIFA World Cup and Asian Games, South Korea tried to host as many international mega-sports events as possible. However, the indiscriminate bidding put a significant strain on the national financial and it led to domestic criticism of the strategy (MCST, 2003).

4.6. Development of sport as a diplomatic resource in South Korea (2008 - 2017)

After the last sports plan from 2003 to 2007, the Korean government did not use the term, 'Five-Year National Sport for All Promotion Plan' but instead, indicated changes to sports policy by incorporating them into broader policy documents such as 'Cultural Vision 2012' in president Lee's regime (2008-2012) and 'Sports Vision 2018' in president Park's regime (2013-2016). However, these sports policies were based within the context of the three National Sport for All Promotion Plans and any detailed policy changes could be found in the White Paper on Physical Education from the MCST, which was published in every year.

Cultural Vision 2012 was introduced in 2008 and covered a broad range of the cultural policy including art, internet content business⁵, tourism and sport. In this policy, the key tasks of sport policy as a diplomatic resource were: to host international mega sport events successfully; to support the development of experts for sports diplomacy; to promote taekwondo; and to establish the anti-doping system (MCST, 2008a). Compared to the previous sports policies, the 2012 policy focused more on elite sport, in particular, national team training in order to achieve good results in the 2012 London Olympic Games, thereby enhancing national image and prestige. According to the white paper on physical education from 2008 to 2012, sports policy (in particular, international sports policy) as a diplomatic tool received funding totalling 822 million dollars, which was an average of 29% of the total investment⁶ in sport (2.7 billion dollars) in each year in this period. This proportion of funding for the international sports policy had increased dramatically from 5% in 2008 to 40% in 2012 (MCST, 2008; 2009; 2010; 2011; 2012). One of the reasons of increased investment was the cost of hosting the IAAF World Championships Daegu in 2011 and to prepare the 2014 Incheon Asian Games.

However, not all sports diplomacy policies were considered to be successful. With regard to the inter-Korean sports exchange and cooperation, related policies

⁵ The new business model which applies the internet based on software running on network.

⁶ The Total investment includes only the government funds and national sports promotional funds. Since 2009, the national sports promotional funds dramatically increased compared to the government funds and in 2016 its proportion is over 90 percent of the total funding of sports policy.

were not activated as planned. The attempt to improve inter-Korean relations encountered an unexpected difficulty because of the nuclear issue, the firing at the Cheonan ship incident and the shooting of South Korean tourists on Mount Kumkang, North Korea (Jung, 2015 and MCST, 2012). These major incidents strained South-North relations and had a negative impact on the inter-Korean sports exchanges.

Sports Vision 2018 was introduced in 2013 (MCST, 2013a). With regard to its diplomatic purpose, this ongoing sports policy focused on: supporting the development of experts in sports diplomacy; supporting experts to work in international sports organisations and supporting the promotion of a wide range of sports personnel; hosting international sports events; promoting taekwondo; setting up an advanced anti-doping system; and supporting sports projects in developing countries (MCST, 2013b). Through this sports policy, the government aimed to keep and strengthen its status in the international sports field by expanding its areas of involvement beyond hosting and South Korean athlete success to include prominence in international federations and involvement in global sport development.

4.7. Sport as a soft power strategy in South Korea

The use of sport as a diplomatic resource emerged from 1993 following publication of the first sports policy but the concept of soft power in sports field has only been referred to explicitly from the third sports policy and the importance of this concept has steadily increased since the early 2000s (NAK, 2003).

From 2002, the government of South Korea began to consider an improved management system for the 'nation brand' (NAK, 2002). The government of South Korea claimed that a strong national brand can secure competitiveness in the world market and that the national image affects business brands in the country which in turn affects the competitiveness of the company (NAK, 2002). The South Korean government has spent huge amounts of money (8.4 million dollars by MCST, 2010) to enhance the national brand image and 'soft power' is becoming an increasingly important strategy to develop a more positive image of Korea (MOFA, 2016).

As soft power became more important in South Korea, culture has been an indispensable element in the nation's competitiveness. Therefore, MOFA initiated and funded a wide range of cultural diplomatic activities, as a subordinate concept of public diplomacy, and made different strategies to upgrade South Korea's brand value and its prestige in the international community.

Through the development of a cultural diplomacy strategy, the government sought to promote the national image and achieve foreign policy objectives through using 'sport' as a form of soft power. On the basis of the Five-year National Sport for All Promotion Plan from 1993, the South Korea's government utilised various strategies to operationalise its sport soft power strategy: elite sport success; hosting sports mega events; involvement in international sports organisations; and sports development and peace.

4.7.1. Elite Sport Success

Elite sport success has been regarded as a valuable political resource for its capacity to aid the achievement of a wide range of non-sporting objectives (Green and Houlihan, 2005). Since at least the 1990s governments in many countries have intervened directly in elite sport development and have invested strategically in elite sport systems to produce international elite sport success and in particular, Olympic success (De Bosscher, et al., 2009). According to Haut (2016), success at the Olympic Games or World Championships leads to enhanced international prestige for the country as a whole. Moreover, Grix and Carmichael (2012) argued that elite sport success on the international stage leads to prestige and contributes to a collective sense of national identity which in turn increases soft power and provides a wider 'pool' for the identification of future elite athletes; thus, creating a positive cycle. Furthermore, Kang (2012) and Moon et al. (2013) demonstrated that elite sport success and in particular elite athlete's success had a positive influence on the national image. Elite sport success and elite athlete's success have been clear strategic priorities for the South Korean government in their ambition to use sport to contribute nation-building and to the promotion of national prestige and identity.

4.7.1.1. Elite sport

As seen in Table 4.1, the Korean government has used sport as a significant tool of political propaganda since President Park's regime in the 1960s and this sports policy contributed to the development of an elite sport system, which focused on nation-building and the promotion of national prestige. The most important motive for the Korean government to develop an elite system was that elite sport success was considered to be very effective for enhancing national prestige and forming the state's distinct identity, particularly distinct from North Korea, and for promoting national economic development (Lee, et al., 2001).

From the early of 1960s until the late of 1970s, the Korean government was committed to sport, in particular elite sport as a political tool. According to President's Park speech at the ceremony opening the Korean Sports Council Hall in 1966,

We know full well how important the role sport has been in enhancing the national prestige and international reputation of a country. ... We must know that our athletes going abroad to participate in international games and achieving splendid records have achieved more than hundreds of our foreign diplomats spending large budgets ever have (Park, 1974).

President Park revealed how much he valued elite athletes as civil ambassadors who promoted the nation's prestige abroad and his political achievement was securing funding for setting up a support system for elite sport in order to secure a high ranking in the medals table place high in the ranks of international sports events (Ha and Mangan, 2002). In 1980s, the government put more focus on sport with the establishment of the Ministry of Sport, the revision of the National Sports Promotion Law and the strong commitment to bidding for and hosting of international sports mega events (Hong, 2011). The success of South Korea's strategy is evident from its consistently high position in the Summer Olympics medal table: 10th in Los Angeles, 1984; 4th in Seoul, 1988; 7th in Barcelona, 1992; 10th in Atlanta, 1996; 12th in Sydney, 2000; 9th in Athens, 2004; 7th in Beijing, 2008; 5th in London, 2012; and 8th in Rio, 2016. Moreover, South Korea also won its first Winter Olympics medal in 1992 and ranked 14th or higher in subsequent Winter Olympic Games (MCST, 2014). Clearly, elite sport success has been encouraged by the government for the purpose of enhancing national prestige and increasing national identity.

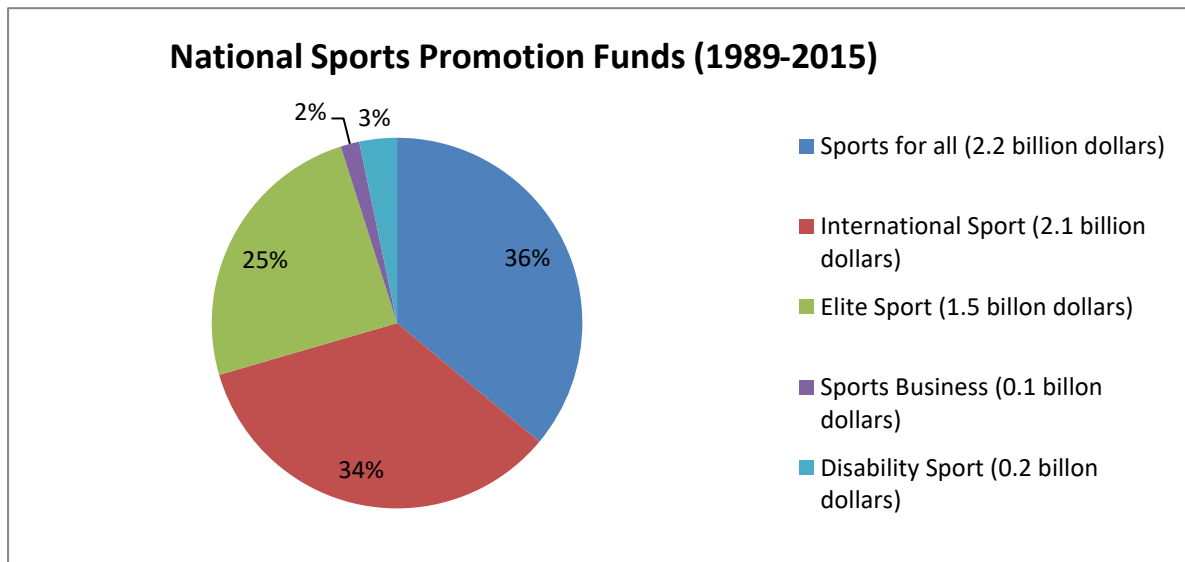
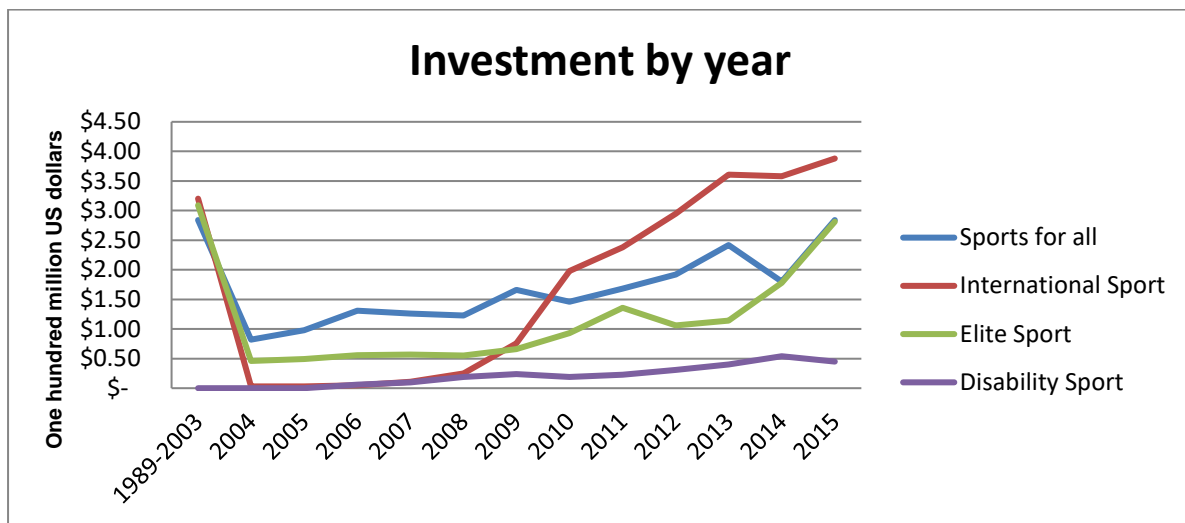
Each five-year sports policy plan from 1993 and more recent sport policies clearly demonstrate how successive governments have invested strategically in the elite sport system to produce international elite sport success. In each sport policy document support was provided not only for athletic performance but also for the general support of athletes and related groups to improve their competition skills. As seen in Table 4.4, the elite sport policy comprised several different elements, supporting: talent identification; the national team; the organisation of domestic competitions; coach training; sports organisations; and professional sports. According to the 1993-2007 Five-Year National Sport for All Promotion Plan and the White Paper on sport from 2008 to 2014, the ultimate aims of these policies were to: enhance national prestige; lead to improved sports for all; develop the sport industry and management; boost people's morale; and heighten the sense of unity among the people (NAK, 1993; 1988; 2003 and MCST, 2008-2014).

Among these sport policy documents from 1993 to present, there are a number of common priorities, which are: promoting school athlete teams and sport schools in order to find and support young and talented athletes; supporting members of the national team to achieve a high rank in sports mega events; supporting and promoting national sports events; training sport leaders and coaches; and improving the welfare of elite athletes.

However, each sub-policy not only had a number of common features but also had a number of differences. In the first sports policy from 1993 to 1997, the Korean government tried to strengthen the military sports system by developing military sports teams, known as Korea Armed Forces Athletic Corps which was founded in 1984, and promoting military friendship through hosting military sports events. This sports policy contributed to the development of elite athletes through training and participation in competitions during the term of compulsory military service thereby enabling elite athletes to continue participation in international sports events designed to boost national prestige. However, these policy objectives seemed incompatible as the military was clearly a representative of hard power and sport was a tool of soft power. As a result, the government modified its policies in each period. From 1998 to 2002, new elite sports policies began to emerge such as promoting the sports club system and professional sports in order to increase public

interest in and support for elite sport to overcome a critical public perception of the elite sport system. A second important policy from this period was the increased focus on support for the weakest sports events in the Olympic Games to win more Olympic medals, and a third policy was providing full support for the 2002 World Cup in order to promote national prestige through hosting a successful event. From 2003 various sub-policies were changed or integrated into another policy sectors but the most remarkable change was that the importance to elite sport system was reduced gradually because some critics had claimed that there was an imbalance between elite sport and the policy of sports for all (NAK, 2003). The evidence has been found in the investment of national sports promotion funds from 1989 to present (See Table 4.3). The chart plots investment in each sports policy from 1989. Until 2002, the investment in elite sport policy was larger than the investment in sport for all but it has decreased from 2003 slightly increased up to 2014 while the investment in sport for all policy has overtaken elite sports investment since 2003 and steadily increased to 2015. According to Hong (2011), President Kim's regime in 1998 started to put more stress on sports for all instead of the elite sport system and president Noh's regime in 2003 continued the tendency of previous sports policies. However, hosting the Winter Olympic Games in 2018 stimulated renewed interest in elite sport and investment in elite sport increased significantly and more rapidly than investment in sport for all (MCST, 2014).

Table 4. 3 The investment of national sports promotion funds



<Source: Adapted from KSPO, 2015: The use of Korea Sports Promotion funds>

Table 4. 4 The elite sport policies of South Korea

	The first sports policy (1993–1997)	The second sports policy(1998-2002)	The third sports policy(2003- 2007)	The sports policy(2008-to present)
Finding and supporting young and talented athletes	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Promoting school athlete teams and sport schools • Promoting military sports system (Elite athletes can combine training and participation in competitions with compulsory military service) • Finding young and talented athletes (a systematic cycle: new players -> substitute players -> representative players) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Promoting school athlete teams and sport schools • Supporting and promoting sports clubs • Managing substitute players • Promoting professional sports • Focusing on weakest sports events (swimming and athletics) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Promoting school athlete teams and sport schools • Finding young and talented athletes • Supporting and promoting sports clubs 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Promoting school athlete teams and sport schools • Finding young and talented athletes • Managing substitute players
Supporting a member of the national team	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Concentrating support on prospective sports events for a high rank in sports mega events • Improving selection criteria of for the national team and coaches • Increasing overseas training 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Concentrating support on prospective sports events for a high rank in sports mega events (1998 Bangkok Asian Games and Nagano Winter Olympic Games, 2000 Sydney Olympic Games, and 2002 Busan Asian Games) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Inviting outstanding foreign coaches in sports field • Improving national team's training facilities • Improving the welfare of elite athletes 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Improving national team's training system and facilities • Inviting outstanding foreign coaches in sports field • Increasing overseas training • Improving selection criteria for the national team and coaches

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Strengthen international exchange of coaches • Improving national team's training conditions 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Acquiring advanced sports skills • Improving national team's training conditions 		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Improving the welfare of elite athletes
Supporting domestic competitions	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Supporting and promoting the National Sports Festival • Supporting the National Junior Sports Festival 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Supporting and promoting the National Sports Festival • Supporting and promoting the National Winter Sports Festival • Supporting the National Junior Sports Festival 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Supporting and promoting the National Sports Festival • Supporting the National Junior Sports Festival • Supporting each sports event's competitions 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Supporting and promoting the National Sports Festival • Supporting and promoting the National Winter Sports Festival and the National Junior Sports Festival
Supporting coach training	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Training sport leaders and coaches • Supporting education programmes for sports coaches 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Training sport leaders and coaches • Supporting education programmes for sports coaches 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Training sport leaders and coaches • Supporting education programmes for sports coaches 	<i>* This sub-policy sector applies to a parent policy sector as 'Supporting sports experts', which affects each policy sector: elite sport; sports for all; school sport; and international sport since 2009</i>
Supporting the welfare of athletes	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Improving the welfare of elite athletes (pension plan) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Improving the welfare of elite athletes (pension plan) • Establishing a sports welfare foundation 	<i>* This sub-policy sector applies to another sub-policy of 'Supporting a member of the national team' since 2003</i>	
Others	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Supporting finance to sports organisations (KSPO) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Supporting investment for 2002 World Cup (supporting 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Improving community sports facilities 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Promoting professional sports

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Promoting financial independence of KOC 	young and football player and Building football stadiums)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Supporting KOC and various sports associations 	
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<Source: Adapted from NAK, 1993; 1988; 2003 and MCST, 2008a>

4.7.1.2. Elite sport athletes' success

As seen in section 4.3. in this chapter, '*South Korean Public Diplomacy and efforts to promote the national brand value*', the challenge for the Korean government was to develop a positive national brand and make effective use of that brand as a significant resource of soft power, with the ambition of raising Korea's credit rating, its international political standing, exports, access to the world markets and strengthening international cooperation and confidence of the nation (You, 2010). Consequently, South Korea tried to utilise sports which had been identified as a vital resource of the Korean government's nation branding strategy. Of particular importance was elite athletes' success which was considered to be a significant resource to promote a positive national brand and image.

Elite athletes' success has played a big part in developing and strengthening Korea's brand image. In 2010, a documentary titled "South Korea: Focused on Excellence" which focused on South Korea's sport was released and was broadcast throughout the United States. This hour-long documentary was about the elite athletes of South Korea and how they can inspire a new generation (See documentary film: Jay, 2010). The story starts with Kee Chung, Sohn who was the first Korean Olympic gold medallist who competed as a member of the Japanese delegation during the Japanese colonial era (Huh, 2013) and introduced a number of more recent South Korean elite athletes including Jisung Park, Chungyong Lee (football), Seri Park, Yongeun Yang, Jiyai Shin (Golf), Chanhoo Park, Shinsoo Choo, Hyunsoo Kim (Baseball) and Yuna Kim (Figure skating), as one of the world's most influential women in sport. Jay Jalbert (2010) who directed this documentary, said that

'South Korea as big as the size of New Jersey, U.S. created a great revolution of sport over decades and South Korean athletes are pioneers and they blaze a trail in new future of South Korea'

In the documentary, South Korean elite athletes are portrayed as pioneers in the promotion of Korea's brand image and created the momentum to attract public

attention to South Korea. Moreover, this film was a good opportunity to let the world know, through sport, about a new national image of South Korea very different from the image of divided and poor country (You, 2010).

Elite athlete's success has a power to boost the national brand image and even Korean company image. The best example is the case of Yuna Kim who is a figure skating world champion and gold medallist in the 2010 Vancouver Winter Olympics. Her gold medal made headlines all over the world and received positive reviews in relation to the South Korea brand.

South Korea is no longer the underdog..... When Kim Yu-na, South Korea's figure skating sensation, takes to the Vancouver ice for her final programme this week, a nation's pride will be riding on her 19-year-old shoulders (The Financial Times, 2010).

The 19-year-old South Korean skater Yu-na Kim won the public and judges at the Vancouver Olympics as well as the sponsors..... Queen Yu-na moved the Canadian audience (Le monde, 2010).

According to Kang (2012) the media exposure generated by her performance had a positive impact on change in the national image of South Korea and the brand attitude toward South Korea as a travel destination (Kang, 2012). Furthermore, winning a gold medal and the associated media exposure for Yuna Kim achieved economic synergies. According to Lee's report (2010), Yuna Kim's performance at the Vancouver Olympics has been assumed to have had an impact on enhancing the brand image of South Korea by 1% point. Lee also argued that the enhanced national brand image has synergic influence on company image which has the same effect as spending around 0.7 billion US dollars in advertising. Fourteen Korean global companies spend 50 million US dollars on advertising on average to increase company image by 15 point. In other words, elite athlete's good performance has influence on not only improving the national image but also on promoting company images, thereby creating a significant synergy for economic growth.

Elite athletes' success has also had political and social implications. In terms of international relationships with other countries, the Korean government has utilised elite athletes as part of an effective diplomatic strategy. According to a deputy director of public diplomacy division, MOFA,

South Korea became a sporting powerhouse. Recently the national team achieved 5th place ranking in the medal table at the 2012 London Olympic and won the football bronze medal and baseball gold medal. Yuna Kim, figure skating athlete, attracted the world by breaking world records. The brilliant performance of athletes makes the MOFA interested in sport star players as a diplomatic resource.....The MOFA is using the most recognizable sport star plyers in one of its diplomatic strategies (Interview: 16 May 2016).

A second secretary of cultural cooperation division, MOFA also commented that

At the international conference, each country's diplomats often turn a conversation to sport events or athlete's performance. In case of South Korea, Yuna Kim's good performance at the Olympics or Women golfers' brilliant performance was major trending topics. These topics made striking up conversations with South Korea easier and created a friendly climate at the talks (Interview: 16 May 2016).

In terms of social implications, one impact of elite athletes' success is to create momentum that could turn unpopular sports events into mainstream sports events in South Korea. Since Yuna Kim and women golfers had a good result in the world competition, figure skating and golf became two of the most popular sports events in South Korea and it is easy to find many youth players training in ice rinks and golf ranges who want to be stars (Lee, et al., 2013).

According to Nye (1990, p. 164), 'the changing nature of international politics has also made intangible forms of power more important' and 'Co-optive power is the ability of a country to structure a situation so that other countries develop preferences or define their interests in ways consistent with its own' (1990, p. 168) national brand, which is a new area of interest that deals with a nation's effort to

communicate to the people in other countries, has been one of the most significant resources of soft power in South Korea. Moreover, sport has played an important role in promoting a positive national brand image of South Korea and thus elite athletes have shown their potential to promote the nation brand as a source of soft power.

4.7.2. Hosting international sports events as a tool of soft power

As seen in the literature review (Section 2.4), many states are considering the role of sports mega-events as part of their foreign policy strategy. Staging successful sports mega-events has a potentially positive impact on the national brand or image (Grix and Houlihan, 2013) and is increasingly acknowledged to be a positive signal to other countries (Houlihan, 1994). According to Potter (2008), states seek to attract positive foreign public attention through creating a favourable impression of the country and its values. In this regard, staging sports mega-events enables the communication of their attractiveness as well as boosting national pride, thereby providing government with significant opportunities to increase their soft power (Manzenreiter, 2010).

In the case of South Korea, staging sports mega-events is regarded as a useful opportunity to show a state's merits, image and prowess to both domestic and international audiences and the South Korean government has attempted to utilise hosting sports mega-events to accomplish its political objectives (Cha, 2002 and 2009). Since the 1980s, South Korea has hosted a number of international sports events including the Olympic Games, the FIFA World Cup, Asian Games and Universiade (See Table 4.5). These large-scale sports events have sometimes been the outcome of a political strategy that reflects the goals of both the domestic and foreign policy of the government (Lee, 2016).

Table 4. 5 List of hosted sports mega-events in South Korea

Year	Events	Host City	Diplomatic Development	Diplomatic Objectives
1980s	The 1986 Summer Asian Games	Seoul	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Return to democracy. A direct election of the president. First free parliamentary elections. • Using sport as an effective tool to overcome Cold War barriers with the Soviet Union and China • Contributing to recovering diplomatic relations with the Socialist bloc nations • Promoting the status of the country's economic development and traditional culture, and the potential of Koreans worldwide 	To consolidate national consensus and show the world the capability of South Korean society
	The 1988 Summer Olympic Games	Seoul		To demonstrate Korea's economic growth and national power; to improve Korea's status in the international sporting community; to promote friendship with foreign countries through sport; to create favourable conditions for establishing diplomatic relations with both Communist and non-aligned nations; to consolidate national consensus
1990s	The 1997 Winter Universiade	Muju and Chonju	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Both Koreas joined United Nations • South Korea admitted to Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) • President, Kim pursued 'sunshine policy' of offering unconditional economic and humanitarian aid to North Korea 	To vitalise the winter sports; to demonstrate the capacity to host larger events such as the Winter Olympic Games
	The 1999 Winter Asian Games	Gangwon		To establish the foundation for staging future international winter sports events
2000s	The 2002 FIFA World Cup	Korea and Japan	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Recovery from IMF crisis • Relations between North and South Korea became their most tense after North Korea's attack 	To inspire national pride; to improve Korea's global image; to contribute to economic development; to strengthen national unity; to promote community spirit and to re-establish the relationship between South Korea and Japan

	The 2002 Summer Asian Games	Busan	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • South and North Korea agree to restart high-level talks since 2006 • South Korea and US agree on a free-trade deal • Global financial crisis affected the Korean government with \$130bn financial rescue package in 2008 	To enhance friendship with Asian Countries; to expand their sports exchanges; and to boost their community spirit.
	The 2003 Summer Universiade	Daegu		To improve South Korea's statue in a major international sport organisation
2010s	The 2011 World Championship in Athletics	Daegu	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • South Korea broke off all trade with the North after North Korea's attack • North Korea cut all diplomatic ties with Seoul in 2010 • A territorial dispute between South Korea and Japan related to Dokdo island • South Korea elects the first female president • A Continuous state of political and military tension between two Koreas • President impeached due to the political corruption and irregularities 	To promote Daegu's image in the international society; to lay the foundation for the development of Korean athletics; to enhance the image of Korea as the great power of sports
	The 2014 Summer Asian Games	Inchoen		To increase the regional power of Incheon; to contribute to the development of South Korea's sports industries; and to demonstrate South Korean culture to the world
	The 2015 Summer Universiade	Gwangju		To promote Gwangju's image in the international community; to contribute the economic development; to promote eco-friendly, peaceful and cultural competition; to promote the image of country as an IT powerhouse.
	The 2018 Winter Olympic Games	PyeongChang		

4.7.2.1. Hosting Sports mega-events in 1980s

In 1980s, there was particularly strong interest in hosting the Olympic and Asian Games and it was a major sport initiative of both dictatorial regimes (See Table 4.1). These sports mega-events were significant symbols of South Korea's entry onto the world sporting stage and getting international recognition (Ha and Mangan, 2002). Thus, two of the most successful examples of sport diplomacy in Asia took place in South Korea in 1980s; the 1986 Asian Games and the 1988 Seoul Olympic Games.

According to Cha (2013), the Korean government utilised the staging of sports mega-events as an effective tool to make a diplomatic breakthrough and overcome the Cold War barriers with neighbouring countries (in particular, the Soviet Union and China). In the case of the Asian Games, South Korea and China's interaction over preparation for the 1986 Seoul Asian Games and 1990 Beijing Asian Games played a significant role in the improvement of diplomatic relations. In the case of the 1988 Seoul Olympic Games, South Korea utilised the event to establish diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union in 1990, which was seen as a breakthrough in ending the Cold War in Asia.

Since Korea's independence from Japan, the 1986 Seoul Asian Games was the largest international sports mega-events held by South Korea. This event was effectively a dress rehearsal for the 1988 Seoul Olympics, but it was also a start in showing to the world the capability of South Korean society. This event was assessed as successful in terms of games operation, grand stadiums, facilities, transportation, communication and the citizens' sense of order (Choi, et al., 2015). Not only Asia in general but also countries all over the world became interested in South Korea. Thus, it not only enhanced national prestige temporarily, but it served as an important foundation for the development of South Korea (Ha and Mangan, 2002). Foreign news evaluated the Seoul Asian Games as excellent in all aspects from basic elements such as management, facilities and operation to indirect operations like environment and services.

There is no doubt about the significance of 1986 Asian Games and the 1988 Olympic Games to South Korea, which won the right to host the 1970 Asian Games but had to withdraw for financial reasons. Now that South Korea is on the verge of becoming an advanced nation, the people here want the rest of the world to know it. And applaud. (Los Angeles Times, 1986)

At last, through the Seoul Asian Games, South Korea was able to establish a leading position in every social aspect from sport to culture in Asian society and appeared to have been recognised as a globally significant country (Choi, et al., 2015).

As discussed in section 4.3, the Korean government showed strong interest in using the 1988 Seoul Olympic Games as a diplomatic tool to enhance national prestige and the international reputation of the country. The Games were also utilised for diplomatic purposes to demonstrate of South Korea's national power and economic growth; to promote international relationships with foreign countries through sport and to establish diplomatic relations with both Communist and non-aligned nations (See NAK, 1979; 1982; 1987; 1988; 2002; 2015).

Collins (2010, p. 170) evaluated the 1988 Seoul Olympic Games its terms of Asian soft power:

For the developing nation, the Olympic Games provided an international forum to celebrate its modern national identity rooted in deep traditional cultural practices despite the trauma of its division from the North. The international world was invited to form diplomatic and economic relations with the southern half of the “Hermit Kingdom” as the shifting transnational order rewrote previous forms of global power.

Moreover, in view of the South Korean government, a second secretary in the cultural cooperation division, MOFA mentioned that:

The South Korean government is committed to enhancing the national brand image and the promotion of international friendship through sport. MOFA puts a big emphasis on sports diplomacy in hosting sports mega events, which have an influence on the economy and which promote the national brand image. In this respect, hosting the 1988 Seoul Olympics played the most significant role in promoting the Republic of Korea to the world (Interview: 16 May 2016).

In addition, the 1988 Seoul Olympic Games, as a domestic event, can be evaluated as contributing to the acceleration of the country towards a mature democracy from a long period of military dictatorship and also as an important means of political socialisation (Ha and Mangan, 2002). According to Choi et al. (2015), it significantly influenced the development of modern Korean society and the globalisation of the society.

Some sceptics stated that the sports mega-events hosted in 1980s were ruses by the military dictatorship to turn the attention of the Korean people away from internal politics and to prevent social confrontation due to a concern to project national pride to the world (Ha and Mangan, 2002). However, as mentioned earlier, it was clear that the two sports mega-events for South Korea were sources of greater international recognition and the rediscovery of South Korea's national pride and potential.

4.7.2.2. Hosting Sports mega-events in 1990s

After the successful hosting of two international sports mega-events in 1980s, the South Korean political system changed as the power of the state and the power of civil society were more balanced as well as political parties being much more active (Lee, 1996). In the early 1990s, South Korea enlarged its national infrastructure and enhanced the province of social welfare. The government's policy regarding sport became a more widely focused on the domestic level thus the sport policy shifted to *sport for all* from elite sport for the first time. The Elite sport system

was given relatively little attention during this period and the 1997 financial (IMF) crisis further weakened the position of elite sport development.

However, it is hard to say that the government showed indifference in elite sport. The South Korean government continued to invest in the elite sport system, for political purposes in particular hosting various international sports events, in order to improve international relations and national prestige. Among various sports policies, the Five-Year National Sport for All Promotion Plan in 1990s put stress on the elite sport system and included the objectives: to maintain world ranking in the top 10 in elite sport; to improve winter sports performance; and to strengthen international sporting relations and the mood for unification between South and North Korea (NAK, 1993). In this context, staging two different international sports events in 1990s was another good opportunity to show South Korea's potential capacities and create a positive soft power impact.

The 1997 Winter Universiade was hosted in Muju and Chunju, South Korea. It was the first international winter sports events in South Korea and also the first sports event that a local government hosted and managed rather than the central government (NAK, 1997). According to the International University Sports Federation's newsletter,

With 1,406 athletes and officials from 48 countries the 1997 Winter Universiade in Muju-Chonju was at that time the most successful in FISU history and broke all participation records..... It was also the first time in FISU history that the Universiade was organized by two cities, Muju and Chonju, separated by a distance of some hundred kilometers. This first major decentralization of game sites demonstrated again the university sports movement's ability to innovate in various domains (FISU, 2001. p.1)

From the South Korean National Archive's report on the 1997 Winter Universiade, the government had prepared for this event since 1993 and the main objectives were: to energise the winter sports; to promote balanced regional development through the winter sport; and to suggest the possibility of hosting the Winter Olympic

Games (NAK, 1997). The most successful achievement arising from the Universiade was to demonstrate the capacity of South Korea to host larger and more globally significant international winter sports events. As an official of the 1997 Muju and Chunju Winter Universiade Organisation (MCWUO) commented:

'We established a good precedent that hosting a sporting event can help the local economy. The successful 1997 Winter Universiade has a significance that it has laid the foundation for staging the Winter Olympic Games in South Korea (NAK, 1997, p. 519)'

Dr. Primo Nebiolo who was the president of FISU added,

'South Korea provided the basis for leading the Universiade to the Olympic level (NAK, 1997, p. 519)'

In addition, Edward Zemrau who was the vice president of FISU verified a possibility of hosting the Winter Olympic Games.

'It was the best and the most successful event in all aspects including the sports facilities and the audiences packed into Ice-Rink. There is an ample opportunity to host the international winter sports events such as the 2010 Winter Olympics (NAK, 1997, p. 514)'

As a result of the success of the Universiade, the South Korean government felt confident to bid for the Winter Olympics in 2010. It also had become more active in organising major sports events in order to change the perception of these cities and promote them as cosmopolitan cities, for example by hosting the Formula 1 Grand Prix in the same province in 2010.

Two years after hosting the Universiade, South Korea hosted the 4th Asian Winter Games in the mountainous northern province of Gangwon in 1999. Despite the financial crisis in 1997, hosting of the winter sports event was, according to the Gangwon Asian Winter Games Organizing Committee (NAK, 1999) successful in turning the province of Gangwon into the Mecca of Asian winter sports and

establishing the foundation for staging future international winter sports events. Moreover, it was a great opportunity to improve international relations with China. According to Yoon (2007) who is a secretary general of International Sports Diplomacy Institute and was an international undersecretary general of KOC in 1999,

‘The 1999 Winter Asian Games was the ‘War without firing a shot’ (Yoon, April 2007, p. 2).

From 1993 South Korea faced intense competition from China to host the 1996 Winter Asian Game. As a large-scale project at the national level, both countries actively engaged in sports diplomatic activities to host the winter sports events. At that time, Kim Un-yong, the president of KOC met He Zhenliang, a vice-president for the IOC to propose a mutually strategic cooperative relationship instead of a competitive one.

‘This win-win strategy was called the ‘Package Deal of 1996 Harbin – 1999 Gangwon’ as one of the most successful examples of sports diplomacy in South Korea’ (Yoon, 2007, p.2).

Thus, with the agreement of Sheikh Ahmad, the OCA president, two East Asian countries were allowed to host the Winter Asian Games consecutively, China in 1996 and South Korea in 1999. This type of sports diplomatic strategy has been used for staging the future international sports events in South Korea such as the 2002 Korea-Japan World cup as a second example of a ‘package deal’.

These two international sports events were less familiar to the foreign public or press compared to other international mega-sports events hosted in South Korea but it was clear how the South Korean government tried to use hosting international sports events for diplomatic purposes in the 1990s.

4.7.2.3. Hosting Sports mega-events in 2000s

Staging international mega-sports events continued in the 2000s. It was the most significant and effective example of the utilisation of soft power by the South Korean government. From the early 2000s, South Korea was concerned mainly to enhance the cultural power of the country (See section 4.3. *South Korean public diplomacy and efforts to promote the national brand value*) and generate an attractive cultural legacy (Nye, 2004). Thus, in 2001, South Korea promoted 'Dynamic Korea' as a national slogan (Lee, 2015) and identified the 2002 Korea-Japan World Cup and the 2002 Busan Asian Games as golden opportunities to enhance the national brand and to exert soft power in order to enhance inter-state relationships with Japan and North Korea.

The 2002 Busan Asian Games clearly demonstrated the capacity of sport to improve inter-Korean relation as these games were the first international sports events hosted by South Korea which North Korea had attended since the two Koreas separated. According to the 2002 Busan Asian Games Organising Committee (BAGOC, 2001), the ideology of this event was 'New Vision, New Asia' and their slogan was 'One Asian, Global Busan'. In accordance with their vision, the purpose of the Games was: to enhance the friendship of Asian Countries; to expand their exchanges; and to boost their community spirit.

One of the major achievements of the deployment of sport soft power in this period was the improvement of relations between two Koreas. Because of the South Korean government's 'Sunshine Policy' (See section 4.2), it was able to march with North Korea under a joint flag at the 2002 Busan Asian Games opening ceremony thereby promoting a united national identity which received great attention from the domestic and overseas media (Choi et al., 2015). The North and South Korean Summit which followed the sport event strengthened cooperative exchange aimed at promoting mutual understanding and shared cultural identity (Lee, 2016).

The 2002 FIFA World Cup was the key opportunity to promote the national slogan, 'Dynamic Korea' in order to enhance the national brand. However, it was equally important to improve inter-state relations between South Korea and Japan. It was the first time in World Cup history that two countries had co-hosted the World Cup and also the first time that the competition had been held outside Europe and the Americas (MCST, 2002). The aim of this event was: to inspire Korean pride; to

improve Korea's global image; to contribute to economic development; to work on national unity; to promote community spirit and to re-establish a relationship between South Korea and Japan (NAK, 1997).

Above all, the 2002 FIFA World Cup contributed to improving the uneasy relationship between South Korea and Japan. Despite the fierce historical rivalry, the two countries showed gradual reconciliation, leading to the signing of a joint message which focused on expanding exchange in non-sporting area including politics, economics, and culture through co-hosting the sports mega-event (Lee, 2016). Thus, the sports event transformed their relationship into a more trustworthy one and also offered the prospect of a more constructive future relationship.

One year later, South Korea hosted the 2003 Summer Universiade in Daegu which it was supposed to host in 2001 but could not because of the financial crisis. This event aimed to revitalise the local economy and to improve awareness of the Universiade (MCST, 2003). However, there were unexpected achievements in this event related to sports diplomacy. The first was the North Korea's participation at the Universiade. North Korea sent a squad of supporters (303), athletes (197) and press (24) to the Games as well as important sports officials and administrators in order to have meetings with South Korean officials and IOC committee members (MCST, 2003). Both Koreas entered the stadium as one delegation under the Korean Peninsula Flag and cheered together, thereby creating the mood of reconciliation between the two nations. According to *the Korea Times* (2003),

The North Koreans' participation at the Daegu Universiade contributed to ease tensions, promote peace and mend sour ties.

The second unexpected achievement was that this event had provided valuable experience for hosting the World Championship in Athletics in Daegu. While bidding and preparing for the 2003 Summer Universiade, South Korea and Daegu city had no plan to host the 2011 World Championship in Athletics. However, by hosting a successful event, the former IOC president, Jacques Rogge recommended hosting the World Championship in Athletics in Daegu to Cho Hae-nyoung, the former mayor of Daegu in 2003 (*The Chosun Ilbo*, 2007). As soon as the city and government approved staging the sports mega-event, the project progressed quite fast from the

bidding stage to the hosting of the event. According to Kim bum-il, the former mayor of Daegu in 2007,

Because of hosting the successful events including the 2002 FIFA World Cup and 2003 Summer Universiade, it is possible to be recognised ability from the IOC committee members to host the next level of international sports mega-events. Daegu has been a good model to provide new system of 'globalisation of local autonomy' through sports diplomacy (The Chosun Ilbo, 2007).

Contrary to the social and political circumstances in 1990s, South Korea's hosting of sports mega-events in 2000s was intended to create a mood of reconciliation and collaboration with Northeast Asia.

4.7.2.4. Hosting Sports mega-events in 2010s

In the eight years since 2010, South Korea has hosted four different international sports mega-events, the World Championship in Athletics, Summer Asian Games, the Universiade and the Winter Olympic Games. During this period, the South Korean government was concerned to enhance the country's cultural power in order to increase the attractiveness of South Korea and staging these international sports mega-events was a great tool to boost its cultural power and also implement the government's soft power strategy.

The 2011 World Championship in Athletics was held in Daegu, the country's third largest city, with more than 100 million television viewers from over the world (Kim and Baek, 2014). Daegu Stadium was also the venue where many other international sports competitions including 2002 World Cup and 2003 Universiade had been held. The main aims of the 2011 event were: to promote Daegu's image in the international society and to lay the foundation for the development of Korean athletics (Organising Committee for the IAAF World Championship Daegu (OCWCD), 2012).

According to the official report of the 2011 World Championship in Athletics (OCWCD, 2012), this event, which was the largest scale competition in IAAF's history, focused on eco-friendly competition linked to the IAAF's 'Green Project' and provided cutting-edge technology consistent with a leader in the global IT industry. Moreover, the effort made to showcase the South Korean culture during the event and the high level of civic awareness contributed to promoting Daegu's image world widely. The Korean newspaper, *Chosunilbo* evaluated this event as

The city used pre-existing sports facilities to host most of the events and was able to avoid falling into debt.....At the same time, the machines brought in to clean up the sand on the track and retrieve equipment used in throwing events received a "Class-1" rating by the IAAF.....The 6,700 volunteers who helped out at the stadium and other venues of the World Championships also played a pivotal role in the event's success..... The high level of civic awareness demonstrated by the residents of Daegu was also worthy of praise (Chosunilbo, 2011).

The figures of the world of sports also evaluated this event,

'This event has been one of the best organised competitions I have ever seen' by Jacques Rogge, the former IOC president

'The 2011 Daegu World Championship in Athletics is the most perfect and well-prepared event among the last five events' by Lamine Dicak, the former IAAF president (OCWCD, 2012, p. 588).

In addition, the mature civic awareness in Daegu was highly acclaimed at home and abroad and, together with the positive external evaluation not only promoting Daegu's international image but also that of the national brand.

The 17th Summer Asian Games, which took place in the South Korean city of Incheon in 2014, contributed to the implementation of the South Korean government's cultural policy that aimed to promote the image of the country in Asia and to demonstrate South Korean culture to the world. The main rationale

was to increase the regional power of Incheon in order to bring economic benefits to the port city by promoting tourism and attracting more foreign investment (Choi et al., 2015).

Despite a lack of funds and support from the central government, the city of Incheon tried to maximise the capacity to promote its cultural capital to the global community. Since the 2010s, South Korean mass culture has been widely spread over the Asian countries (MOFA, 2015). Thus, the Incheon Asian Games Organising Committee (IAGOC) hired South Korean celebrities to attract public attention from all over Asia and to promote Korean culture through its entertainment industry. In particular, the appearance of many Korean film and music stars on the stage at the opening ceremony and holding a K-pop festival on the sidelines of the Incheon Asian Games by the Visit Korea Committee were utilised as vehicles for reinforcing South Korea's emerging cultural power in Asia. However, the IAGOC's effort seemed to attach more importance to promoting cultural elements than sporting competitions itself. In other words, it was a 'soft power strategy of culture', not a 'soft power strategy through sport'.

Notwithstanding some major problems such as a huge financial deficit and a lack of management effectiveness of the organising committee, the 2014 Asian Games played a role in increasing the regional brand power of Incheon and attracting greater public attention (Choi, et al., 2015 and Lee, 2017). A Deputy Director of Public Diplomacy Division, MOFA evaluated this event as,

'Despite strong voices of concern, according to the OCA' report, the 2014 Asian Games was held successfully.....Off the record, after the events, there were some unofficial lobbying between the Kuwait government and the South Korean government regarding the support of South Korean government in the General Assembly of the NGOs. Hosting sports mega-events played an important role to improve diplomatic relations with other countries' (Interview: 16 May 2016).

The Director General of International Affairs, KOC added this opinion;

'It is true that there were some criticisms regarding this competition but in terms of a diplomatic view, the 2014 Incheon Asian Games played an important role because through the Games, South Korea has been able to provide 'sports resources' such as sending coaches and providing skills and technical know-how to host sports mega-events to developing Asian countries that are preparing to hosting international sports events' (Interview: 23 June 2016).

The 2014 Asian Games not only promoted the globalization of the host city, but also contributed to improving diplomatic relations with other countries.

4.7.3. Involvement in Sports International Non-Governmental Organisations

Non-governmental organisations (NGOs) have played an important role in world politics as they have the capacity to exert influence over international political issues such as undermining the sovereign state (Smith, 2013), providing the state with other points of access to the international system (Keohane and Nye, 2001), modifying state influence and achieving a degree of relative autonomy from states (Clark, 1995; Houlihan, 1994; Keohane, 1988). Among the substantial and varied range of NGOs, the growth of sport NGOs in recent years is similar to that found among the generality of international organisations and they are able to utilise their resources to translate potential influence into effective participation in the international system (Houlihan, 1994). According to their purpose and geographical spread sport NGOs can be categorised in a number of different ways and their role has been increasingly important within international sport and politics.

The ability of sport NGOs significantly affects the governmental policy such as the prominence of sport in policy, the attitude of politicians towards sport and as a policy tool, for example, a means of increasing health and education for children or decreasing crime (Camy and Robinson, 2007). On many issues within international sport and politics, the sport NGOs also have potential to form a powerful lobby such as meeting government officials to try to prevent boycotts of Olympic Games (See example of the 1988 Seoul Olympics, Ha, 2000). The role of sport NGOs also has

the potential to affect social factors such as changing lifestyles and levels of education. For example, the International Sports Alliance (ISA) supports young people from disadvantaged backgrounds through sport in order to strengthen their confidence, the life skills and to obtain knowledge to create a better future for themselves, families and even communities (ISA, 2014). In terms of legal factors, sports NGOs play a leading role in the international system. Sports are regulated by rules and sports NGOs establish rules and legal framework. However, legal concerns such as delict or tort, employment law, drugs and doping are more applicable to a jurisdiction within some countries and sometimes cause international dispute (Camy and Robinson, 2007). In this respect, sports NGOs have the capacity to shape the agenda on sport issue of international concern such the influence of WADA in influencing the national agenda on drug abuse by athletes (Houlihan, 2014). The nature of sport as an institution has been more naturally borderless and the growing influence of sport NGOs on international sport and politics is a consequence of this trend. Houlihan (1994) analysed the role and significance of sports INGOs within the international system. First, Sports INGOs have the potential to take a leadership role on policy issues and have the capacity to express and protect their interests when sports-related issues are being discussed in non-sport policy arenas. Second the significance and legitimacy of sports INGOs is derived from the global coverage of the major sports organisations. Third, sports INGOs are seen as retaining considerable autonomy from national governments. Finally, sports INGOs are capable of generating wealth. Consequently, the sport INGOs have the potential to exert a strong influence on the international stage.

According to Nye (2004), the role of non-state actors on the international stage has considerably increased in importance and many NGOs act 'to represent broad public interests beyond the purview of individual states' (p. 90). They directly have influence on governments to change policies and indirectly alter public perceptions of what governments should be doing, thereby exerting soft power. In this respect, the sports policies which are related with involvement in sport NGOs are seen as a significant tool in the pursuit of sport-related soft power strategies.

Due to such influence of sports NGOs in the international system, the South Korean government has supported the objective of obtaining increased involvement

and prominence in sports NGOs since 1993. The primary goal is to improve national prestige and influence on the global stage through international exchange in sport. The most significant strategy to achieve this goal is the acquisition of senior positions in sports NGOs (NAK, 1993). The South Korean government believes that South Korea's active involvement in sports NGOs, in particular supporting Korean staff to attain influential positions in sports NGOs, enhances not only sports diplomatic leverage but also national prestige. In particular, becoming an IOC, FIFA or IFs committee member reflects the political and economic status of the country as well as its elevated status in the international sports field (NAK, 1993, 2002, 2014). In addition, becoming an executive committee member or director of international sports federations is a stepping stone to expand South Korea's influence in international sports field.

Table 4. 6 The Number of South Korean Staffs in International Sport NGOs

INGOs		The number of staffs											
		2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015
International sports Organisations	IOC	9	9	6	5	7	5	6	6	6	5	7	7
	ANOC	-	1	1	1	1	1	-	-	-	1	1	1
	SportAccord	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	AIPS	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
	FISU	5	5	6	7	6	6	6	8	8	8	7	8
	OCA	7	6	6	4	6	6	6	8	9	10	10	18
	EAGA	3	4	3	3	4	4	4	4	4	4	3	3
	GAASF	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	ASPU	1	3	3	3	3	3	3	2	1	1	1	1
	AUSF	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	2	2	2	2	2
	TAFISA	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	1
	WADA	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1
	Total	27	29	26	24	28	26	28	31	31	33	34	43
IFs	IFs	79	79	86	90	69	97	114	107	105	110	116	123
	AFs	140	142	146	151	189	170	190	183	205	215	198	195
	Total	219	221	232	241	258	267	304	290	310	325	314	318
Total		246	250	258	265	286	293	332	321	341	357	348	361

Source from National Archives of Korea (2016)

The South Korean government has supported involvement in sports NGOs including participating international sports conference and lobbying a committee member of sports NOGs in order to improve relations between sport NGOs and South Korea, thereby gaining votes towards South Korean staff to obtain senior positions in sports

NGOs. Currently, the number of staff in the position of president, executive committee, subcommittee or other elected position in sports NGOs including international sports organisations (ISOs), international sports federation (IFs) and Asian sports federations (AFs) has increased in different every year between 2004 and 2015 (See Table 4.6).

A committee member and subcommittee member of the IOC plays a significant role in influencing the decision-making in international sport on cross-border relations. There are seven South Korean staff in office at present, two IOC committee members and five IOC subcommittee members in five different departments. South Korean staff in international sports organisations (ISOs) had been appointed as a president, executive committee and subcommittee members in twelve different federations and the range of ISOs has increased and diversified from five different federations in the early 1990 to ten federations in 2015 (See table 4.6 and NAK, 1993).

There are more South Koreans who are associated in the International Sports Federations (IFs) and Asian Sports Federations (AFs) rather than ISOs. As seen in Table 4.7, there are 49 South Korean staff in 123 different IFs and 45 staff in 198 different AFs. In terms of the federation associated with the Olympics sports and Asian sports, 69 South Korean staff including 6 presidents in IFs and 26 presidents in AFs are considered to have great potential to influence sports diplomacy, thereby enhancing the nation's position in the international sports arena. Compared to 2015, the number and distribution of the IFs and AFs that South Korean staff were involved in has increased dramatically, 19 staff in 16 IFs and 22 staff in 20 AFs in 2001 (NAK, 2002). The facts show how the South Korean government has been supporting the involvement in sport NGOs and that it is considered to be a significant tool in the pursuit of sport-related soft power strategies.

Table 4. 7 The number of South Korean staffs in IFs and AFs, 2015

	Federations <Olympic sports/Asian sports>	Number of Staffs	Federations <Others>	Number of Staffs	Total <Federations/Number of Staffs>
IFs	32	92	17	31	49/123
AFs	37	178	8	20	45/198
Total	69	270	25	51	94/321

The positive benefits for the South Korean government of the influence to be derived from involvement in sport NGOs is easily illustrated. The first example is related to the IOC committee member's influence and concerning the successful lobbying to achieve sports diplomatic objectives. One of the great achievements was that taekwondo became an official Olympic sport, which was designated an official demonstration sport for the 1988 Seoul Olympics and for the 1992 Barcelona Olympics and adopted as an official Olympic sport in 1994 for the 2000 Sydney Olympics (NAK, 2002). Over the period of the scheme, *Kim Un-yong* who was the IOC committee member from 1986 to 2005, contributed most to South Korean sports diplomatic objectives. As a president of GAISF, ARISF and WTF as well as a vice-president of the IOC, he played a vital role to enhance South Korean sport diplomatic leverage including promoting taekwondo. According to the interview with a director general of international affairs, KOC and a secretary general of ISDI,

... Kim Un-yong played a determinant role in the decision that IOC adopted taekwondo as an Olympic sport. Through the 1988 Seoul Olympics and Taekwondo, he has opened a new era of internationalization of Korean sport to let world know South Korean sport and culture (Yoon, 2012, p. 65)

... Kim Un-yong, Park Yong-sung... as a member of IOC and Chung Mong-joon as a member of FIFA had led Korean sport's globalisation and shown the great influence on international sports society to enhance Korean sports diplomatic leverage (interview: 23 June 2016)

Furthermore, Kim Un-yong's influence and that of other Koreans in sport NGOs was also successful in affecting the decision of a number of IFs to award the hosting of a number of different sports mega-events to South Korea. In addition, there was a great deal of support from Kim Un-yong and Lee Kun-hee who is the IOC member since 1996, to host the ANOC (1986) and IOC (1999) meetings in Seoul which were opportunities to show the technological advance and cultural development of South Korea and arguably to become a benchmark for the other international sports meetings (Yoon, 2012).

Another example of South Korea's sport soft power strategy through the involvement in sport NGOs is related to Sport Cooperation and Exchange Agreement, called 'Memorandum of Understanding (MOU)' in the field of sport, such as between States, NOCs, IFs-NFs, ISOs-institutions and so on. The MOU, which is 'a document that records the details of an agreement between two companies or organizations, which has not yet been legally approved (MOU, 2017)', is an expression of the intent of negotiating parties to establish a relationship of some sort (Chandler, 2011). In the field of sport, the MOU has been used effectively to promote and strengthen existing bilateral cooperation and relations between two parties. For example, the MOU between the IOC and UN have encouraged and developed their amicable relationship through using sport to share the same values of contributing to a better and peaceful world (More detail in the next section). The agreement between the two organisations at the highest level has strengthened efforts around sport-based initiatives that encourage social and economic development (The United Nation, 2014).

In case of South Korea, the MOU between nations or sports organisations has been used as a basis for the promotion of the exchanges and cooperation through sport. The MOU for the South Korean government means a symbolic level of contract without being binding but it is a basic diplomatic activity to promote cultural exchanges between two countries or organisations and plays an important role in improving relations with countries where diplomatic relations are desirable (MCST, 2015).

From 1979 to 2015, the South Korean government has signed sport MOUs with 35 countries and with 56 national Olympic Committees. Furthermore, the MOU on many aspects between IFs and NFs or ISOs and institutions has been also signed (See examples: South Korea-Indonesia (*The Yonhap News*, 2016) and South Korea-Kuwait (MOFA, 2016b) between nations; KOC-NZOC (*The Yonhap News*, 2011) between NOCs; Seoul National University - KSPO- FISU (*News One*, 2015), between IF and Institution). These agreements involve a wide range of stakeholders and interested parties but in particular the role of members in sport NGOs had a positive and invisible impact on agreeing MOUs. For example, most recently five South Korean people who received full support from the South Korean government to be appointed to the technical committee members and an executive member of

FISU are considered to play a positive role in signing the MOU between FISU and SNU and KSPO. According to a deputy director of public diplomacy division, MOFA,

Many South Korean professionals work at the various international sports organisations, which can be a way to strengthen our country's diplomacy... and they are very important network to improve diplomatic relations between nations through sport. Their 'unofficial (invisible) lobbying' led to the great and small diplomatic negotiations... the MOFA provides our full support to South Korean staff to be appointed to the executive board member of the international sports organisation such as FISU, IOC and FIFA (Interview: 16 May 2016).

In the case of South Korea, after hosting the 1988 Seoul Olympic Games the MOU in sport was used extensively to develop closer relation particularly with NOCs. Since 1993 the MOUs have become more specific and have detailed measures to improve cooperation in sport and exchanges in various fields through sport between bilateral parties and the role of members in sport NGOs has have invisible but very positive and powerful influence on signing the MOU.

4.7.4. Sports Development and Peace

In September 2000, the UN (United Nations) adopted the United Nations Millennium Declaration that has become known as the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs⁷). Since then, according to the report of MDGs (MDGs report, 2015) 'all the world's countries have developed cooperative relations with each other and accelerated further action to achieve the MDGs in order to contribute to society, politics, economy, environment and so on'. To work toward achieving the MDGs sport becomes a cost-effective vehicle through which the UN can work. In order to promote the more systematic and coherent use of sport in development and peace activities and to generate greater support for activities among governments and sports organisations, the United Nations Office on Sport for Development and Peace

⁷ The Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) are the world's time-bound and quantified targets for addressing extreme poverty in its many dimensions-income poverty, hunger, disease, lack of adequate shelter, and exclusion-while promoting gender equality, education, and environmental sustainability (MDGs Report, 2015).

(UNOSDP), which assists the special advisor to the UN secretary-general, was established in 2001 and that led to a sharper focus on sport's contribution to achieve specific targets related to poverty alleviation, universal education, gender equality, prevention of HIV and AIDS and other diseases, environmental sustainability, as well as peacebuilding and conflict resolution (UNOSDP, 2015). In addition, the IOC also passed the Olympic Agenda 2020 in 2014 and announced its intention to strengthen the influence of the IOC in the international society. As a means to strengthen its influence, the IOC encouraged the use of 'development through sport' and in 2015, six months after the Olympic Agenda 2020 was passed, the IOC launched the Public Affairs and Social Development through Sport Commission and has been implementing its strategy for sports development and peace (IOC, 2014). The new approach of the UN and IOC is far from the viewpoint that sport is a primary way to contribute to the economic and social growth, but sport is considered to have a positive effect in development and peace activities. In addition, these diverse sports programmes for development contribute to increase the soft power of the donor countries and create lasting effects.

In 2010, South Korea joined the Development Assistance Committee (DAC) of the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD). South Korea, which was once a major recipient of international economic aid only 50 years ago, has now become a country that provides aid. This means that South Korea is a country that has rapidly developed economically in international society and has become a country that supports developing countries. On the global stage South Korea is able to exert its influence on international development and the government considered sport to be an effective tool to contribute to the pursuit of sports development and peace in developing countries. In terms of sharing South Korea's experience and knowledge with other countries, several sports-related policies and programmes has been supported and designed to contribute to development and peace while also strengthening the country's sports soft power.

According to the series of five-year national sport for all promotion plans (See Table 4.2), South Korea's sports diplomatic policies for development and peace have been in place since 1993 in the context of the international sport cooperation programme. The key strategies revolved around Taekwondo such as sending a Taekwondo performance team, sending coaches and supporting sports goods to developing

countries and providing a support fund which has steadily increased. South Korea's policies for sport development and peace developed in the early 1990s and have remained in place and have become more structured and sophisticated from the early 2010s.

MCST

The MCST is currently promoting several international sports cooperation programmes as part of the government's Official Development Assistance (ODA) project, which is one of the nation's major foreign policy programmes. By 2012, the 'Sports Partner Programme' and international sports cooperation through Taekwondo initiative have emerged as major sports ODA projects. In 2013, the 'Dream Together' programme was introduced and was designed to enhance sports soft power through sharing with developing countries the values, spirit, knowledge, skills and know-how of sports that South Korea has accumulated. As seen from the Table. 4.8, these sports ODA projects have been supported continuously by the MCST and have had their funding steadily increased.

Table 4. 8 The budget of sports ODA projects

	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017
Dream Together	£ 1.7M	£ 3.9M	£ 5M	£ 5M	£ 5M
Sports Partner Programme	£ 0.9M	£ 1.3M	£ 2M	£ 3.3M	£ 3.3M
Sending Taekwondo Peace Corps	£ 1.3M	£ 1.4M	£ 1.6M	£ 1.8M	£ 1.9M
Sending Taekwondo Coaches	£ 0.7M	£ 0.8M	£ 0.9M	£ 1M	£ 1M
Total	£ 4.6M	£ 7.4M	£ 9.5M	£ 11.1M	£ 11.2M

Sourced by 'Proposal of Sports Support Program for Developing Countries' (MCST, 2013c)

The MCST introduced the Dream Together project as a comprehensive programme to share South Korea's experience of social development through sport with developing countries. This project has become a particularly influential initiative with substantial financial support (See Table 4.8). The figure below shows the basic direction of Dream Together project.

Figure 4. 1 The Project of Dream Together



Source adopted from Proposal of Sports Support Program for Developing Countries (MCST, 2013c)

The main objective of this project is to promote the national brand and the sub-objective is to engage in sport ODA for MDGs implementation. This project is significant because it has upgraded the international profile of South Korea as it focuses on providing opportunities to developing countries rather than simply to maximise the profits of South Korea's businesses although there is a clear awareness of the potential benefit to South Korea's international image. The objective of this project corresponds to the basic goal of ODA policy of South Korea, namely 'the transfer of development experience', and as such it enhances the scope of sports soft power (Kim, 2013). The three main tasks are focused on training people related to sport in developing countries but at the same time contributing to the 'dissemination' of skills and knowledge to the general public in those countries

through what they have learned from South Korea. Therefore, this project has a dual goal of sports development (in particular, elite sport) and development through sport.

The second project of the government's sports ODA programme is the 'sports partner programme', which is divided into two sub-projects: the Dream Programme and the sport related support through the NFs. The Dream Programme is an annual winter sport training programme for international youth when started in 2004 as part of the bidding strategy for the PyeongChang Winter Olympic Games (POCOG, 2015). The main objective is to provide young people in developing countries with opportunities to experience winter sport and the culture of South Korea and also to contribute to friendship and international sports exchange among nations. Every year 150 young people from 40 countries participate in the project and it contributes to the realisation of sports development and peace through increased mutual understanding and goodwill beyond the nation and race (POCOG, 2015).

As the country from which taekwondo has originated, taekwondo-related projects have been the one of the most significant strategies to promote national prestige and international friendship and goodwill for South Korea since 1993. The key strategies are to send taekwondo masters to other countries and to invite to South Korea potential taekwondo masters from developing countries. In addition, the sending of the World Taekwondo Peace Corps (TPC) since 2008 has been an influential project for the pursuit of sport development and peace. For instance, according to KOICA (2015), the TPC members are volunteers, in particular young men and women who have "the capability to bring peace to the world". They are a great resource of South Korea and are dispatched to developing countries in order to "spread peace through 'the Taekwondo Spirit'". In 2008 only 59 TPC members were dispatched to 13 countries but by 2015 the figure had increased to 236 dispatched to 42 countries, in particular in Africa and Asia (MCST, 2015).

The Governmental Agencies

The Korea International Cooperation Agency (KOICA), which is a MOFA-affiliated organisation, has sent a number of voluntary sports coaches (597 coaches between 1991 and 2013 including 412 taekwondo masters) to developing countries as Korea's representative foreign grant aid agency (Kim, 2013). Sports coaches have been dispatched to partner countries for knowledge transfer and policy advice,

which is an important intellectual asset that can be utilised to fight against poverty and pursue sustainable socio-economic development (KOICA, 2015). In addition, other aid projects through the medium of sport as well have made significant contributions the challenges faced by developing countries. For example, the project for the Korea-Indonesia Friendship Sport Centre (2003-2005, USD 2.8M), which was to build a new sports facility in Indonesia contributed according to KOICA to the spread of Taekwondo and Korean culture and also to social development through using sports facilities by the local people (KOICA, 2007). Moreover, the Economic Development Cooperation Fund (EDCF), which is South Korea's economic cooperation agency to assist developing countries, contributed to the project for the Tunisia Olympic Stadium Construction (1997-2001, USD 3M). This project was the Tunisian government's major efforts to create a sense of national identity and strengthen ties with neighbouring countries through hosting sports mega-events (EDCF, 2001). It was also the EDCF's first aid project with the MCST for development through sport and was intended to contribute to the promotion of cooperation between the two countries by raising awareness of Korea's technological power.

Support and Cooperation through the hosting sports mega-event in South Korea

Recently, the hosting of sports mega-event has been increasingly used as a tool for international development in South Korea rather than giving priority to only winning the bid (Kim, 2013). The 17th Incheon Asian Games made a valuable contribution to development through sport in Asia by the Vision 2014 programme. This international sport development campaign programme was initiated in 2007 by the Incheon metropolitan city and the OCA with aim of supporting development of sport in less well-off nations in Asia. The main elements of this programme are: inviting young athletes from developing countries to training camps in Incheon; sending qualified sports coaches to disadvantaged regions in Asia and; providing sport equipment for athletes in developing countries (Incheon Metropolitan City, 2015). This project has potential to identify and foster sporting talent in developing countries and also potentially contribute to reducing the development gap between Northeast and Southeast Asia (Lee, 2017).

The 2015 Gwangju Universiade has also contributed to development through sport objectives in cooperation with the UN and FISU. In July 2012, the UN and the Gwangju Universiade 2015 Organising Committee (GUOC) signed a partnership agreement seeking to support the attainment and awareness of the MDGs and also to promote mutual understanding through sport (UNOSDP, 2012). This partnership presents three main strategies: EPIC (standing for Eco-friendliness, Peace, IT, Culture) speaker, which is an international youth mentoring programme through sport for development; Inter-Korean sports exchange programme and; Youth Leadership Programme (YLP), which is a lecture programme run by the UNOSDP's Youth Leadership Camp.

Achievements and evaluation of the SK's sports development and peace projects

South Korea's sports development and peace programmes were mainly conducted through a few sports organisations, particularly taekwondo, until the 2000s but, since 2012, the government sports organisations have managed and conducted a wide variety of sports development and peace programmes, in particular as a part of ODA projects and as part of activities to hold international sports mega-events. Most of these programmes have focused on strengthening the elite sporting capacity of developing countries such as Dream Together Master Programme, sending coaches abroad and joint training projects. According to the government report on the sports ODA programmes (MCST, 2013c), projects which can affect the elite sporting capacity of developing countries, and produce medals at international sports events, is one of the most important soft power resources. 'The more substantial the content of the programme, the more sustainable is the soft power increase' (Kim, 2013, p. 18). The Dream Programme, Taekwondo-related projects and the Vision 2014 are cases in point.

The Dream Programme was established in 2004 as a part of the bidding strategy for the PyeongChang Olympic Games. According to Around the Rings (2011, p. 1), for over 10 years, this winter project has helped to expand winter sports, promote friendship among young people, and contributed to peace around the world, and moreover the IOC Evaluation Commission and other key stakeholders such as FIS,

ISU, and NOCs, 'have lauded this project as a great initiative that has contributed to the Olympic Movement'. A deputy director of public diplomacy division, MOFA said that this project has promoted sustainability of soft power in international cooperation through sport.

The Dream Programme was helpful to have built trust in the international community for 5 years since 2004 to win the bid for the 2018 Winter Olympics in 2009. Moreover, it was also helpful to establish diplomatic relations with participating nations as all applications are distributed and received by Korean Embassy through the process of consultation with the NOC of the country concerned and the MOFA is closely involved in all the process to support the diplomatic skills for the task (Interview: 16 May 2016).

According to the record of the Dream Programme (POCOG, 2015), sixteen youths who participated in this project since 2004 went on to fulfil their dreams by becoming members of their national team and taking part in international sport events. These achievements of the project are considered to have strengthened South Korea's sports soft power. Taewondo-related projects are also a great example how South Korea uses sport for development and peace. A deputy director of public diplomacy division, MOFA said that taekwondo is one of the great resources how South Korea exert soft power through sport.

At the diplomatic offices, taekwondo competition is held between each ambassador in cooperation with the taekwondo federations of each country. Through this competition, the MOFA plays an important role to diffuse taekwondo and promote our culture. In addition, this effort contributes to taekwondo to keep it as an official Olympic event (Interview: 16 May 2016).

Furthermore, the South Korean government-related sport organisations assist with the dispatching of taekwondo masters worldwide. According to the United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon news (UNIFIL, 2013, p. 1), UN Peacekeeping Forces from South Korea teach taekwondo to local residents in disputed territories and 'its educational effects associated with spiritual discipline and tenacity, thereby

cultivating a healthier mind and body for the treatment of young people suffering from addictions’.

The Vision 2014 project, according to the OCA finance committee (OCA, 2015) has also received positive reviews for supporting the development of sport in developing countries as one of the ODA projects, which is the nation’s major foreign policy agenda. A director general of international sport relations foundation (ISR) evaluated this programme,

In terms of sport in development and peace, this project is an opportunity to show the Asian Countries and even the world how the Incheon metropolitan city contributes to sport development and utilise sport as a diplomatic tool to enhance Incheon’s merit (Interview: 12 July 2017).

Moreover, even though Lee (2017) criticised this project because it seemed to be merely a strategy to win the bid, he considered it to be a valuable sport diplomatic resource to increase the influence of South Korea within the system of international sport governance. For example, as part of the Vision 2014, Incheon assisted sport development in North Korea to relieve political tensions between two Koreas showing how sport can transcend political differences. This programme appeared to be one such strategy to foster Incheon’s and South Korea’s soft power in the relation between Asian countries.

However, there are also some issues with the sport development and peace projects. According to a director of International Sports Division, Sports Policy Office, MCST,

South Korea’s sports policies related to the development and peace showed a tendency as one-off or short-term projects that responded to the demands of developing countries rather than as long-term strategies. One of the reasons is a frequent personal change in the MCST. This personal change is executing to the other departments every 2 years. It means that it is very difficult to maintain projects as a long- term project as the evaluation of such projects was not conducted well (Interview: 23 May 2016).

And she also mentioned about the uncertain selection criteria for the developing countries in South Korea's ODA projects that many sports ODA projects do not offer any standards for its selection or classifications except in the case of the Vision 2014 and the Dream programme.

4.8. Conclusion

This chapter has examined the awareness within the South Korean government, and utilisation by the South Korean government of sport as a soft power diplomatic resource. Through an analysis of documents from the 1980s which was the period that sport has been widely adopted as a political resource in connection with foreign policy and diplomatic objectives of South Korea, and semi-structured interviews this chapter has provided an empirical investigation of South Korea's strategic use of sport over the period 1980 to 2017 to understand how and why sport as a soft power strategy was attractive to both authoritarian and democratic governments of South Korea. In light of the data presented in this chapter, four themes will be examined in this concluding section: first, the increasing scope and range of sport-related soft power activities and their relationship with South Korea's key diplomatic objectives; second, the increasing sophistication and subtlety in the deployment of sport soft power by the South Korean government; third, the relationship between the nation brand index and the soft power strategies of South Korea; and fourth, the increasing confidence in the positive effects of the deployment of South Korea's sports soft power expressed by the South Korea government.

First, the scope and range of South Korea's diplomatic plans for sport steadily increased from the 1980s. The South Korean government gradually realised that their current foreign policy based primarily on hard power could be valuably complemented by the use of soft power. The adoption of a soft power strategy was intended to project a more positive image of South Korea and mitigate to some degree the image currently defined by the unresolved war with North Korea, the large US military presence and the regular minor conflicts with North Korea. As a means of complementing hard power, sport was seen as a high visibility and relatively low-risk resource for South Korea to promote a positive national image. As

seen in Table 4.3.1, sport was a significant tool of political propaganda before 1980s with much of its deployment resonating with the realist perspective on international relations as sport was used as a vehicle for the pursuit of international recognition. With the objective in mind, the government focused on the elite system and tried to dispatch athletes to international mega-sports events as the president, Park considered elite athletes as civil ambassadors who could promote the nation's prestige. From 1980s, sport continued to be used in a manner consistent with the realist perspective. In particular, it was the hosting of the 1986 Asian Games and the 1988 Olympic Games that heightened the government's awareness of the diplomatic potential of sport. The realist perspective provides the insight that sport has been used as a way to reduce international tensions or as a means of improving relations between states—a clearly state-centred deployment of their resource. South Korea showed that sport has been utilised to expand diplomatic ties with neighbouring countries and overcome Cold War barriers with the Soviet Union and China.

South Korea's key sports soft power strategies were hosting international sports mega-events and promoting taekwondo as these strategies were considered to be the most effective means of achieving international recognition and of promoting a positive image of the Korean nation. Moreover, while concern with international recognition is important to the realist perspective, South Korea's government's strategy also illustrated the significance of the hosting sports mega-events in relation to domestic politics particularly in relation to nation-building. The 1988 Olympic Games were a great tool for President Chun to demonstrate his political leadership and to consolidate national consensus. In the 1990s South Korea's foreign policies focused on raising the profile of the country and strengthening cooperation in the international arena reflected in the decision to apply to join the UN and the OECD. These global connections encouraged the government to explore the potential value of sport in facilitating cooperation between states by greater involvement in non-governmental organisations such as international sport federations. The changing significance of sport as a diplomatic resource was clearly evident in the five-year national sport for all promotion plans from 1993 to 2017 with increased scope and range of South Korea's diplomatic plans of sport. Since 1993, as a sports soft power strategy, the South Korean government tried to dispatch sports coaches and masters

to teach sport and to support the infrastructure of sports facilities and goods in developing countries. Moreover, the government's sports soft power plans started to consider expanding South Korea's influence and contribute to strengthening performance in international sports through the involvement in sports NGOs and the agreement of the MOU. These strategies which provide the same support for the utility of the liberal perspective emphasised: the pattern of influence and interaction between sports governing organisation and their international counterparts; the autonomy of sport as a political resource; and the capacity of sports organisations as independent actors on the international system.

In addition, the state also began to utilise elite sport stars to boost national brand image as well as, in 2010, promoting several international sports cooperation projects as part of the ODA project, which is one of the nation's major diplomatic initiatives. These sports programmes such as Dream Together, Taekwondo Peace Corps and Dream programmes linked to the 2018 PyeongChang Olympics were designed to enhance sports soft power through sharing South Korea's experience with developing countries within a range of sport-related government agencies and scope of sports mega-events hosted in South Korea. In particular, the taekwondo-related activities were considered to be a great resource to show South Korea's identity to the world.

Second, there is an increasing subtlety and sophistication in the South Korea's sports soft power strategies. In 1990s, most of sports soft power strategies were established for international exchange and cooperation in order to enhance national prestige. However, since 2000 the South Korean government has been using soft power instruments as key sources of public diplomacy and sport has played an important role in strengthening public diplomacy in relation to a number of different diplomatic objectives. A great example is hosting sports mega-events. In the early 1990s, hosting sports mega-events was a clear illustration of how the South Korean government utilised sport as a soft power strategy to enhance national prestige. After that, however, hosting sports mega-events has been a useful opportunity to accomplish several different political objectives such as in order to improve relations between the two Koreas through having a joint parade in international sports events and between Korea and Japan through co-hosting the 2002 FIFA World Cup. Moreover, a number of sports programmes associated with

the hosting of international sports mega-events in South Korea have been effective in enhancing the cultural power of the country. In addition, South Korea's sports soft power strategies have been developed with more subtlety such as the South Korean government's support for the objective of obtaining increased involvement and prominence in sports NGOs and sports development and peace-related programmes to achieve the MDGs while strengthening the country's sports soft power. In the liberal perspective, these subtle sport-related policies have shown that the capacity of transnational organisations has been increased to function as at least semi-independent actors on the international stage. However, all the examples of the deployment of sports soft power through non-governmental organisations have clearly been linked to unstable geo-political position of South Korea and to the government's desire to influence the behaviour of other states.

Sport in South Korea provides a variety of contexts within which to show the significance of sport in international politics and it would be able to explain patterns to indicate how South Korea has utilised sport in different major international relations perspectives. At first, realist perspective is more persuasive when looking at South Korea's geopolitical situation such as no peace treaty with North Korea, a big military base of United States, and repeated issues of tension with North Korea. Moreover, the diplomatic stand-off: between the two Koreas; between North Korea and the United States; between China and South Korea; and between Korea and Japan shows historic and also contemporary hard power relations. However, there is little sign of any movement in the hard power relationship and little scope of diplomatic flexibility in the hard power relationship. In terms of military and trade power in South Korea, hard power is almost at a stalemate. South Korea, therefore, is looking for other areas where it can make marginal gains both in relation to the geopolitical context and also in relation to the global context. So, sport as an indirect route and as a soft power resource has been used by the state to support and complement a realist analysis of international relations including reducing international tensions, improving relations between states, and expanding diplomatic ties to maximise the national interest.

In terms of the role of NGOs, it might be that there is potential evidence to support the liberal view of international relations when looking at examples of sports soft

power strategy, the involvement of sports NGOs and the IOC's decision about whether they award hosting sport mega-events in South Korea. However, this is very weak example of their power and there is little evidence of those sports NGOs influencing state's policy in South Korea. In relation to South Korea's sports soft power strategy, it is very much government centred and government-driven strategy that supports a realist perspective.

While the first and second themes illustrated South Korea's sports soft power strategies and their link to theoretical perspectives, the third theme considers the practical experience of the application of soft power rather than the utility of the international relation theories, which is about the relationship between the nation brand index and the soft power strategies of South Korea.

The nation brand which is a new area of interest that deals with a state's effort to communicate to the people in other countries (Nye, 1990) has been a significant soft power concern in South Korea. The South Korean government has spent almost 8.4 million US dollars in 2010 (MCST, 2010) to enhance South Korea's national brand value and has developed a detailed strategy by using soft power to present a better image to other nations. Among a variety of soft power strategies, sport has been a vital element of South Korea's national branding strategy (See section 4.3). In particular, elite sports player's good performance in the Olympic Games has shown their potential to have a positive effect on national brand index (See example of Yuna Kim in section 4.6.1.2.).

However, it is difficult to isolate the impact of soft power generally and sports soft power in particular on changes in a nation's brand image. Categorising and quantifying soft power at the international level is very complex and challenging task with few methodological examples on which to build, but it does not mean that those soft power strategies do not have positive effects. Research like the Monocle' Soft Power Index, the Portland's Global Ranking of Soft Power, and the Anholt-GFK's National Brand Index have attempted to measure soft power. Even though all aim to capture the overall attractiveness of a country, they provide a helpful resource when measuring sports soft power. For example, Monocle attempted to measure South Korea's sport soft power taking account of the number of international sports mega-

events that it had hosted and the country's performance at the Olympics (Monocle, 2012). Portland and Anholt-GFK acknowledged the significance of sport by including it in the culture sub-index, in particular, such as a nation's international sporting success (Anholt National Brand Index, 2007 and McClory, 2017). It is agreed by all three research companies that sport does have an effect on national brand index and ranking of soft power.

However, it seems that there is no clear correlation between the national brand index (and soft power index) and South Korea's sports soft power strategies. According to the report by Portland (McClory, 2017), South Korea's soft power has been more significantly affected by creative industries, its electronic powerhouses, and culture (K-pop and food) as positive factors and by political uncertainty in South Korea's external relation with North Korea as a negative factor. Moreover, sport has been assessed on the basis of the a number of sports mega-events hosted or overall medal standings at the Olympics rather than over the broad a range of South Korea's diplomatic plans of sports soft power.

With regard to the fourth theme, despite a lack of clear and unequivocal link between a national image and sports soft power, there is clearly increasing confidence within the South Korean government concerning the positive effects of the deployment of South Korea's sports soft power. The evidence of the impact of sports soft power strategies is reflected in the willingness of the South Korean government to use sport in accordance with the policy strategies. As noted in the Ministry of Culture, Sport and Tourism's official document, 'sport has been an effective tool to overcome diplomatic obstacles.....and played a significant role in the improvement of diplomatic relations' (MCST, 2015). The investment of State funds in sport is significant evidence of the government's confidence in sports strategies as an important soft power resource. Furthermore, as seen in Table 4.2 and 4.3, the expanding a use of sport-related strategies and also increasing financial investment shows the belief of government that sport-related strategies are positive soft power resources in South Korea. While it is extremely difficult to measure the impact of soft power strategies the judgement of funders, especially government, and key partners is that the South Korea's sports soft power strategy has been successful in generating benefits for the country.

In terms of the utility of the theoretical concepts, Lee (2009)'s conceptual framework of soft power helps to improve our understanding of the soft power and produces a useful means through which to examine policies and practices related to sport-related soft power strategies. According to Lee's theoretical framework, there are four processes of soft power (Lee, 2009, p. 8) and this approach is able to assess South Korea's sports soft power resources and capabilities in a systematic way. It is as follows:

(1) Application of soft resources => Fear => Coercive power (or resistance)

Lee's first approach suggests that when the recipients feel fear from a country's application of soft resources, it is likely to result in a coercive power response and resistance. In the case of South Korea, the staging of sports mega-events occasionally raised tension between the two Koreas. North Korea carried out military provocations when international sports mega-events were held in South Korea. They committed an airline terrorist act ahead of the 1988 Seoul Olympic Games and ambushed a Korean naval ship during the 2002 World Cup. In addition, sport events have sometimes led to a diplomatic conflict as in the case of the violence by Chinese students during the Olympic torch relay in Seoul (See section 4.2, ROK-China relations) and certain sport matches between South Korea and Japan always seemed generate hostility between the countries. According to Lee's approach, this is the case where sport as a soft resource results in a coercive hard power response (or resistance).

(2) Application of soft resources => Attractiveness, Safety, Comfort, Respect => Co-optive power

Most sport-related soft power strategies in South Korea fit in Lee's second conceptualisation of soft power, which is also consistent with Nye's conception of soft power. For example, elite sports success and a hosting of international sports events are able to communicate their attractiveness as well as boost national pride, thereby providing government with significant opportunities to increase their soft power. In addition, examples of sports soft power strategy, the involvement of sports NGOs and sports development and peace-related programmes, are considered to

be an effective means of achieving international recognition and of promoting a positive image of the Korean nation.

(3) Application of soft resources (theories, interpretative frameworks) => New ways of thinking and calculating => Co-optive power

The Lee's third conceptualisation emphasises the capacity of soft power to manipulate other countries' way of thinking and preferences by using ideational resources such as spreading theories, concepts, or discourses. Moreover, international celebrities can play important roles in exerting this category of soft power (Lee, 2009). When looking at the case of South Korea, as seen in section 4.7.1.2, elite star players or international sports celebrities have played a big part in developing and strengthening South Korea's national image and their influence has been able to change people's thinking of image of South Korea positively from the image of divided and poor country.

(4) Socialization of the co-optive power in the recipients => Long term soft power in the form of "social habits"

The Lee's last conceptualisation presents the most cost-effective way of exerting soft power, which is to produce long-term co-optive power by creating 'social habits' in the recipients. The typical examples of this concept of soft power in South Korea's sports soft power are the taekwondo-related sports activities internationally and the influence of sports elite players domestically. As seen in section 4.7.4, taekwondo is the great soft power resource in South Korea in its development and peace activities. South Korea's taekwondo-related activities are considered to have a positive influence on local residents in developing countries and in particular in disputed territories. Consequently, people who are learning taekwondo develop a positive impression of Korea as a country of 'Taekwondo and Peace' consistently which is higher recognition than Samsung, LG, or K-pop when thinking of South Korea (See the World Taekwondo Peace Corps (TPC)'s survey, 2016). In terms of domestic cases, as seen in section 4.7.1.2, one impact of elite sports players' success such as in figure skating and women golf is to create momentum that could turn unpopular sports events into a mainstream sports events in South Korea and thus have a long-term effect with no significant additional costs.

Chapter 5. Sport as a diplomatic resource: sport soft power strategies in the United Kingdom

5.1. Profile of the United Kingdom

The United Kingdom, officially the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, and also referred to as Britain, is a sovereign country with a population of 66.57 million and the twenty second-largest by GDP per capita globally in 2018 (The Office for National Statistics, 2018a and 2018b). In the twentieth century, the UK redefined its place in the world to command a world-wide empire as the foremost global power. After the end of two world wars and the loss of empire, the UK remains an economic and military power with considerable political and cultural influence around the world (BBC, 2017). Britain is a multinational state comprising four constituent countries, England, Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland. The UK's economy remains one of the world's largest. In 2017, the UK was the ninth-largest goods exporter in the world and the sixth-largest importer (The Office for National Statistics, 2018b). However, it has for many years been reliant on service industries rather than on manufacturing.

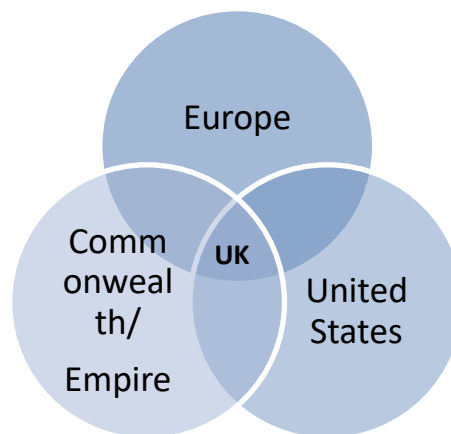
The United Kingdom is a unitary state under a constitutional monarchy, in which the monarch, currently Queen Elizabeth II, is the head of state (HM Government, 2018). In terms of government, the United Kingdom has a parliamentary government, which is based on the Westminster system and has two houses: an elected House of Commons and an appointed House of Lords. The government, formally referred to Her Majesty's Government, is led by the Prime Minister and the Cabinet, which is made up of the senior member of government. The UK political system is a multi-party system, which consists of the two dominant parties, the Conservative Party and the Labour Party. Executive power is exercised by the British government, but there are also devolved governments in Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland. (HM Government, 2018).

5.2. UK's foreign policy and key diplomatic tasks

5.2.1. British foreign policy after 1945

The development of Britain's foreign policy was described by Winston Churchill in 1945 by referring to the concept of 'three circles'. His concept of three circles overlapped in Europe (centred on Britain in Europe), in the Empire and later the Commonwealth (the remains of the old Empire and Britain's former possessions) and in the special relationship across the Atlantic (in particular, the United States and later NATO) (See Figure 5.1.).

Figure 5. 1 Winston Churchill's 'Three Circles' After World War II



Source from '*Losing an empire, finding a role: British foreign policy since 1945*' (Sanders and Houghton, 2016)

This framework was central to the notion that Britain was 'the only country which has a great part to play in each one' (Sanders and Houghton, 2016, p. 2). According to Dockrill and Young (1989), for over two decades after 1945, the British government pursued a foreign policy strategy in all three of these 'circles' and these circles were utilised to structure strategic thinking about Britain's role in the world. However, a series of changes in Britain's external environment, in particular the emergence of two 'superpowers' – the United States and the Soviet Union -, affected Britain's continuing efforts to maintain a leading role in both the military and economic spheres. The extent of this change in Britain's status and power was also affected by the growth of nationalism in the third world and the weakening of Britain's imperial grip. An added challenge was the relative decline of the British economy. According to Sanders and Houghton (2016), Britain's GDP per capita in 1950 ranked the

seventh highest in the world and had dropped dramatically. In these changing environments, the British government's foreign policy strategy related to three circles became overextended and the problem was that they were seeking to sustain a role in world affairs which reflected past rather than present capabilities (Frankel and Royal Institute of International Affairs, 1975).

Decolonisation

The resultant process of imperial withdrawal began with decolonisation in India and Palestine in 1947 and 1978. Britain was obliged to withdraw from both India and Palestine as due to the strength of local demands for independence, the imperial power was no longer able to govern its dependencies. However, according to Sanders and Houghton (2016), the loss of India and Palestine were accomplished with minimal damage being done to British interests as India joined the Commonwealth and Jordan and Israel remained in the western sphere of influence that sought to preserve British industry's safe imperial markets and to prevent the general spread of communism to indigenous populations in the third world. After 1948, Britain's imperial strategy became broadly one of retrenchment. In Malaya (1948-58), successful holding operations were conducted to prevent further communist gains in the Far East. In Africa and in the Caribbean, a broadly successful policy of retrenchment was facilitated by the relative weakness of indigenous nationalism (Dockrill and Young, 1989).

However, Britain's continued economic decline led to weakening of the Empire and it was complemented by two other processes that encouraged withdrawal; first, the increased nationalist pressure for autonomy and the second, the strategic shift in Britain's external policy, particularly in connection with Britain's overseas trade (Sanders and Houghton, 2016). Symbolic of Britain's declining global power was the rapid and ignominious withdrawal from the Suez by the determined resistance from the United States in 1956 an event that marked a watershed in Britain's post-war history particularly its foreign policy strategy. According to Carlton (1989), there were three important effects of the Suez affair. The first effect was on Britain's prestige and its claim to be a champion of international morality. The second long-term implication of the Suez affair concerned the Commonwealth. Commonwealth states cooperated together in resisting the global threat of communist expansionism but,

after the Suez, it lost much of its coherence it had possessed as an economic and diplomatic bloc. Third, Britain revealed a new vulnerability in its dealings with less powerful states which meant that Britain no longer possessed the military and economic capability to sustain its imperial role in the third world. Consequently, the pressures for a radical change in the three-circle foreign policy strategy grew rapidly. First of all, the structural development was the autonomous shift in the pattern of Britain's overseas trade, away from the Empire and towards Europe. Secondly, the imperial retreat was accompanied by a downgrading of its relations with the United States.

The European Circle

The retreat from Empire was accompanied by Britain's growing involvement in Western Europe and the increasing economic importance of Europe provided a powerful material motive for the British government to emphasise the European dimension of their foreign policy (Sanders and Houghton, 2016). Moreover, British foreign policy, in spite of closer relations with the countries of European Free Trade Association (EFTA) and the European Economic Community (EEC) also developed relations with the communist countries of Eastern Europe as it was considered to be an important complement to its closer economic and political ties with Western Europe (Dockrill and Young, 1989). Britain's objective in terms of its international role was as a leading member of a European community which could expect to exercise political and economic influence on the world stage and to join the EEC. However, the strategic shift towards Europe was not accomplished easily as British attempted to institutionalise its European connections, leading to two failed attempts to join the EEC between 1961 and 1972 (Carlton, 1989). Even after Britain joined European community in 1973, Britain's evolving relations with Europe remained difficult. According to Sanders and Houghton (2016), Britain never appeared to be committed to its new European role, only partially committed to the ideals of European co-operation. Moreover, Britain's continued intriguing in pursuit of residual commitments and responsibilities in both the old Empire and Atlantic circles consistently gave the impression abroad that the British were 'reluctant Europeans'. Britain's long imperial experience was partly responsible for the significant policy differences between Britain and Europe and made the task of developing a common European foreign

policy much more difficult. According to Carlton (1989), as the 1980s progressed, Britain's frequent refusals of a political compromise with its European partners implied that it no longer saw Britain's role as a primarily European one. Moreover, long after the Thatcher's government, the British government, in particular those led by the Conservative Party, distanced itself from its EU partners in terms of financial and political policy.

Anglo-America Relations

The Atlantic circle in the Britain's foreign policy was also regarded as a critical foreign policy focus. According to Sanders and Houghton (2016), general relations between Britain and America were remarkably good throughout the post-war period as they had a broadly similar culture, a shared economic interest, a common security interest and the mutual intergovernmental trust on topics such as sharing nuclear resources. However, the Suez affair exercised a double-edged effect on relations between Britain and America. Notwithstanding Britain's deep wound caused by the diplomatic humiliation over Suez, the fact that Suez served to enhance Soviet influence in Egypt, both the British and American governments recognised the importance of their mutual security interest in preventing or limiting Soviet intervention. As a result, the two countries rapidly repaired their mutual relations and signed the nuclear sharing agreement in 1958. However, the imperial retreat and Britain's declining ability to project a world military role rendered it less able to assist American efforts to protect the general global interests of the West in 1960s and this reduction in the British government's ability led inevitably to a downgrading of its relations with the United States (Frankel, 1975). After 1979, however, the revival of relations between both countries was established as leaders in the two countries shared very similar ideological convictions. According to Martin and Garnett (1997), notwithstanding British's low level of military investment under Thatcher, it was able to give the appearance of multilateral legitimacy to American-sponsored out of area operations which was clearly valuable to America in justifying its behaviour to world opinion.

5.2.2. Britain's post-Cold War foreign policy

Since the end of the Cold War, British foreign policy has concentrated mostly on the relationships with the Europe, the United States, Commonwealth states and also on the antiterrorist war. These concerns reflected Britain's effort to maximise its power within international relations and each of the Prime Ministers played a leading role in the formulation and interpretation of Britain's foreign policy.

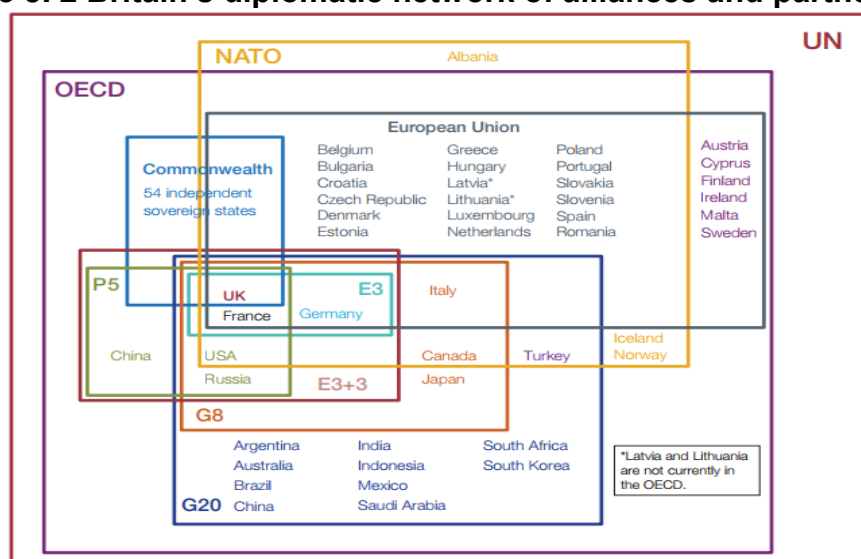
The European Circle

According to Pilbeam et al. (2012), John Major's government was faced with the challenging foreign policy task of revising and improving the relationship with external partners, in particular a cautious participant in the institutional cooperation structures of Europe. Even though John Major was broadly supportive of the EU ambitions to compete with the great powers of the world, Major had a difficult mandate to proceed with the next steps of the European integration due to a split between pro-European and Eurosceptic members of the Conservative party. These reasons were exacerbated by two factors: first, the disaster for the British currency⁸ in the late 1990s and secondly, the ratification of the Maastricht Treaty which was controversial and represented a turning point in the history of European integration and which was also a defining moment for Britain's relations with Europe. However, Britain's role in Europe was central to British foreign policy between the Blair and Brown premierships. Blair's mandate had an important role in the development of the EU, in particular in the organisation's reform. According to Stephens (2001), Britain in this period played a significant role to position the EU as not only an economic actor but also as a diplomatic and military actor on the international stage as reflected in the Amsterdam, Nice and St. Malo treaties. Under Blair's mandate, Britain created a strong position as a great supporter of the enlargement of the EU but there were failures of Britain's role in Europe such as the lack of willingness to adopt the common currency and the lack of a common position towards Iraq. Under the leadership of Gordon Brown, the British government acted much as a Blair government had done. However, the UK negotiated an 'opt-out' in the 2007 Treaty of Lisbon with regard to some justice and home affairs measures. According to Lunn et

⁸ Known as the Black Wednesday. It occurred in the UK on 16 Sep 1992, when John Major's Conservative government was forced to withdraw the pound sterling from the European Exchange Rate Mechanism (ERM)

al. (2008), the British government was primarily focused on the EU being able to have a more outward-looking orientation and a stronger capacity to project power and influence around the world. After the 2010 election, Cameron's Conservatives were charged with the responsibility of determining British foreign policy, which promoted national interests and maintained a more liberal concern to protect 'values of freedom, fairness and responsibility' (Redford and Beech, 2011). According to the 2012 FCO department report about the balance of competences between the United Kingdom and the EU (Foreign and Commonwealth Office, 2013), Cameron's preference was generally to work through the EU in most foreign policy matters. However, as seen in the Figure 5.2, the UK had potentially a range of options for delivering impact in its national interest compared to other EU member states and this difference constituted an important environment for Cameron's approach to EU foreign policy. In other words, the UK played one of the strongest roles in shaping the nature and content of EU external action. However, there were still challenges for the Cameron's foreign policy such as economic pressures from globalisation, international threats including terrorism and the conflict in the Middle East and geopolitical tensions in Asia, and also the decay in international governance (Niblett, 2015). Above all, the referendum that the UK should leave the EU marks a defining moment for the country's foreign relations, in particular the UK's future status in Europe.

Figure 5. 2 Britain's diplomatic network of alliances and partnerships



<Sourced by the Review of the Balance of Competences between the United Kingdom and the European Union, Foreign Policy (Foreign and Commonwealth Office, 2013)>

Anglo-America Relations

Since the end of the Cold War, during the Major's years, the relations with the United States strengthened as reflected in cooperation during the First Gulf War. The relationship was strong not only at the state level but also at the personal level between Major and George Bush (Sanders and Houghton, 2016). In Tony Blair's premiership, his new government sought to reformulate relations with the US and promoted the idea of Britain as a bridge between the US and Europe (Lunn et al., 2008). After the events of 11 September 2001, Blair demonstrated British commitment to its relationship with US by supporting Bush in the US-led invasion of Iraq. However, the attempt to make Britain the bridge between the US and Europe failed because of the Iraq war which many EU members either opposed or were sceptical towards. According to Lieven (2003), interest in the special relationship with the US was lost in official circles as Blair was unable to negotiate any significant payback from the Bush administration. After Brown came to power, despite the continuing description of the US as its most significant bilateral partner, the Brown government kept the Bush administration at a distance as indicated by the process of Britain troop reduction in Iraq (Honeyman, 2009). However, the Brown government, according to Lunn et al. (2008) initiated a rapprochement from 2008 as the main objective of the British government in this period was to create conditions in the relationship with the US to adopt a more multilateral global role. According to Lunn et al. (2008), the British foreign policy between the Blair and Brown premierships was considered within the framework of interventionism, the special relationship between the UK and the United States, and the UK's role in Europe. Blair's foreign policy, in terms of the interventionism, began by the 1999 Kosovo crisis, during which he made a speech with regard to the doctrine of the international community, in Chicago. However, the events of 11 September 2001 created a new concept of humanitarian intervention, which affected radical changes in Blair's doctrine referring to military intervention for the unavoidability of needing on occasions to deploy hard power (Lunn et al., 2008), which led to a new type of liberalism in British foreign policy doctrine (Blair, 2004). However, the problem of the Iraq war left Blair struggling to regain the initiative. The Brown government sought to make legitimate interventionism again. They linked it more closely to conflict prevention and humanitarian agendas, but it did not repudiate the deployment of

hard power as British troops remained in Afghanistan and Iraq. After Cameron was elected as a Prime Minister, according to the Chatham House report (Niblett, 2015), Britain's foreign policy in this period was based on a different perception of the country's position in the world: the inner circle of the EU and the outer circle of the US.

Decolonisation and Commonwealth

By 1970 the process of decolonisation and Britain's relative economic decline had radically altered the relationship between members of the former Empire and this reflected increased self-governance of Commonwealth members. However, despite the increased number of independent member states and their different identities, agenda and developmental needs, the creation of Commonwealth Secretariat in 1965 gave new importance to the Commonwealth as it now possessed a clear organisational structure and bureaucratic support, which changed its structure, function and image (Onslow, 2015). This new intergovernmental organisation developed its own autonomy and identity. According to Smith and Sanger (1981), the Commonwealth was developed to cover international affairs, economic affairs, technical assistance and trade issues, women and gender, education, human rights, youth and sport. This list suggests the focus of Commonwealth is not only major issues of international relations such as trade and defence but also on soft resources such as culture and education. Moreover, the 53-member countries, six continents and oceans and more than two billion population have a connection as the ultimate network and it, according to Houlihan (1994), provided access to a world stage for those members that do not have the chance to make their views in other forums and also provided small states with a supportive environment to try out policy proposals. Therefore, according to Hague's (2011) speech at the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association Conference, the Commonwealth has been a cornerstone of British foreign policy, alongside British role in the EU and NATO, and the relationship with the United States.

The Commonwealth's role in Britain's diplomatic strategy contributed in six important areas: democracy; public institutions; social development; youth; development of Pan-Commonwealth and small and states (Commonwealth Secretariat, 2016). For example, according to the 2016-2017 annual report of the Commonwealth

Secretariat (Commonwealth Secretariat, 2016), the Commonwealth's work strengthened on human rights and democracy. In 2015, Commonwealth Observer Groups (COGs) strengthened electoral processes in seven-member states such as Seychelles and Tobago to support and advocate member countries in building their democratic institutions. Moreover, they built more effective and equitable public institutions to promote human rights and the rule of law to protect citizens of more than 40 member states. Another example of the Commonwealth's role in British's diplomacy is about youth engagement and empowerment. Young people are valued in political and development processes and the Commonwealth Games have been the great way to provide the opportunity for the government to launch a strategy for youth involvement. Furthermore, the Commonwealth Games sometimes played a role as the 'friendly games', because this event is more competitive between individual sportsmen and women rather than nations (Hague, 2011).

The one of the roles of the Commonwealth within Britain's diplomacy is the Commonwealth's informal networks, which are described as 'the soft power network of the future' (Hague, 2011), 'to embody soft power' (Onslow, 2015), and 'excellent opportunity for the exercise of soft power' (House of Commons, 2012). The Commonwealth not only occupies a special place in British's history but also is more cost-effective way to develop and well-establish soft power objectives as a diplomatic resource.

War on terror

When it comes to the war on terror in relation to Britain, questions of war and its changing nature; relations with EU and United States; and Britain's imperial and colonial history will be considered. According to the reports on a series of foreign policy aspects of the war against terrorism by House of Commons between 2001 to 2006 (House of Commons, 2002a; 2002b; 2003; 2004; 2005; 2006), British foreign and defence policy fundamentally altered in the aftermath of 9/11 and the rise of international terrorism and even domestic terrorism have become cemented in the British consciousness as the biggest threat facing the UK.

In their first and second report, the government considered its role in mobilising a broad international coalition to address the terrorist threat, in particular Britain's role

in the overthrow of the Taliban in Afghanistan in 2002, in dismantling of the al Qaeda network in late 2002. Their third report, focused on the decision to go to war in Iraq, on British-US relations and on human rights have contributed to the continuing debate on the causes of terrorism and also the UK's response to it. The British government's strategy for dealing with this threat was examined particularly the use of military action in support of the US and its coalition partners which the report concluded generated many unpredictable consequences and led to the radicalisation of Muslims (House of Commons, 2004). In their seventh and last report in 2006, the committee discussed varied themes such as 'the fall of the Taliban and efforts to rebuild Afghanistan, shifts in the organisation of al Qaeda, the war and subsequent situation in Iraq, multilateral efforts to tackle terrorist financing and global work to prevent the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction' (House of Common, 2006, p. 15).

More recently, after the terror attack on Manchester, Corbyn, the Labour leader argued that British foreign policy plays a role in motivating terrorism because of its military intervention so that the government must prioritise the stabilisation of a country (*BBC News*, 2017). Even though no government can prevent every terrorist attack, the British government recommended that progress towards resolving international conflicts would go some way to removing feelings of injustice in the Muslim world which contributes to support for terrorism (House of Common, 2006). One consequence of the debates on British use of hard power to respond to terrorism was that greater attention was paid to the potential benefits of the use of soft power resources such as the BBC World Service Arabic broadcast.

5.3. British Public Diplomacy and Soft power

5.3.1. The emergence of public diplomacy and soft power in British foreign policy

The concept of public diplomacy developed in the 1960s in Britain and it has been defined as;

the transparent means by which a sovereign country communicates with publics in other countries aimed at informing and influencing

audiences overseas for the purpose of promoting the national interest and advancing its foreign policy goals...such as educational exchange programs for scholars and students; visitor programs; language training; cultural events and exchanges; and radio and television broadcasting. Such activities usually focused on improving the “sending” country’s image or reputation as a way to shape the wider policy environment in the “receiving” country (House of Commons, 2012, p. 10).

The contemporary British public diplomacy began in 1995 with the launch of the FCO’s first website and the term, ‘public diplomacy’ has been regularly used in the FCO’s policy context (Pamment, 2016). More recently, in 2003 major reviews of public diplomacy was conducted by the FCO and through the proposal of Lord Carter British public diplomacy was redefined as:

work aiming to inform and engage individuals and organisations overseas, in order to improve understanding of and influence for the United Kingdom in a manner consistent with governmental medium and long term goals (House of Commons, 2006, p. 15)

Since then, the public diplomacy board developed and monitored implementation of a new strategy of public diplomacy and the BBC World Service and the British Council are the two principal government-funded bodies which are involved in public diplomacy activities.

More recently, British public diplomacy has been developed and the term, ‘nation brand’ and ‘soft power’ emerged as a new articulation of public diplomacy (Pamment, 2016). According to the report on public diplomacy published by the FCO (House of Commons, 2016), British government started to use the concept of ‘the nation brand’ in 2008 which was developed by Simon Anholt and the Anholt Nation Brands Index (NBI) has been used to review the UK’s reputation amongst international audiences. The UK government uses the NBI to identify the key themes and to overcome false impressions that acted upon British prosperity and political influence. The term, ‘soft power’ has been adopted by the FCO from 2010 and widely used to describe governments’ public diplomacy. The use of soft power is considered a way to expand the UK government’s contribution to conflict prevention,

to promote British values including human rights, and to contribute to the welfare of developing countries (Pamment, 2016).

5.3.2. Strategies of British soft power

BBC World Service and soft power

The BBC World Service renamed from the BBC's General Overseas Service in 1965, is an international broadcasting service run by the BBC providing radio, television and online service in 29 languages to 246 million global audiences (House of Commons (2016). According to the FCO's report (House of Commons, 2006), the BBC World Service was not considered to be an important tool of British public diplomacy in the early 2000s but its reputation for providing trustworthy and impartial news generated international respect. After the review of the BBC's Royal Charter in 2005 (House of Lords, 2005), the BBC World Service was allowed to be treated as a tool of public diplomacy as it brought considerable soft power gains for the UK. By the 2010s, the BBC World Service was widely considered to be an important instrument of British soft power according to the report by House of Commons (Danby and Thompson, 2011) and has variously referred to as 'Britain's greatest gift to the world', 'a core element of foreign and defence policy', or 'a major asset in terms of British prestige abroad'.

However, there is slightly different point of view of BBC World Service's role in British soft power. The director of the World Service, Peter Horrocks said:

Our aim isn't to be part of soft power ...our aims are editorial ones. But of course paradoxically it has the effect of enhancing Britain's soft power...because of the objectivity and the reputation of the BBC and then subsequently for Britain that's created by that...And I think we can legitimately feel proud of that. I mean it's a good thing to be able to say we contribute to greater British influence. But if there's ever a moment when the interests of soft power as seen by the UK government or UK institutions might contradict the BBC's editorial principles, of course those editorial principles come first (Mirchandani and Abubakar, 2014, p. 17)

Such an assessment has shown that the BBC World Service is relied on and valued by the UK for enhancing Britain's soft power through its impartiality and editorial independence from government.

British Council and soft power

The British Council was established in 1934 to promote cultural relationships and understanding of different cultures between the UK and other countries. This non-departmental public body is a UK charity governed by Royal Charter in pursuit of charitable purpose and a support for prosperity and security for the UK and globally (British Council, 2018). According to public diplomacy report by FCO (House of Commons, 2006), the British Council has played an important role as an organisation to develop the British public diplomacy since the early 2000s. The reach of the British Council and its ability generated trust among its partners and customers has increased impact for public diplomacy. More recently, according to triennial reviews of British Council by FCO in 2014 (British Council, 2014b), the British Council has a strong brand and well established networks worldwide, which make a significant contribution to the UK's international profile. The British Council's networks promote knowledge of the UK and develop links between the UK and the other countries through the areas of education, the arts, sports, and the English language, which is a significant contribution to the UK's reputation and prosperity in terms of soft power. In particular, the research by Chatham House (Niblett, 2011) has identified the UK's culture, education and language are leading factors supporting Britain overseas reputation. Moreover, the British Council's research (British Council, 2012) has shown a clear link between participation in British Council programmes such as 'Premier Skills', 'Young Arab Voices', 'Jamaity', and a partnership with Al Azhar university in Egypt and significantly higher levels of trust in the UK. These UK's soft power activities had the potential to produce positive results in terms of the UK's influence for relatively low cost.

The reputational impact of major sporting events (The Olympic public diplomacy strategy)

According to the report by the FCO (House of Commons, 2011), the British government considered a public diplomacy strategy to achieve greater reputational impact by an analysis of six major sporting events: the 1992 Barcelona Olympics; the 2000 Sydney Olympics; the 2006 Germany World Cup; and the 2008 Beijing Olympics; the 2010 South Africa World Cup; and the 2010 India Commonwealth Games. These six cases were used to analyse how these countries hosted major sporting events for the purpose of public diplomacy. The report, 'FCO Public Diplomacy: The Olympic and Paralympic Games 2012', then outlined the possible British public diplomacy strategies through hosting the 2012 London Olympics. The 2012 London Olympics was a good opportunity for the UK to attract the attention and interest all around the world. The FCO wanted to use the potential of the Games as a tool for global networking and to exploit the public diplomacy and soft power that can gain influence with key individuals and groups in specific countries, in pursuit of the UK's interest (House of Commons Foreign Affairs Committee, 2011). Therefore, in terms of the impact of the 2012 London Olympics which will be considered in more depth in a later section 5.4.2, the UK has consistently seen major sport events as being an important opportunity to exploit the soft power.

5.4. Development of Sport as a political and diplomatic resource in UK

As will become clear the primary focus of successive governments sport policy has been domestic. Acknowledgement of the potential value of sport as an element in a soft power diplomatic strategy was slow to develop. However, in order to fully understand the development of sport soft power it is important to appreciate the domestic infrastructure on which it was developed. The gradual construction of a strong domestic infrastructure presented the government and the FCO with a rich set of policy instruments for the pursuit of a range of foreign policy objectives.

The analysis of the development of sport policy in UK can be delineated into the four broad stages: Evolution of sport policy (1964-79 and 1980s); Restructuring sport policy (1990-1997); New Labour and Sport (1997-2010); and the Coalition government (London 2012 and beyond) (Coghlan and Webb, 2003; Green, 2004; Houlihan, 1991; Houlihan and White, 2003; Houlihan and Lindsey, 2013; and Jeffreys, 2012a and 2012b). The selection of the period between 1964 and 1979, according to Coghlan and Webb (2003) and Jeffreys (2012b) shows radical changes

in the relationship between sport and politics and reflects the emergence of sport as a distinct area of public policy for central government, in particular evidenced by the establishment of the Sport Council of Great Britain in 1972. British sports policy in 1980s established the wide-ranging strategies in sport policy (See Table 5.1) but Coghlan and Webb (2003) and Jeffreys (2012b) considered some notable failures in sport policy due to the Margaret Thatcher's indifference towards sport. The next period, 1990-1997 shows 'an undoubted change in the government's approach to sport' (Houlihan, 1997: 94). Coghlan and Webb (2003) referred that this period has been one of the most significant for British sport due to the influence of the Conservative government of John Major and especially the introduction of the National Lottery in 1994. Under the new Labour government in 1997, sport policy in Britain received strong support from the government of Blair similar to that received from the Major government. According to Jeffreys (2012a), the Labour government in this period saw sport as a vehicle for achieving a wide range of non-sport policy objectives including health, education, and social inclusion and provided a marked shift in the nature of the relationship between government and voluntary sport organisations. Lastly, according to Houlihan and Lindsey (2013), sport policy in Britain under David Cameron's Coalition government provided an external rationale for the introduction of sport policies which were strongly consistent with the economic neo-liberalism of the Conservative party.

5.4.1. Evolution of Sport policy (1964-79 and 1980s)

The level of government interest in sport was low and largely reactive until the mid-1960s (Houlihan, 1991; Holt and Mason, 2001; Jefferys, 2012a). However, the second half of the twentieth century showed a significant change in government involvement in sport. Coalter (2007, p. 9) notes, 'systematic central government interest in sport dates largely from the 1960s' based on the publication by the CCPR of Sport and the Community in 1960, the report of the Wolfenden Committee and the establishment of an Advisory Sports Council (ASC) in 1965. According to Green (2004), the report, Sport and the Community, in 1960 was the first to argue for a planned and co-ordinated approach to sport and recreation by the government. The ASC not only encouraged and assisted local authorities to increase public provision, but also provided a direction in the allocation of funds to governing bodies and in rationalising and modernising elite sport.

According to the Green and Houlihan (2005, p. 50), the British government's intervention in sport up to the early 1970s was influenced by three factors: 'the role of sport in alleviating the problem of urban disorder'; 'increasing electoral pressure for an expansion of sport and recreation facilities'; and 'the realisation that state-funded sport could help to improve Britain's international sporting achievements'. As seen in Table 5.1, in 1972 the Great Britain Sports Council, which was known as the Advisory Sports Council was established to focus on encouraging participation and improving the provision of sports facilities for the wider community. A year later, a substantial report, *Sport and Leisure* was published by a Select Committee of the House of Lords and this was the first time a committee provided a thorough review of the public demand for sporting facilities (Jefferys, 2012a). The 1975 White Paper by the Department of the Environment (DoE) gave a clear direction to the GB Sports Council to use sport as an instrument of welfare policy, in particular in deprived inner-city areas, thereby complementing the government's urban programme and the 1977 White Paper which identified the importance of sport in improving the quality of life and its potential to address issues of vandalism and petty crime (Coalter, 2007; Green, 2004; Jefferys, 2012a). According to Coghlan and Webb (2003); Green and Houlihan (2005); Holt and Mason (2001); Jefferys (2012a), the 1970s sport policy in Britain was viewed in terms of the broader political consensus surrounding the promotion of the social welfare, an economic context of growing affluence and a politicised, bureaucratised and professional approach to sport.

In the 1980s, the scope of sport policy greatly widened. For example (See Table 5.1): in 1982 the GB Sport Council published the report, *Sport in the Community: The Next Ten Years*, which showed growing congruence between government policy and sport council activity (Sports Council, 1982); in 1987 the government stated links between sport, recreation and government policy in inner cities through the White Paper, *The government's Expenditure Plans* (Treasury, 1987); and in 1988 the GB Sports Council focused on women and young people as major target groups and also provided statistical evidence of the valuable contribution sport and recreation was making to the economy through sport-related employment and use of public-funded facilities in their new report (Sports Council and Britain, 1988). However, during the 1980s, there was a troubled relationship between the government and the

Sports Council. According to Green (2004), the organisational and administrative framework showed a continuing fragmentation and disharmony due to the lack of a coherent voice for sport between Sports Council and the two main voluntary bodies in sport, the Central Council for Physical Education (CCPR) and the British Olympic Association (BOA) who were highly critical in their observations. Thus, the incoherent nature of sports organisation and administration led to several reviews of the role and function of Sports Council by the late 1980s (Jefferys, 2012).

Table 5. 1 Sport policy in Britain between 1964 and 1989

Year	Key Sports Policies	Implications for sport policy as a diplomatic resource
1960	The Wolfenden Report gave a focus to the public involvement of sport in <i>Sport and the Community</i>	North Korean Issue in the 1966 World Cup made the British government aware of the diplomatic significance of sport
1965	Advisory Sports Council was established for the development of amateur sport and physical recreation and cooperation among the statutory and voluntary organisations concerned	
1972	Great Britain Sport Council was established; key objectives were encouraging participation and improving sports facilities	After 1970, funding for NGBs for international competitions rose to £4.0 million in 1979 indicating Labour government support for high-level sport.
1973	A substantial report, <i>Sport and Leisure</i> , by a Select Committee of the House of Lords provided thorough review of the public demand for sporting facilities	The Sport Council provided financial support for over twenty Olympic sports.
1975	Publication of a White Paper under the title <i>Sport and Recreation</i> ; sport was regarded as an instrument of welfare policy (part of the general fabric of the social services)	Sport as an aspect of the campaign against apartheid in South Africa British government dealt with sport as an aspect of Cold War policy/diplomacy
1977	Publication of a White Paper under the title <i>Policy for the Inner Cities</i> stated the importance of sport in improving the quality of life, in particular among lives of vandalism and petty crime	The government's attempt to force the BOA to boycott the Moscow Olympics was a rare example of using sport as a diplomatic resource by the Thatcher government.

1979	Margaret Thatcher government emphasised greater degree of accountability and corporate planning from sports organisations and agencies	
1982	GB Sport Council established wide-ranging strategy in the report, <i>Sport in the Community: The Next Ten Years</i> and it showed increasing links between government policy and the sport council	<p>The international dimension of sport rose in prominence by the 1980s (EU football, three Olympics)</p> <p>Football hooliganism caused major disruption domestically and internationally and this issue was propelled to the very forefront of the political agenda in 1980s</p> <p>British government support for sport was premised on elite sports potential contribution to international prestige and broader foreign policy goals</p>
1986	Rossi Committee report examined the basis of the GB Sports Council's existence	
1987	The White Paper, <i>The Government's Expenditure Plans</i> , referred links between sport, recreation and government policy in inner cities and other stress areas	
1988	New Sports Council's strategy, <i>Sport in the Community: Into the 90s</i> , focused on women and young people as target groups	

<Adopted from Coghlan and Webb, 2003; Green, 2004; Houlihan, 1991; Houlihan and White, 2003; Houlihan and Lindsey, 2013; and Jeffreys, 2012a and 2012b>

Regarding the emphasis placed upon the development of sport policy as a diplomatic resource, Coghlan and Webb (2003) noted the role that sport increasingly played in international politics, in particular the increased emphasis placed on gaining influence within international sport bodies and their potential use as instruments of national foreign policy. Before 1960s, sport was not acknowledged as being a responsibility of government, but it has been a part of the remit of the Foreign Office since the late 1960s (Holt and Mason, 2001). Jefferys (2012a) observed that there were obvious connections between sport and diplomacy in this period as British government was aware of value of sport as a medium for diplomacy or a form of cultural propaganda. One great example of this was the North Korean issue in the 1966 World Cup. Until the time of the 1966 World Cup, football had not been a big concern to the Foreign Office. However, after the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK) qualified for the finals of the 1966 World Cup, which was

hosted by the UK, the Foreign Office became more preoccupied with North Korea, a Communist regime not recognised by the British government since the end of the Korean war (Jefferys, 2012a). According to Polley (1998), the involvement in the tournament of North Korea presented several diplomatic challenges and the Foreign Office considered that the simplest way to tackle the issue were by restricting the flying of the North Korean flag or playing of DPRK's nation anthem if the team reached the final. Thankfully there was no diplomatic friction as the North Korean team failed to qualify for the semi-final, but this issue provided an object lesson in the Foreign Office's handling of diplomatic concerns associated with sport and also demonstrated the political significance symbolisation of sport.

British governments continued to be drawn into diplomatic issues arising from international sport such as a protracted concern with sporting links with South Africa. The British political context of anti-apartheid in international sport was emphasised in 1977 with the Gleneagles Agreement 'to discourage contact or competition by their nationals with sporting organisations, teams or sportsmen from South Africa' (Gleneagles Agreement, 1997). This agreement indicated that, according to Holt and Mason (2011), sports boycott played a symbolic role in the eventual downfall of apartheid and, according to Coghlan and Webb (2003), the whole issue of sport with South Africa is not about sport but about power politics. Britain's effort to formulate international policy on sporting contacts with South Africa was a clear example to show the trend towards closer tie between politicians and sport by the late 1970s. However, according to Jefferys (2012a), the developing links between global sport and politics was abruptly interrupted in 1980 by Thatcher's premiership. Thatcher sought to persuade British athletes not to attend the Moscow Olympic Games in 1980 in response to the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan in 1979. Holt and Mason (2011) argued that from Thatcher's viewpoint, sport was subordinate to the need to confirm Britain's position on the world stage and to strengthen the 'special relationship' with America against Soviet expansionism. Therefore, a breakdown of the broad consensus and a lack of sustained support regarding sport policy led to negative impact for a bid to host the Olympics in Birmingham (Jefferys, 2012a). Nevertheless, according to Houlihan and Lindsey (2013) the British government continued to be premised on elite sport's potential contribution to international

prestige and broader foreign policy goals, which was highlighted by the policy document, *Into the 90's: A Strategy for Sport 1988-1993: Sport in the Community*:

public support of excellence in sport... is primarily defined in terms of external goals, several as an adjunct of foreign policy with the objective of helping the elite performer to develop their personal potential last [in terms of priority] after a series of foreign policy goals (Sports Council, 1988, p. 48)

5.4.2. Restructuring sport policy (1990-1997)

John Major's government policy and approach towards sport was significantly different to that of the preceding administrations and was able to show a significant increase in the salience of sport for government (Houlihan and Lindsey, 2013). Jefferys (2012b) argued that Major's personal love of sport and his sense that the popularity of sport presented political opportunities that could provide benefits for sport policy development. As seen in Table 5.2, Major's key changes in sport were: 1) the raising of sport's status within government through the creation of the Department of National Heritage (DNH); and 2) the introduction of the National Lottery in 1994, which had a significant impact on sport, largely for capital projects (Green, 2004).

Table 5. 2 Sport policy in Britain between 1990 and 1997

Year	Key Sports Policies	Implications for sport policy as a diplomatic resource
1990	Margaret Thatcher's successor John Major heralded a change in government's approach to sport	A British bid to host the Olympic Games in Manchester for 1996 ended in defeat
1992	Department of National Heritage was established and raised status of sport at Cabinet level	Major was supportive of debates to improve performances at international level, which is linked to issues of national identity

1994	The National Lottery was introduced and had a crucial impact on sport and recreation	<p>At 1996 Atlanta Olympics, Team GB finished a humiliating 36th in the medal table despite generous new funding systems for elite athletes in Major's government</p> <p>John Major was personally involved in negotiations with Nelson Mandela to lift the sporting ban on South Africa</p> <p>Major sought to highlight the leading role taken by Britain in international anti-doping efforts to retain ethics and fair play in sport</p>
1995	Conservative government published a sport policy document, <i>Sport: Raising the Game</i> to develop elite athletes and facilities as well as youth sport and schools	
1996	Performances in Atlanta Olympics increased pressure to implement recommendations for an elite sport institute	

<Adopted from Coghlan and Webb, 2003; Green, 2004; Houlihan, 1991; Houlihan and White, 2003; Houlihan and Lindsey, 2013; and Jefferys, 2012a and 2012b>

John Major's government's policy, *Sport: Raising the Game* not only increased the investment flowing into sport-for-all through introduction of the Lottery, but also gave particular emphasis to reviving school sport and developing elite performance. In terms of school sport, this significant sport policy document indicated that Major tried to put sport back at the heart of weekly life in every school and to rebuild school sport 'as one of the great pillars of education alongside the academic, the vocational and the moral' and 'the single most important element in the sporting continuum' in its turn (DNH, 1995, p. 2).

Besides school sport, the other main emphasis in the document was elite sport, which had implications for sport policy as a diplomatic resource in 1990s. According to Houlihan (1997), this document focused on the development of elite performers, an elite institute and the role of higher education institutions in the fostering of elite athletes, which reflected the perceived contribution that international success could make to national identity and cohesion (Houlihan and Lindsey, 2013) and the unrecognised role in providing opportunities for talented national and international sport stars (Jefferys, 2012a). In addition to this, according to Holt and Mason (2001), the document indicated the need to improve national sporting performance, which meant not only performing with distinction on the sports fields of the world but also keeping the headquarters of international sports governing bodies in London and

increasing British efforts to host major international sports events. In particular, there was only indirect governmental support for bids to host international sports events in welcoming initiatives to stage major sport events in the UK before 1990s, but Major's government saw the hosting of major sport events, especially the Olympic Games, as potentially delivering cultural and emotional power and contributing to economic regeneration (Holt and Mason, 2001). Moreover, Houlihan and Lindsey (2013) mentioned that governmental support for elite sport and hosting international sport events were not just premised on the potential boost to national pride and identity, but also as a significant tool in international relations.

5.4.3. New Labour and Sport (1997-2010)

With the British economy in reasonable shape and with the luxury of huge parliamentary majorities in 1997 and 2001, sport funding doubled between 2001 and 2005, and with the new Labour's sport policy between 2007 and 2010, the prospects for sport were more promising under the Labour government than the previous generation (Jefferys, 2012a). Related to the 'Best Value' regime, which emerged out of the Labour Government's perceived need to modernise local government, a new social policy agenda, according to Green (2004), had significant implications for the development of sporting provision and opportunities in the UK. In detail, Houlihan and Lindsey (2013) explained two clear themes of sport policy under New Labour. The first is that the Blair government saw sport not only as a valuable tool for achieving a wide range of non-sport policy objectives such as health, education and social inclusion, but also as a significant element in the quality of individual and community life. The second is the noticeable shift in the nature of the relationship between government and voluntary sport organisations 'from one characterised by a reasonable degree of trust to one based on contract and audit' (Houlihan and Lindsey, 2013, p. 74).

The distinct features of the Labour government's sport policy were reflected in the series of policy documents during the period of the New Labour government between 1997 to 2010 (See Table. 5.3 below). First, in May 2000, the Labour government produced a sport policy document entitled, *A Sporting Future for All*, which made it clear that the organisational infrastructure of sport should emphasise the goals of elite success and the enhancement of opportunities for young people to

participate in sport (DCMS, 2000), which reinforced several priorities and programmes introduced by the Major government (Jefferys, 2012a). However, according to Houlihan and Lindsey (2013, p. 111), while sport had consolidated its higher position on the government agenda, it was viewed in a much more instrumental fashion by Labour than by the previous Conservative government. Reflecting the government's stronger commitment to investment in sport, the DCMS/Strategy Unit considered a long-term sport policy and looked in detail at how government could play its part more effectively (DCMS, 2002). Therefore, a new sport policy statement, *Game Plan* published in late 2002 to increase emphasis that put upon the symbiotic relationship between sport, education and health policy (Jefferys, 2012a), in particular focusing on the importance of increasing grassroots participation for health benefits, of partnership with those that provide sport such as NGBs, clubs, schools, the voluntary and the private sectors, and of less bureaucracy (DCMS, 2002). Moreover, according to Houlihan and Lindsey (2013), this report argued that both the two major sports councils, Sport England and UK Sport, needed to concentrate on four key activities: strategy; investment appraisal; advice and guidance; and research and evidence collection.

According to sport policies published by the Labour government between 1997 to 2010, there were some implications in the sport policy related to international sporting success as a diplomatic resource. In the document, *A Sporting Future for All*, international sporting success, in particular elite sport success was considered contribute more at the local level to the creation of a signposted pathway for talented young people than of international level. However, due to a disappointing Olympics in Atlanta in 1996 and failures to win the rugby, cricket or football World Cup, increasing the level of international sporting success was promised as a way of showing British sporting excellence around the world (DCMS, 2000). *Game Plan*, in 2002 placed greater emphasis on the importance of international sporting success. According to the document, *Game Plan* (DCMS, 2002), international sporting success generated pride and a sense of national identity, and a 'feelgood' factor. Consequently, the Labour government collaborated closely with sport NGBs from the early stage of bids to host major sporting events as the lack of government involvement in previous bids was seen as a major explanation for their failure. However, due to the difficulty of measuring the economic, social or cultural benefits

and, in particular, the feel-good factor, international sporting success continued to play a limited role as a diplomatic resource. However, successful hosting of the Manchester Commonwealth Games in 2002 provided an example of the potential of sporting events to project a positive image of the country and, particularly of Manchester around the world (DCMS, 2002, p. 33). Moreover, in 2005, the Labour government secured ‘its single most important high-performance success’ in sport policy and international sporting success: winning the right to host the 2012 London Olympics (Jefferys, 2012b, p. 5). The ambition to restore Britain’s reputation on the global sporting stage suffered with the failed bids to host major sporting events and led to enhanced government involvement in lobbying overseas and attend gatherings of sports administrators across the world to build a credible case and support in the international sporting community (Jefferys, 2012a). The new reorientation in sport policy was confirmed with the publication of *Playing to Win: A New Era for Sport* in 2008, which sought to change the culture of sport in England and particularly to pay more attention to breaking records, winning medals, winning tournaments, and creating a world-leading high performance sporting system as a host country of the 2012 London Olympics (DCMS, 2008).

Table 5. 3 Sport policy in Britain between 1997 and 2010

Year	Key Sports Policies	Implications for sport policy as a diplomatic resource
1997	‘New Labour’ administration was elected; Social inclusion became key policy direction; DNH renamed as DCMS	The “mega events” such as the Olympic Games or World Athletics Championships can only succeed if central government is closely engaged from an early stage and the DCMS worked with NGBs and event organisations to improve delivery and ensure that it has access to the necessary skills and that appropriate teams are put together to manage the Government’s involvement in major projects.
1999	<i>Investing for Our Sporting Future: Sport England Lottery Fund Strategy 1999-2009</i> was published	
2000	Labour government established sport policy statement, <i>A Sporting Future for All</i> Team GB achieved good performance at the Sydney Olympic Games	

2002	The government developed sports policy agenda and published a new sport policy document, <i>Game Plan: A Strategy for Delivering Government's Sport and Physical Activity Objectives</i>	A sport policy document, <i>Game Plan</i> emphasised the importance of international sporting success that helped generate pride and a sense of national identity, and a "feelgood factor"
2005	London won the Olympic bid for 2012	The 2002 Commonwealth Games were widely regarded as a success, portraying a positive image, particularly of Manchester. Winning a bid for the hosting of the 2012 London Olympics
2007	Gordon Brown became the Prime Minister of the UK	
2008	The Labour government published a sport policy document, <i>Playing to win: A New Era for Sport</i> , which was a departure from the sport as social instrument philosophy that characterised <i>Game Plan</i> in 2002	

<Adopted from Coghlan and Webb, 2003; DCMS, 2000, 2002 and 2008; Green, 2004; Houlihan and White, 2003; Houlihan and Lindsey, 2013; and Jefferys, 2012a and 2012b; Sports England, 1999>

5.4.4. The Coalition government (London 2012 and beyond)

Notwithstanding the serious financial crisis of 2008, the coalition government provided an external rationale for the introduction of a set of sport policies which were consistent with the economic neo-liberalism of the Conservative party (Houlihan and Lindsey, 2013). Despite the Party's neo-liberalism, the Conservatives promised to encourage competitive sport, to boost an Olympic-style sports event for schools, to reform the National Lottery to give greater emphasis to community sport, and to continue support for the hosting of major sports events (Jefferys, 2012a). However, these proposed policy changes had to contend with a difficult financial environment in which the Spending Review (Treasury, 2010) proposed budget cuts for sport and the merger of UK Sport and Sport England to save money. However, according to Houlihan and Lindsey (2013), there was protection of the funding for elite sport for the 2012 London Olympics and the government was much more willing to commit future resources regarding elite sport investment and community sport because of changes to the range of good causes and the promotion

of the concept of the Big Society. This commitment was evident in the 2010, Conservative Sport Manifesto:

Sport brings many social benefits to people and communities. It helps people perform better at work or school, and lead happier, healthier lives. And supporting sports teams and athletes bridges social divides, bringing people and communities together, both locally and nationally (Conservative Party, 2010, p. 1)

Table 5. 4 Sport policy in Britain between 2010 and 2018

Year	Key Sports Policies	Implications for sport policy as a diplomatic resource
2010	David Cameron became the Prime Minister of the UK	<p>London hosted a successful summer Olympics, particularly was adopted by the FCO as a positive opportunity to promote the refinement of the UK's image</p> <p>British Council launched and developed international inspiration sports programmes as a London 2012 Olympic legacy partnership programme and recognised the value of sport as “a global phenomenon that transcends language, region and culture” (British Council, 2017)</p>
2011	School Games was set up to inspire young people in primary and secondary schools to play more competitive sport	
2012	Sport England published a sport policy document, <i>Creating a Sporting Habit for Life</i> as a new youth sport strategy	
2012	The 2012 Summer Olympics made London the first city to have hosted the modern Games of three Olympiads.	
2015	A new sport policy strategy, <i>Sporting Future: A New Strategy for an Active Nation</i> was published	
2016	The referendum decision to leave the EU was a landmark moment in the political history of the UK and affected the potential impact on sport	

<Adopted from British Council, 2017; Coghlan and Webb, 2003; DCMS, 2012; Green, 2004; HM Government, 2015; Houlihan, 1991; Houlihan and White, 2003; Houlihan and Lindsey, 2013; and Jefferys, 2012a and 2012b>

The pledge to fund preparations for the Olympics by the coalition government enabled London to host a successful major sporting event which also generated

considerable diplomatic opportunities. The 2012 London Olympic Games was a great opportunity for the UK and the coalition government to attract the attention and interest of the entire global community. According to the report by the Foreign Affairs Committee of the House of Commons (House of Commons Foreign Affairs Committee, 2011), the FCO considered exploiting the public diplomacy and soft power potential of the Games as a tool to gain influence with key individuals and groups in specific countries, in pursuit of the UK's interests. The report outlined the possible British public diplomacy strategies through hosting the 2012 London Olympics to achieve a profound impact on the UK's international reputation. The report identified goals for the FCO's Olympic diplomacy along four lines: 'national interest' to contribute to UK foreign policy goals to promote British culture and values; 'prosperity' to enhance the UK economy; 'security' to reinforce values of tolerance, moderation and openness; and 'cross-government approach' to deliver the greatest international impact (House of Commons Foreign Affairs Committee, 2011). After hosting the 2012 London Olympics Games, the government set out a new sport policy, *Sporting Future*, to redefine what success looks like in sport by focusing on five key outcomes: physical wellbeing; mental wellbeing; individual development; social and community development; and economic development (HM Government, 2015). This report highlighted major outputs of international and domestic sporting success, which could inspire people to consider other forms of engagement in sport which could also act as an important soft power tool, projecting a positive image of the UK around the world. Moreover, one of the most important changes in this strategy was the government's efforts to measure the impact of sport in five key outcomes, as mentioned earlier, to define who and what the government fund and where the priorities lie in future (HM Government, 2015).

The referendum decision to leave the EU was a landmark moment in the political history of the UK and has the potential to have a significant impact on sport policy. According to the director of policy, governance and external affairs at the Sport and Recreation Alliance (Allen, 2018), one of the potential impacts is about reduced ability to host sports mega events because of increased challenges for fans and players to come into and exit the UK, reduced pools of workers, and the general risk of the UK becoming a less attractive international destination. The Guardian (2018) argued that Brexit could have far-reaching effects, particularly in professional sport

related to new work permits from EU countries through the changes in free movement and the increased cost of transfers that much will depend on the shape of the final deal the UK government negotiates with the remaining EU member states. However, despite this concern of the Sport and Recreation Alliance in order to maintain the profile of country post-Brexit might the use of sport might become even more attractive.

5.5. Sports as a soft power strategy in UK

The awareness of sport as a diplomatic resource emerged in the late 1960s but the concept of soft power in sport was not explicitly referred by FCO until the 2011 public diplomacy strategy (House of Commons, 2011) since when the importance of this concept has steadily increased. In the FCO's report, the 2012 London Olympic Games were seen as a great tool to exploit the soft power of sport and offered an unparalleled opportunity to enhance the UK's reputation in the world and to promote various sports activities related to soft power. The FCO's public diplomacy work in connections with the London Olympics was regarded as a priority area as it was 'no or low-cost ways of doing business' (House of Commons, 2011, p. 3). According to the report by the Select Committee on Soft Power and the UK's influence (House of Lords, 2013), sport was regarded as 'having a universal appeal that crosses language and cultural barriers' and the British Council referred to sport as 'the most accessible and exportable of the UK's soft power assets' (House of Lords, 2014a, p. 38). UK Sport identified several mechanisms through which sport enhanced the UK's soft power: through UK athletes achieving world-class success; through the UK influencing sport and sporting participation; and through hosting major sporting events in the UK (House of Lords, 2013, p. 123). Based on this impressive array of soft power assets in sport, this section provides an analysis of three different areas of activity to explain the UK's use of sport as a soft power strategy: elite sport success; hosting international sports events; British sports soft power programmes and their relationship with UK's diplomatic objectives.

5.5.1. Elite Sport Success

As mentioned earlier, elite sport success has been regarded as a valuable political resource for its capacity to aid the achievement of a wide range of non-

sporting objectives (Green and Houlihan, 2005). According to De Bosscher, et al. (2009), governments in an increasing number of countries have intervened directly in elite sport development and invested strategically in elite sport policy to produce international elite sport success especially since the 1990s with elite sport success at the Olympics considered to have substantial potential to enhance the national reputation in the world (Haut, 2016). Grix and Carmichael (2012) also supported the view that elite sport success on the international stage can boost national prestige and contribute to a collective sense of national identity which in turn increases soft power potential.

In the case of the UK, elite sport success has been the primary focus since the 1990s when government intervention in relation to elite sport began and it has resulted in a steady improvement in performance in the summer Olympic Games (see Table 5.5). Particularly important were the creation of the Department of National Heritage and the establishment of a National Lottery by John Major's government in accelerating the development elite sport in the UK (Houlihan, 1997) and strengthening the perception of the contribution that international sporting success could make to national identity and cohesion (Houlihan and Lindsey, 2013).

Table 5. 5 UK Performance at the Summer Olympic Games 1992 to 2016

Year	Total Medals	Position in the medals table	Funding for elite sport (1992 – 1996) and UK Sport Funding (2000-2016)
Barcelona 1992	20	13 th	£62m
Atlanta 1996	15	36 th	£67.4m
Sydney 2000	28	10 th	£58.9m
Athens 2004	31	10 th	£71m
Beijing 2008	47	4 th	£ 235m
London 2012	65	3 rd	£264m
Rio 2016	67	2 nd	£274m

<Source: UK Sport (2018a) and Zheng (2011)>

The recent sport strategy, *Sporting Future: A New Strategy for an Active Nation* (HM Government, 2015), emphasised the contribution that elite sport success at the 2012

London Olympic Games and at the other international competitions made to inspiring people to get involved in sport and to the generation of positive wellbeing and social development. The strategy also reinforced the continuing soft power value of international sporting success. The report indicated the government's continuing support for elite sport success in two ways: investment in the system of coaches, facilities and support staff to enable athletes to succeed; and delivering Olympic success that can usefully be shared in support of the performances of international teams (HM Government, 2015, p. 46-47). Moreover, in terms of elite sport success, the experience gained through London 2012 and Glasgow Commonwealth Games 2014 has given the UK 'the credibility to position itself as a more outward facing nation in sporting terms which is actively looking to support and deliver sport around the world' (House of Lords, 2014b, p. 880).

More recently, UK Sport which plays the leading role in the development of the elite sport system in the UK has supported the international relations strategies of 48 NGBs to ensure that the UK has a 'strong, respected and supportive voice within international sport especially within international federations' (UK Sport, 2017). This is important as the UK's international sporting success fundamentally depends on the legitimacy and stability of the organisations that govern international sporting activity (House of Lords, 2014b). Moreover, IFs' decisions directly impact on the UK's ability to be successful in international sport in areas such as 'rules, regulations, qualification processes, eligibility, new disciplines, doing issues and major event bidding' (UK Sport, 2018b). Therefore, this strategy is important for the UK to play its part in the development and governance of international sport, influencing reform, sharing best practice and building collaborative partnerships that benefit the UK in order to enhance the UK's strategic relations around the world in sport and its international sporting success.

Elite athletes' success has played a big part in projecting a positive UK image around the world. According to the Hill and Beadle (2014), high-profile sports personalities like David Beckham, Jessica Ennis, Mo Farah, Lewis Hamilton, Andy Murray and Bradley Wiggins are not only beneficial in terms of projecting a favourable image of the UK but also help build relationships with a variety of actors in the international system such as corporate partners, politicians, regulators and the

media. Martin Davidson, Chief Executive of British Council, appearing before the House of Lord's Committee on Soft Power and the UK's Influence commented that

Elite British sportsmen and women often have huge global followings, according to the British Council, enhancing the UK's recognition around the world (House of Lords, 2013, p. 125)

Moreover, according to the sport strategy, *Sporting Future: A New Strategy for an Active Nation*, UK Sport supported elite athlete's success,

we have developed a cadre of fantastic ambassadors for the power of sport, able to engage people and inspire them (HM Government, 2015, p. 46)

However, the UK's elite sport success as a soft power resource did not seem to improve the country's reputation internationally. Simon Anholt in the interview by the Committee on Soft Power and the UK's Influence (House of Lords, 2013, p. 72) said that the UK's reputation "was already just about as good as it could be" and the Olympics were not capable of causing the UK "to be even temporarily more highly regarded than the United States".

However, he also commented that:

a reputation is not something you own but something you rent, and that rent must continue to be paid. By carrying out operations such as the Olympics fairly regularly, we pay our rent and we teach emerging populations outside the Commonwealth that Britain is a rather special place and they should know something about it (House of Lords, 2013, p. 72)

To sum up, the elite sport success in the UK may not be considered essential for enhancing the country's reputation but the elite sport success and elite athlete success have shown some positive impacts of sport on the UK's soft power. First, based on the modern Olympic movement, 'the promotion of athletic competition

would increase greater understanding across cultures', the Olympic Games and many other international sports events are one of the most visible and acceptable demonstrations of national identity and symbolism in the modern world (House of Lords, 2014b). Second, the elite sport success, particularly of the London 2012 Olympic Games, can demonstrate that sport can explicitly showcase the UK as a successful nation to the rest of the world. Third, following the great performance of Team GB at the London 2012 and the record-breaking performances at the Rio 2016, there has been significant international interest in the UK's high-performance system, which means that the UK is recognised as world-leading country in the elite sport success.

5.5.2. Hosting international sports events as a tool of soft power

As mentioned earlier, many states are considering the role of hosting international sports mega-events as part of their foreign policy strategy and staging successful sports mega-events has a potentially positive impact on the national brand or image (Grix and Houlihan, 2013). In this regard, staging sports mega-events is able to communicate a country's attractiveness as well as boost national pride, thereby providing government with significant opportunities to increase their soft power (Manzenreiter, 2010).

In the case of the UK, over the last decade, the UK has built a strong reputation as one of the world's leading hosts of international sports events and has been a country that has hosted some of the world's iconic annual sporting moments⁹ (UK Sport and Lottery Funded, 2017). Hosting major sporting events for the UK has been one of the significant public diplomacy strategies, particularly improving its international reputation since 2011 through the FCO's public diplomacy and soft power strategy (House of Commons, 2011). In this document, FCO stated that it wanted to exploit the soft power of the London 2012 as a tool to assist in the delivery

⁹ Since 2010, the UK has staged the following: Olympic and Paralympic Games, Commonwealth Games, Rugby World Cup, Rugby League World Cup, Cricket World Cup, Netball World Cup, Ryder Cup, Solheim Cup, Tour de France, Giro d'Italia, Euro Football Championships, European (Sports) Championships, IAAF World Athletics Championships, IPC World Athletics Championships, World Track Cycling Championships, World Road Cycling Championships, World BMX Championships, World Taekwondo Championships, World Badminton Championships, World Squash Championships, World Gymnastics Championships and Women's Hockey World Cup.

of the FCO's objectives. First, they focused on the 'national interest' to contribute to UK foreign policy goals to promote British culture and values. Second, they stressed on 'prosperity' to enhance the UK economy. Third, 'security' was an important objective to reinforce values of tolerance, moderation and openness. Last, the FCO put a greater emphasis on the 'cross-government approach' to deliver the greatest international impact (House of Commons, 2012). On the basis of these objectives, the FCO established various public diplomacy strategies such as the 'International Inspirations' programme¹⁰; the 'See Britain' campaign; initiatives by Posts; and the promotion of the 'Green Agenda'. (British Council, 2014a; House of Commons, 2012; LOCOG, 2012). In case of the 'See Britain' campaign, the British government tried to deliver a fresh and positive look at Britain by using a series of 30 four-minutes films. Moreover, in case of the 'Green Agenda', the FCO made film, *Going for Green: Britain's 2012 Dream*, which lays much emphasis on the greenness of the London Olympics in order to promote environmental good practice for its public diplomacy work in connection with the Games. These programmes were designed to project a more positive perception of the UK worldwide and to assist in the delivery of the FCO's objectives of public diplomacy and soft power.

According to the report of how sport and the hosting of mega sporting events can have an impact on international perceptions of the UK and of other nations by the BBC (2013), through the London 2012 the UK saw the biggest increase in positive ratings, climbing to third place in the nation brands ranking. Afterwards, according to British Council (2015), the hosting of the Glasgow 2014 Commonwealth Games and the Rugby World Cup 2015 also supported the UK's promotion of international influence. More recently, the *Sporting Future: A New Strategy for an Active Nation* suggested that hosting major sporting events played a vital role for the UK in 'preparing British athletes for international success', 'enhancing the economic impact of sport', 'providing a platform for inspiring those that experience them', 'encouraging participation', 'acting as an important soft power tool', and 'projecting a positive image of the UK around the world' (HM Government, 2015, p. 43-50).

¹⁰ This programme was London 2012's sports legacy programme, which was organised by the FCO in partnership with UNICEF, UK Sport, British Council, Youth Sport Trust and the charity International Inspiration (IN), which aims to bring the benefits of sport to 12 million children in 20 countries.

The UK has hosted more than 70 major sporting events since 2010 (HM Government, 2015) and the government has considered it important for the UK to maintain and grow the nation's standing in world sport, its reputation for major events hosting, and the impact derived from those major events. In these circumstances, UK Sport and the DCMS worked jointly to support the bidding for and staging of major sporting events at the UK-level in the context of several wider strategic frameworks: First, the government's sport strategy, *Sporting Future*, outlines a series of outcomes that sporting investment should seek to support (HM Government, 2015); Second, The *Gold Framework* provides the wider support at UK-level to host international sporting events (DCMS and UK Sport, 2018); Third, the UK Mega Events Policy Framework states a series of protocols agreed between UK Sport, DCMS, and Home Nation event agencies (Tourism Northern Ireland, EventScotland, and Llywodraeth cymru welsh government) with the long-term goal to host sports mega events across the UK (DCMS et al., 2017). The strategy of hosting multi-sports (or major) events is as significant as the hosting of mega-sports events to show the UK's hosting capability, which is to ensure that the world's major sports events continue to be regularly hosted in the UK. It is important for the UK's use of soft power in sport as: First, successfully delivering the major sports events has a positive impact on the UK's global reputation and can increase the UK's brand values: quality, prestige, innovation and passion as a world leading host (DCMS and UK Sport, 2018). Second, the NGBs, cities and government within the UK continue to collaborate and work together as event hosting partners. These domestic partners maximise opportunity and impact for countries and cities across the UK including shared international hosting reputation and domestic market in terms of spectators, event consumers and supplier (DCMS et al., 2017). Third, the hosting of major sports events can support the design and delivery of impactful international sport development programmes (See Table 5.6). According to the report, *Gold Framework* (DCMS and UK Sport, 2018), the value of international sport development programmes linked to major sport events revealed that these initiatives are highly valued by IFs and can support the development of its sport worldwide and these programmes generate improved UK's visibility internationally, helping to enhance its reputation among the international sporting community.

Table 5. 6 The list of international sport development programmes linked to UK sport events

International Major Sport Events	Sport Development Programmes
London 2012's International Inspiration Programme	This programme is an Olympic legacy initiative run by the British Council with UNICEF, UK Sport and the Youth Sport Trust. More than 25 million children in 20 countries were inspired to take up sport and more 55 sport policies were influenced.
2015 Rugby World Cup	This programme was a multi-national legacy collaboration between the RFU, World Rugby, Rugby Europe and UK Sport. 17 Unions from across Europe undertook targeted development work based on identified needs across a range of areas
2017 World Athletics Championships	LEAP (Leadership and Excellence in Athletics Programme) is working across 10 countries (Argentina, Azerbaijan, Chile, Ethiopia, India, Kosovo, Mozambique, St Lucia, Senegal, Uganda). The programme aimed to increase the number of young children accessing appropriate, high quality, inclusive athletic activities.
2018 Women's Hockey World Cup	This programme aims to develop the performance and participation programme for coaches, umpires and players within Ghana and West Africa. Coach Education and mentoring support has been provided by England Hockey to the Ghana Women's National team coaches. Over 3,500 donated sticks have been distributed at the umpire training and coach education course facilitated by England Hockey and Fédération Internationale de Hockey (FIH) educators.
2019 Netball World Cup	This programme in conjunction with International Netball Federation and England Netball has focussed on upskilling coaches working with the Zambian National team and delivering coach education training in Argentina
2019 Taekwondo World Championships	This programme is working with the Nepal Taekwondo Federation and GB Taekwondo to support their coach education programme
2021 Rugby Football League	This programme, working in partnership with the Rugby League International Federation, aims to develop the sport in key continents to help grow the game at all levels and support the long-term strategy of the sport.

<Source by DCMS and UK Sport (2018, p. 32)>

The hosting sport mega events have positive impacts on the UK's international recognition. The perception of the London 2012 in the international media was almost uniformly positive (Grix and Houlihan, 2014) and the UK, particularly London

was seen as a good place to do business and to visit (BBC, 2013). There is no evidence that the 2012 London Olympic Games negatively affected that perception. Although, as mentioned by Anholt (House of Lords, 2013) the hosting of sports mega events may not significantly enhance the UK's reputation, it is obvious that the UK's profile, reputation, representation and general influence within the international sporting community has increased significantly and the UK's use of soft power in international sport has begun to increase after being awarded the London 2012 Games (House of Lords, 2014b).

The UK's use of soft power through the hosting of sport mega events not only affected the UK's reputation but also had additional positive impacts. First, the UK's successful hosting of sport mega events and high-performance system was able to couple with a level of delivery expertise that exports its service to other countries (DCMS et al., 2017). According to the government report by the Select Committee on Soft power and the UK's influence, during the London Games 'over 100 Brazilian officials and administrators worked alongside the Games organisers and in Government Departments to learn from the UK how to deliver an Olympic and Paralympic Games' (House of Lords, 2014a, p. 485). Moreover, UK sporting, transport and security experts worked alongside authorities in the Brazil 2016, and 'over 37 UK firms have won a total of £130 million through 62 sports contracts there' (House of Lords, 2014c, p. 124). The UK's high-performance system has also provided a positive impact of sport on the UK's soft power. Following the record-breaking performance of Team GB at the Rio 2016 Games, there has been international interest in the UK's high-performance system. This is important for the UK's sport soft power as: firstly, other nations place a large amount of importance on being successful in international sport (nation-building, promoting national identity, and raising national morale); secondly, the UK as a country possessing world-leading expertise in this sector regularly received requests to present at international sport conference and to meet with foreign delegations (House of Lords, 2014a).

Second, the London 2012 Games provided a unique opportunity to work with many organisations within and beyond the international sporting community, which is evidence to show the UK's use of soft power in international sport.

Having overseen the successful delivery of these Games, there is undoubtedly a positive 'glow' around many British sport institutions, with the UK now seen as a trusted partner to many in the international sporting community. (House of Lords, 2014b, p. 880).

A great example is 'International Inspiration', which is one of the London 2012's sports legacy programmes. It was not just about promoting the UK, but also about positioning the UK as a nation that cares to share the experience of world sport to benefit other countries and particularly the world's two billion youth (for more details, see the next section).

However, a hosting of sports mega-events is not necessarily positive in all respects. First, according to Grix, Brannagan, and Houlihan (2015), the perception of London 2012 was generally positive domestically and internationally, but it is difficult to assess diplomatic value of sport as a soft power resource because it is difficult to determine the extent to which a positive impact was generated on the pursuit of the UK government's foreign policy objectives. Moreover, as the UK is still placing importance on the hard power resources in its diplomacy, it is doubtful whether the deployment of sports soft power resources is able to do more than reinforce hard power objectives. Second, there is a tendency to exaggerate the impact of hosting sports mega events. According to Grix, Brannagan, Wood, and Wynne (2017), Sport England's Active People Survey indicated that the London 2012 did not lead to increased levels of sport participation, which was formally the first legacy aim of the Olympics Games. It is difficult to evidence that hosting sports mega events inspired the mass-participation in sport and physical activity in the UK. Third, some sceptics claimed that the London Olympics were over-budgeted Games due to cost overruns (Flyvbjerg, Stewart, and Budzier, 2016). Moreover, sceptics argued that hosting the Olympics is often not a smart financial move in the long-run (Jennings, 2012) and more often than not, the hosting of the Olympics leads to financial recklessness (Flyvbjerg, Stewart, and Budzier, 2016). Fourth, there is a lack of empirical research on the identification and measurement of the benefits of hosting sports mega events from a diplomatic perspective and the value of event hosting as a soft power resource particularly, in relation to international sports events other than the London 2012 Games.

5.5.3. British sports soft power programmes and their relationship with the FCO's objectives

It is not only the elite sports and the hosting of international sports mega events but also various sports programmes such as international sports partnerships, campaigns, and sporting activities through the government and non-governmental actors that are considered to have the potential to enhance the UK's soft power around the world. These sports programmes contribute to the UK's soft power and cultural relations profile of sport and meet objectives such as establishing and improving relationships between nations, making international connections, promoting the UK's experience in education and development (British Council 2014b and 2015 and House of Lords, 2014c). These sports soft power programmes in the UK are mainly run by the British Council, the English Professional Sports, and the Government sport organisations, UK Sport and Sport England.

The objectives set by the FCO, which are 'protect our people, project our global influence, promote our prosperity and manage our business' (FCO, 2018) were promoted as part of its Olympic public diplomacy campaign in 2011 which was organised along four main themes: national interest, prosperity, security and the cross-government approach to exploit soft power potential of sport (House of Commons Foreign Affairs Committee, 2011). An analysis of the aims within these areas can therefore determine the extent to which sports soft power programmes by the UK's governmental and non-governmental agencies have positive or negative impacts on the achievement of the FCO's objectives.

National Interest

The FCO stated that the national interest of the UK is integral to 'UK foreign policy goals to promote British culture and values at home and abroad' (House of Commons Foreign Affairs Committee, 2011) including democracy, human rights, global challenges and promoting young and female education and also strengthening the Commonwealth ties (FCO, 2018). In terms of promoting the UK's interest through sport, sports soft power programmes by British Council have been

considered to have the potential to achieve the FCO's objectives.

First, in terms of promoting British values including human rights and education for young people, 'Premier Skills' programme, led by the English Premier League (EPL) and the British Council, is one example to show how the sport has been used as a way to expand the UK's interests. Premier Skills is an international partnership programme that uses football to develop a 'brighter future for young people around the world through training football coaches' (British Council, 2015). Since 2007 when Premier Skills was established, training opportunities have been promoted for 20,027 grassroots coaches and referees 'to become better integrated into local communities, to develop their skills for employability and raise their self-esteem'. The programme runs in 19 countries across Asia, Africa and the Americas (British Council, 2018). A key element of this programme is the development of local community-level coaches and referees, which are delivered by the best of UK expertise from the EPL and trained coaches and referees have reached more than 1.6 million children and young people so far (British Council, 2018). This programme has become a positive tool for international development such as promoting inclusion, rights and people-to-people engagement and tackling specific issues like violence against girls (British Council, 2015). According to International Development Secretary, Justine Greening,

... Through football (Premier Skills) we can empower them (boys and girls) to have a strong voice within their communities and stamp out abuse, discrimination and violence...(Greening, 2015)

Moreover, Elizabeth Njeri Nyaga who is one of the local coaches participated in the Premier Skills programme said,

Using football and adding use of simple pictorials will bring about awareness of the issues affecting women and girls and engage the community when they come to watch the football sessions..... By coaching both boys and girls, it's a beginning to showing people that girls can do what boys can do, especially in football, in a man's game (Nyaga, 2015)

Furthermore, this international sports participation programme plays a positive role in supporting development and promoting the UK's influence. Barobi Nwako who graduated Premier Skills explained how this project has made an impact in Botswana and its development.

I have developed a counselling centre programme so medics can come and test the local community for HIV and AIDS. We have introduced Premier Skills to a disabled centre in Francistown and also an orphanage. Every Saturday I visit the centre and we talk football and life skills, while the way the children have reacted at the orphanage has been awesome (Nwako, 2012).

Second, in terms of promoting physical education to children, the London 2012's legacy programme 'International Inspiration (II)' is another good example. This programme is one of the largest sport and social legacy initiatives run by the British Council with UNICEF, UK Sport and the Youth Sport Trust (Jenkins and France, 2014). This programme was launched in 2007 and completed in 2014 but the International Inspiration Foundation merged with International Development through Sport and became International Inspiration (IN) to continue its work. According to the British Council, the success of the project and the continuing work of the UK partners involved in 'sport for development has meant that it has a positive impact for years to come such as promoting inclusion diversity, community cohesion and women's rights' (British Council, 2015: 1). According to the final evaluation report of the II (Jenkins and France, 2014), the programme reached over 25 million young people in 21 countries and inspired 55 significant national policy changes, strategies and legislative changes, including increasing sport on school curricula in 19 countries. II worked on three levels of intervention: government and policy makers with national policies that promote physical education and sport in schools; teachers and coaches (practitioners) in the UK and around the world who received the skills and accessed to training resources to make PE lessons more meaningful; and participants directly with children and young people (Jenkins and France, 2014).

According to the report of the meta-evaluation of the impacts and legacy of London 2012 (DCMS, 2013), through International Inspiration programme, the UK has been able to support the development of sport and also targeted governments and policy

makers to delivery physical and soft infrastructure to contribute to UK foreign policy goals. For example, the targeted countries are: Azerbaijan where two laws have been introduced protecting the rights of all children to play and take part in sport; Trinidad and Tobago where two governments are partnering to pledge continued support for II; India where II contributed greater recognition of sport for development; Tanzania where the new framework improved the delivery of community sport; and Brazil where II led to improvement of sports provision such as the budget for PE and sport. According to the report by Chatham House (2012, p. 10), the work 'has contributed through public diplomacy towards an increase in the UK's ability to influence, together with a great deal of international goodwill towards the UK'. In particular, it was a great opportunity for the FCO and UK Trade and Investment (UKTI) to build on the goodwill with other governments (House of Lords, 2014b) which overlapped with an area of the FCO's objective, prosperity.

Third, the British Council's cultural programmes held in the context of major events, particularly the Glasgow 2014 Commonwealth Games provided positive opportunities to provide the UK's interest of strengthening the Commonwealth ties. The 20th Commonwealth Games was held in Glasgow, Scotland in 2014 where 6,500 athletes from 71 countries and territories competed in 17 sports over 11 days (The Commonwealth, 2018). According to the research by Kobierecki (2017), the Commonwealth Games itself emphasize the Commonwealth as a family of nations with shared beliefs. Moreover, the basic principles of the event include 'the development of sport for the benefits of the people, nations, the territories of the Commonwealth on Nations' (p. 39). The Glasgow 2014 therefore is also supposed to strengthen the Commonwealth. For example, regarding the Commonwealth Games in Glasgow 2014, the Queen stated in the message for the Queen's Baton Relay that it represents 'a calling together of people from every part of the Commonwealth' and 'serves as a reminder of our shared ideals and ambitions as a diverse, resourceful and cohesive family' (The Queen's Message, 2014), which indicated a strong emphasis on the closeness of the nations of the Commonwealth which could be strengthened through the Commonwealth Games. However, the Glasgow 2014 seemed to give greater emphasis to meeting Scotland's nationalist interests. According to the research by Kings College London (Christensen, 2015), the Glasgow 2014 provided a powerful means of showcasing Scotland's achievements

and values and its ability. Through the Glasgow 2014 cultural programmes, Culture 2014 and Festival 2014, Scotland and Glasgow created 'an environment for more effective partnership and joint working' and 'enabled them to generate goodwill' forward the relevant agencies and organisations operating both a local and a national level (Christensen, 2015, p. 41). However, the British Council's cultural programmes organised in the context of Glasgow 2014 provided positive opportunities to promote the UK's interest in strengthening the Commonwealth ties and 'to build enduring relationships and trust between nations, making international connections between Scotland, the wider UK and the Commonwealth' (British Council, 2014c). The British Council's cultural programmes for Glasgow 2014 created 'a platform for voices across the Commonwealth to be heard through music, dance, film, visual arts and literature' through the exchange of expertise, knowledge and ideas with Commonwealth countries. The evaluation of the Glasgow 2014 cultural programme evaluation stated that 'This Cultural Programmes has offered an excellent platform to strengthen connections both here at home and internationally...(particularly by Scotland's relationship with the Commonwealth countries)...enhancing our reputation as a vibrant and culturally-rich nation' (Scottish Government, 2015)

In addition, Cricket has been used to enhance Commonwealth ties. For example, according to the interview by David Collier, Chief Executive, England and Wales Cricket Board (ECB),

The whole cultural foundation of our game (Cricket) is based on England and the Commonwealth. We do have natural links and ties.....Our use of the Commonwealth is much more indirect than direct..... The Hindi audience will actually be larger than the English-speaking audience. That is how it is evolving.....We are getting a truly multicultural audience watching our sport. At our Champions Trophy final last summer, I would say that 80% of the crowd were of Asian origin. That is a huge change and it is something we are very proud of (House of Lords, 2013, p. 21)

Prosperity

The second main area of the UK government's policy to be achieved partly through sport concerned prosperity. According to the report by the FCO (House of Commons Foreign Affairs Committee, 2011), the FCO is concerned 'to bolster the UK economy, increase commercial opportunities for British business in target countries'; 'to show global leadership of free trade and economic diplomacy'; and 'to bolster bilateral relationships and people-to-people links with partners across Europe' (FCO, 2018).

In terms of promoting the UK's prosperity the English Premier League (EPL) and related sport soft power programmes help the UK. First, the EPL, the most watched global sporting competition in the world, currently watched by 4.7 billion people, is one of the UK's most successful exports (British Council, 2015). According to the report, British Icon Index II, by Populus (2018), the EPL is 'top of the British Icon Index II league table with Rolls-Royce second and Jaguar Land Rover third', 'makes people more favourable towards the UK', and 'performs better in emerging economies particularly to African and Southeast Asian markets'. Moreover, the EPL is 'important in the whole area of soft power' and 'one of the most attractive aspects for people right around the world when they look at the UK' (Davidson, 2013, p. 15). The benefits of the EPL presented important opportunities for the UK's prosperity. Richard Scudamore, Chief Executive of Premier League stated that 'We have already done our 212-country business; we are very much there to help government to create a better feel, really, about the UK' (House of Lords, 2013: 3). Moreover, he argued that the presence of foreign club owners contributed to the UK being viewed as 'open for business' (House of Lords, 2013, p. 31).

Second, the EPL's related sport soft power programmes, Premier Skills, also helped the UK to be seen as a dynamic country and to build long term economic opportunities such as training provision, promotion of UK sports industry services (British Council, 2015). A great example is the case of China. In 2015, according to Chadwick (2016) and British Council (2015), the Premier Skills programme, as a cultural arm and main instrument of soft power, helped to position the UK as partner of choice as China undertakes a massive campaign to promote football and sport as part of its initiative towards consumer-led growth.

In terms of illustrating the UK's economic diplomacy through sport, these two assets of soft power have a great influence on the development of UK-China relations. The Premier League and the Chinese FA announced a multilevel co-operation agreement in 2013 during David Cameron's visit to China and both countries strengthened their cooperation in sports, including football to improve people's health and UK-China friendship when Xi Jinping visited the UK in 2015 (BBC, 2015a). According to the report by British Council (2017), this UK/China's people to people dialogue in the areas of culture, education and sport are high value economic drivers for the UK and the attraction of the UK's soft power assets, particularly sport for Chinese people has never been greater.

Moreover, the UK's sport soft power projects through hosting the London 2012 such as International Inspiration and Try Rugby, which had targeted countries, particularly Brazil had additional positive impacts on the UK's prosperity. For example, the UK's successful hosting of sport mega events and high-performance system was able to couple with a level of delivery expertise that exports its service to other countries (DCMS et al., 2017) and the UK's sport soft power programmes targeting to Brazil helped providing a catalyst for developing new businesses and encouraging existing business to grow and export to new markets. As previously mentioned according to the government report by the Select Committee on Soft power and the UK' influence, during the London Games 'over 100 Brazilian officials and administrators worked alongside the Games organisers and in Government Departments to learn from the UK how to deliver an Olympic and Paralympic Games' (House of Lords, 2014a, p. 485). Moreover, UK sporting, transport and security experts worked alongside authorities in the Brazil 2016, and 'over 37 UK firms have won a total of £130 million through 62 sports contracts there' (House of Lords, 2014c, p. 124).

Security

With regard to the third theme of FCO's objectives, British's sport soft power programmes concerned security. It was not the role of sport to safeguard British national security, but it has the potential that sport soft power objective would reinforce the view of the UK as a safe country while promoting 'the British values of

tolerance, moderation and openness' (House of Commons Foreign Affairs Committee, 2011, p. Ev19) and to 'confound negative and sometimes malicious stereotyping which can feed into radicalisation and hostility towards the UK' (p. Ev20). British sport soft power programmes regarding addressing national security issues were more specifically targeted to the Middle East countries.

First, the 'International Inspiration' programmes targeted some countries in the Middle East. According to Grix, Brannagan, and Houlihan (2015, p. 13), this sport soft power objective 'related to threats to domestic and international security arising from conflicts in the Middle East'. The II project which has been supported either directly or indirectly by the UK government has delivered programmes in over 18 countries including Azerbaijan, Egypt, Jordan, Pakistan and Turkey. In the case of Azerbaijan, the II programmes supported government and policy maker to protect the rights of all children to play and take part in sport through introducing two laws (DCMS, 2013). In case of Egypt, the II partners encouraged the integration and rehabilitation of street children by engaging them in sports (Jenkins and France, 2014). Moreover, in Jordan, young sports leaders of the II programme supported young people 'to improve confidence and sense of responsibility so that they had changed their life with full of hope' (Jenkins and France, 2014, p. 83).

Second, according to the report, *how soft power can help meet international challenges* (Dubber, 2015), the UK's soft power resource offers an important way to respond to many of the challenges the UK faces to its security and identified the 'Premier Skills' programme as one of the most important sport soft power resource helping to enhance the UK's security. This football programme in key countries including Egypt, Pakistan and Afghanistan provides positive pathways for young people by 'improving their skills, employability, and stake in society; encouraging new ways of seeing and experiencing the world through the development of creativity and experience of the arts; and offering alternatives to extremist ideologies' (Dubber, 2015, p. 2). The case of Afghanistan is a good example. According to Daud Rassol, Deputy Director British Council Afghanistan, in Afghanistan, the enthusiasm for football is great and stayed alive even under Taliban rule. Moreover, under the circumstance of many other banned fun activities and hobbies, football began to flourish, and significant achievements were made both nationally and at the

international level such as the establishment of the Afghanistan Premier League (Rassol, 2013). The Premier Skills programme has contributed much to these achievements to engage with and develop the skills of young people while promoting British values of tolerance, moderation and openness in order to strengthen security (Dubber, 2015).

The case of 'Speed Sisters' is also a good example of sport soft power initiative related to the enhancement of the British security. Speed Sisters, a female street car racing team in Palestine, is a project managed by the British Consulate in Jerusalem with funding and support from the See Britain Strategic Communications campaign (House of Commons Foreign Affairs Committee, 2011). According to this report, this project has impacted on enhancing the UK's image in Palestine, particularly among Arab youth and contributing to changing that image from a 'dogmatic and uninformed' country to a 'modern, cool, inclusive and collaborative' country (p. Ev28). Moreover, this change in perception contributed in 'the re-framing of policy conversations around counter-terrorism and conflict resolution' (p. Ev28).

In addition, many British sports soft power programmes are considered to have the potential to enhance the UK's soft power around the world. First, in terms of using a language as a soft power resource, the British international football project also plays a much bigger role in terms of enhancing the UK's soft power as a fun way to attract people overseas through learning English. Premier Skills provides 'Premier Skills English', which is free learning material to help teachers and learners of English, drawing on football-based content. It is called 'Football English' and this new language can generate influence through attraction of the UK (Wilkinson, 2013). Second, 'Try Rugby SP', which is developed by British Council with the Premiership Rugby and works with Brazilian partners, Social Service for Industry (SESI), is a good example of the way that the UK uses sport soft power to engage with young people and connect them to the UK (British Council, 2015). This programme is using the rugby to engage with young people in schools and communities, delivering education, social and health benefits in Brazil since 2012 and has been evaluated by Beall (2015) as the most important development programme ever in Brazil with generating good will and influence for the UK. Third, UK Sport and Sport England have a significant role in developing the UK's international sporting relations and

influence, working with NGBs, as well as increasing the positive impact of sport development internationally. As mentioned earlier (See Table 5.6 in Section 5.5.2), the international sport development programmes supported by the UK government generate improved UK's visibility internationally and help to enhance its reputation (DCMS and UK Sport, 2018).

5.6. Conclusion

This chapter has examined the awareness and utilisation by the UK government of sport as a soft power diplomatic resource. The analysis of the development of sport policy in UK identified four broad stages: emergence of sport policy (1964-79 and 1980s); restructuring sport policy (1990-1997); New Labour and Sport (1997-2010); and the Coalition government (London 2012 and beyond), which was the period in which sport was widely adopted as a political resource in connection with diplomatic objectives and soft power strategies of UK. This chapter has provided an investigation of UK's strategic use of sport over the period 1960 to 2018 to understand how and why sport as a soft power strategy was attractive to the UK government. Considering the data presented in this chapter, three themes will be examined in this concluding section: first, the increasing interest in the deployment of sport soft power by the UK government and the limits of sport soft power; second, the relationship between sport soft power and British businesses; third, the wide scope and range of sport soft power strategies and their relationship with the UK's diplomatic objectives.

The first theme is about the increasing interest in the deployment of sport soft power by the UK government and the limits of sport soft power. Before 1990, the UK government was far less concerned about the potential contribution of sport policy to diplomatic objectives but from 1990 sport increasingly played a role in international politics, particularly in relation to gaining influence within international sport bodies and their potential use as a tool of national foreign policy. After 1990 through the introduction of the National Lottery, sport policy in Britain received strong support from government and in the period of John Major's government, elite sport and hosting international sport events had implications for sport policy as a diplomatic resource not only to boost national pride and identity but also as a significant tool of

international relations. In the late 1990s, elite sport in terms of showing an international sporting success played a limited role as a diplomatic resource but central government was closely engaged from an early stage in bids to host international mega-sport events such as the 2002 Manchester Commonwealth Games. Since 2000 especially following the election of the coalition government, sport played a role to generate considerable diplomatic opportunities with the hosting of the 2012 London Olympic Games to enhance the UK's reputation in the world and to promote various sports activities with potential soft power applications. With the FCO's public diplomacy policy in connection with the 2012 London Olympics, the concept of soft power in sport was explicitly referred to and its importance has steadily increased as a contributor to UK foreign policy goals with following objectives: 'national interest; prosperity; security; and cross-government approach' (House of Commons Foreign Affairs Committee, 2011). However, it is difficult to determine precisely the extent to which hosting of international sport mega-events as a tool of soft power is generated positive outcomes in the pursuit of the UK government's foreign policy objectives. Nevertheless, there is considerable evidence of the government's belief in the positive impacts in relation to the achievement of foreign policy objectives.

While interest in the deployment of sport soft power in the UK has increased and the perception of UK's sport soft power strategies remains generally positive, there still exists a limit to the extent to which sport soft power is considered as a significant resource in the UK. As mentioned earlier in section 2, *UK's foreign policy and key diplomatic tasks*, the UK government is still giving greater prominence to the hard power resources in its diplomatic portfolio. According to a recent speech by Gavin Williamson, Defence Secretary, soft power is 'amazing work' for the FCO and DFID, but also for business and other organisations in promoting Britain's values. But he argued that soft power 'only works because hard power stands behind it' and 'soft power has the hard power to back it up' and that is why the British government invest in hard power capabilities (Williamson, 2018). In the circumstance that the UK is still placing importance on the hard power resources in its diplomacy, as mentioned in section 5.5.2. by Grix, Brannagan and Houlihan (2015), it may be asked whether sport soft power strategies have the ability to do more than reinforce hard power objectives. Sport soft power strategies cannot be a complete solution to major

challenges faced by the UK such as terrorism and national security. However, the nature of hard power and the opportunities to use it have changed and soft power arguably sits more comfortably in winning hearts and minds of the Middle Easterners particularly. Hence, sport soft power can directly or indirectly be a valuable and positive tool in addition to the UK's traditional diplomacy.

The second theme is the relationship between British sport soft power and business. The UK remains a major force in international diplomacy as one of the world's leading military powers but also as a country which has contributed much to international development and has a huge global cultural and educational influence, thereby coming the top in a global ranking of soft power in 2018 (McClory, 2018). This strength of British soft power can play a major part in promoting the country's prosperity as it helps the UK to develop important sources of export such as the 'higher education sector [that] returns over £14bn per annum in export earnings' and 'the creative industries [that] return another £20bn' (British Council, 2016). According to the research by British Council (2012), there was a clear link between people's participation in British soft power (cultural) programmes and their interest in doing business with the UK. The average level of trust in the UK was 16% higher among people who had participated in British cultural activities (p. 14). Therefore, higher levels of trust are in turn associated with greater interest in conducting business in the UK.

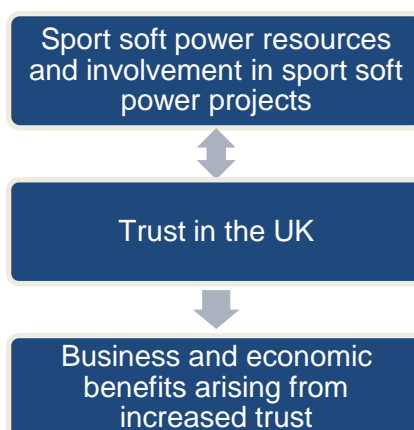
In this circumstance, the British sport soft power plays a significant role in providing benefits in the context of business opportunities. One of the clear examples is the case of the 2012 London Olympics. The FCO stated that the UK's public diplomacy activities in connection with the 2012 London Olympics was a priority area as they were 'low-cost ways of doing business' (House of Commons, 2011, p. 3). Not only London was seen as a good place to do business and to visit but the Olympics was also a demonstration of the capability to run an international sport mega-events and which led to major business around the world. Moreover, sport soft power programmes such as International Inspiration and Try Rugby, derived from the 2012 London Olympics, provided a positive impression which established a high level of trust and provided more business opportunity to work with other countries. In particular, the UK's sport soft power programmes targeting Brazil helped provide a

catalyst for developing new businesses and encouraging existing business to grow and export to new markets.

Moreover, EPL and football-related sport soft power programmes help the UK increase its prosperity, which correspond with one of the main FCO objectives, ‘to bolster the UK economy, increase commercial opportunities for British business in target countries and secure high value inward investment’ (FCO, 2018, p. 1). The EPL, as one of the UK’s most successful exports, (British Council, 2015) plays a significant role in the whole area of soft power to present important opportunities for the UK’s prosperity and the football-related soft power programme like Premier Skills helps the UK to build long term business opportunities as illustrated in relation to China. The project, Premier Skills, helped to position the UK as a partner of China undertaking a massive campaign to promote football and its business as part of its initiative towards consumer-led growth.

In summary, the British sport soft power plays a significant role in providing benefits in the context of business opportunities. Similar to the research undertaken by British Council that found a clear link between British cultural (soft power) programmes and people’s interest in doing business with the UK (British Council, 2012), the benefits of UK’s sport soft power indicate that the British sport soft power assets are strongly associated with an increase in trust and there is also a strong correlation with business and economic benefits (See Figure 5.3).

Figure 5. 3 The relationships between sport soft power and business in the UK



<Source: adopted from British Council (2012)>

Third, there is a wide range of sport soft power strategies and their

relationship with the UK's diplomatic objectives. British sports soft power strategies through the government and non-governmental actors have been considered to have the potential to enhance the UK's soft power around the world. Since the 1990s, elite sport success at international sport mega-events was considered to have the potential to enhance the national reputation and the role of hosting international sports mega-events was considered as part of foreign policy strategy to have a positive impact on the national image. Since the FCO devised a strategy to achieve a range of objectives to redefine the UK's brand image through using the Olympics in 2012, the UK established a wide range of sport soft power strategies. More specifically the FCO was concerned to: enhance the general brand image of the UK and the UK economy; encourage inward investment; boost exports; and address national security issues to reinforce values of tolerance, moderation and openness. The sport-related soft power projects such as International Inspirations programme, the 'See Britain' campaign, initiatives by Posts, and sporting activities used the potential of the Games as a tool to exploit the soft power in pursuit of the UK's interests. However, as mentioned in section 5.5.2, while the perception of the London 2012 Olympic Games and elite sport success were generally positive, it was difficult to assess and measure the utility of the diplomatic value of sport as a soft power resource and the extent to which sport soft power strategies generated a positive impact on the pursuit of the UK government's foreign policy objectives.

Nevertheless, there is a strong indirect evidence that British sport soft power programmes, which are mainly run by the British Council and its related partners and the English professional leagues, have made a positive contribution to the achievement of the FCO's objectives. First, British Council's sport soft power programmes such as International Inspiration, Try Rugby and cultural programmes organised in the context of Glasgow 2014 provided opportunities not only to promote the UK's interest in showing British values including human rights and education for young people and strengthening the Commonwealth ties but also to promote national prosperity by providing greater opportunity for developing new businesses and to address national security issues particularly targeted to the Middle East countries. The EPL as the top of the British Icon Index showed the attractiveness in the area of soft power and that attractiveness provided benefits in the context of business opportunities. Above all, in terms of the pursuit of UK's foreign policy

objectives, the Premier Skills is the most influential British sport soft power strategies. Premier Skills programme led by the EPL and British Council since 2007 showed how the sport as soft power resource has been used to expand the UK's interests, in particular promoting youth and female education. Moreover, this programme contributed to tackling international issues like violence against girls and to empowering them to have a strong voice within their communities. In this process, this international sport-related soft power programme played a positive role in supporting development and promoting the UK's influence on local coaches and young participants. Furthermore, the Premier Skill programme is also considered by the UK to increase opportunities for business and to build long term economic opportunities. This football soft power programme helps the UK government to create a positive impression about the UK and therefore have an influence on the development of UK-China relations. In terms of the security issue, the Premier Skills programme contributed much to engagement with and development of the skills of young people while promoting British values of tolerance, moderation and openness to concern security in targeted countries including Egypt, Pakistan and Afghanistan.

While the British sport soft power strategies provide generally positive impact on the pursuit of the UK government's foreign policy objectives, there are still challenges to demonstrating clearly the contribution of sport to the achievement of the UK's diplomatic objectives. The first point is the difficulty in measuring the impact of sport soft power. While the case study of the UK sport soft power provides strong evidence of positive outputs in terms of achieving the FCO's objectives, it is still far more challenging to demonstrate a causal relationship between sport soft power strategies and outcomes directly related to the UK's diplomatic objectives. Secondly, British sport soft power resources shows a limitative range of strategies. Examples of sport soft power programmes supported by the British council displayed a tendency towards targeting mostly young people rather than the general public and also towards using football in particular. In terms of considering the FCO's objective related to promote the special partnership with EU that contributes to the prosperity, security and global power, there is a lack of sport soft power strategy linked to the relationship between the UK and EU. Some examples such as the UK's hosting of the first European Championships through Glasgow and Berlin's co-hosting, sending the Team GB's largest (before the Rio Olympics) overseas contingent to the 2015

European Games (BBC, 2015), and establishing the EU programmes, Erasmus Plus¹¹ are considered as a part of sport soft power resource to promote the relationship with UK and EU. However, more well-planned sport soft power strategies seem to need to find ways of co-operating, consulting and working together with EU, especially post-Brexit.

¹¹ Erasmus+ is the European Union programme for education, training, youth and sport. In the UK it is managed by the UK National Agency, a partnership between the British Council and Ecorys UK (ERASMUS, 2018)

Chapter 6. Conclusion and Discussion

6.1. Introduction

The final chapter has two principal sections. The first section compares the empirical findings regarding the development of soft power and sport as a soft power resource in South Korea and the UK, with specific consideration given to commonalities and differences in the key findings from the political and diplomatic use of sport by the South Korean and UK governments discussed in Chapter 4 and 5. In addition, the comparative analysis examines where the sport soft power strategies sit within the diplomatic objectives of the two countries bearing in mind the different geopolitical situations of South Korea and the UK. The second section is concerned with a discussion of the utility of the theories explored in Chapter 2 and particularly the insights provided by the discussion of the concept of soft power within the context of current international relations theory. The discussion of different conceptualisations of power relationships and the review of international relations theory in Chapter 2 helped to guide the analysis in this respect. The final section of this chapter discusses the limitations of this study, provides methodological reflections and identifies implications for future research.

The thesis has been designed to fulfil the aim set out in Chapter 1, namely:

To analyse the utilisation of sport as a part of soft power strategies in South Korea and the UK

The aim was supported by the following three objectives:

- To understand the concept of soft power within the context of current international relations theory and how the concept of soft power accommodates the role and significance of sport in international politics
- To analyse the understanding and use of sport as a part of soft power strategies primarily by the South Korea and also the UK
- To analyse the sport soft power strategies adopted in relation to the diplomatic objectives of South Korea and the UK

The first section of this chapter contributes to the second and third objectives and the second section of this chapter addresses the first objective in more depth.

6.2. Comparison of sport soft power strategies in South Korea and the UK

The aim of this section is to draw out the key implications arising from the discussion of sport as a tool of soft power in the two countries under investigation. The analysis is followed by a comparison of the different geo-political contexts and foreign policy concerns in South Korea and the UK. The significance of soft power of both countries in turn are compared and then this chapter analyses the significance of sport soft power in both countries and how the sport soft power strategies have changed over the last 20 years. Lastly, the chapter analyses the use of sport soft power in relation to the foreign policy objectives of the South Korea and the UK governments.

6.2.1. Geopolitical differences and the key foreign policies in South Korea and the UK

In order to understand the significance of sport soft power it is important to appreciate the diplomatic context, especially the geo-political context, from which it emerged and within which it is deployed. As discussed in Chapters 4 and 5, both countries have some similarities in terms of being advanced industrial countries, globally connected through the involvement in the UN, OECD, and G20 (See Figure 5.2), having governments that are committed to business investment and involvement in promoting their culture and education, and having a history of using soft power in their foreign policy. However, while the number of similarities leaves little doubt that comparing South Korea and the UK is a useful exercise, the following geopolitical differences need to be acknowledged.

First, the two countries are located in very different parts of the world and influenced by distinctively different cultural traditions and geo-political contexts. Second, while South Korea's dominant foreign policy concern is the continuing tense relationship

with North Korea, there is also concern with the evolving relationship with neighbouring countries and the United States, British foreign policy has concentrated mostly on the relationships with the Europe, the United States, and Commonwealth states and the global issue of terrorism. Third, the UK's reputation internationally is much stronger than that of South Korea. The UK's reputation was 'already just about as good as it could be' (House of Lords, 2013: 72) but South Korean government has stressed the importance of enhancing its international reputation in their foreign policy.

Under the different geo-political circumstance of both countries, the South Korean and British governments have different foreign policy concerns. In the case of South Korea, the continuing tense relationship with the North Korea is the dominant foreign policy concern. The Inter-Korean relations improved between 1998 and 2003 under the 'Sunshine Policy', which clearly reflected movement towards reconciliation and greater cooperation between the two Koreas. During this period, there were an increasing number of inter-Korean meetings, exchanges, projects, symbolic gestures, future cooperation plans and even through sport such as marching and competing together at international sport events. However, due to the constant nuclear issues and the recurrence of tension with North Korea over issues such as North Korea's firing on South Korea's warship and fishing boats and North Korea's firing at Yeonpyeong Island, hitting both military and civilian targets, not all foreign policies towards the North were considered to be successful. However, sport has been considered consistently as a valuable resource in South Korea's foreign policy to relieve political tension between the two Koreas and to maintain a degree of diplomatic contact. Furthermore, in terms of South Korea's foreign relations, South Korea has shown strong economic, diplomatic and military ties with the United States and tried to develop relations with major neighbouring countries including Japan, China, and Russia. South Korea's foreign policy strategies towards these countries were designed to improve bilateral political and economic cooperation and diplomatic ties. However, due to the continuing historical and territorial diplomatic issues, South Korea's foreign relations with these countries are still relatively limited and, at times, tense. Sport, particularly the hosting of sport mega-events, played an important role as a diplomatic resource to improve or at least maintain relations with these neighbouring countries although whether sport soft power had a long-term

impact on deepening ties with the neighbouring countries, particularly Russia and Japan, was unclear.

In the case of the UK, since the end of the Cold War, British foreign policy has concentrated mostly on the relationships with the Europe, the United States, Commonwealth states and also on dealing with the terrorist threat. More recently, according to the sixth report of session 2017-19 by House of Commons Foreign Affairs Committee (House of Commons, 2018: 20), British's foreign policy objectives put emphasis on 'the capacity for protecting national interest', 'remaining an activist global player in projecting British values', 'supporting the rules-based international order', and 'leading efforts to ensure global peace and security'. These concerns reflected Britain's effort to maximise its influence within international organisations as a way of deepening its bilateral and regional relationships. The relationship with the United States remains one of Britain's main priorities and represents the most vital bilateral partnership. In an age of geo-political turbulence and uncertainty, the UK-US special relationship continues to be of the highest importance to British interests especially in relation to economic and security issues. The relationship with the EU has long been a major priority with the British government seeking to establish a deep yet bespoke partnership with the EU and European states to ensure the defence of the international order and the UK's shared values. As seen in Figure 5.2, the UK had potentially a range of options for pursuing its national interest compared to other EU member states and this difference constituted an important environment for the UK's approach to EU foreign policy. Furthermore, the Commonwealth's role in British diplomatic strategy enabled the UK to engage with a wide network of countries across the world with a similar history, legal heritage, and institutions. It stimulated a wide range of political, non-governmental and people-to-people engagement across different cultural environments, which is a more cost-effective way to develop and achieve soft power diplomatic objectives. With regard to the UK's foreign policy in relation to terrorism, the UK government considered that progress towards resolving international conflicts would go some way to removing feelings of injustice in the Muslim world which is one of the causes of support for terrorism. Therefore, the government's engagement, in particular the use of soft power, has been deployed to minimise the chance of terrorism and soft power

arguably sits more comfortably as a diplomatic resource when the aim is to win the hearts and minds of the Middle Easterners.

6.2.2. Recognition and significance of soft power in South Korea and the UK

1. Recognition of soft power in South Korea and the UK

The twenty-first century has shown that public diplomacy, which is based on soft power assets can be an important part of a country's international strategy for the purpose of promoting the national interest and advancing foreign policy goals. As revealed in the two case studies, the concept of soft power has been recognised and developed by both countries' government as a new strategy or source of public diplomacy. Recent international events such as the wars in Afghanistan and Iraq and the 9/11 incident exposed the limits of traditional diplomacy and the reliance on hard power and drew attention to a broader range of policy actors such as enterprises, NGOs, and even private citizens who were able to utilise the soft power tools of culture, values, media, technology and sports.

In the case of South Korea, public diplomacy was officially launched as a new concept in South Korea in 2010 and the government has since then been using soft power instruments as key sources of public diplomacy. Soft power assets such as culture, internationally recognised companies, IT, sport, and education has become increasingly important to expand South Korea's foreign policy resource beyond government actors to include civil society and non-governmental organisations. As a means of complementing hard power, soft power was seen as a high visibility and relatively low-risk and low-cost resource for the South Korean government to enhance diplomatic relations and national image, thereby increasing South Korea's global influence (MOFA, 2015).

In case of UK, the concept of soft power emerged as a new articulation of public diplomacy, which began to be used by the FCO in 1995 (Pamment, 2016). British public diplomacy has been developed and was most evident in the work of the BBC World Service and the British Council. More recently British public diplomacy

became more concerned with the new concept of the 'nation brand' in 2008 and 'soft power' in 2010 (House of Commons, 2016) which have been widely used by the FCO to inform the government's foreign policy strategy. The area of education, the arts, sports, media, knowledge sharing, and the English language have been considered to be important resources of British soft power to expand the UK government's contribution to conflict prevention, the promotion of British values, and the contribution to the welfare of developing countries.

2. Significance of soft power: Why the soft power is important for the both countries?

With regard to the incorporation and utilisation of soft power in both countries' foreign policy, both countries still place greater importance on hard power resources in their diplomatic portfolio and the deployment of soft power has generally been used as a means of complementing hard power. In a geo-political context dominated by the unresolved war with North Korea and the large US military presence, the South Korea government has worked hard to use the soft power as a tool of public diplomacy of its foreign policy along with more traditional political and economic resources. In the case of the UK, while the British government invests in hard power capabilities, soft power arguably sits more comfortably in winning hearts and minds of people in other countries and is considered to be a valuable and positive addition to the UK's range of traditional diplomatic resources.

South Korea provides a variety of contexts within which to show the significance of soft power and sport soft power in international politics. The realist perspective is more persuasive when looking at South Korea's geopolitical situation due to the lack of a peace treaty with North Korea, a big United States military presence, and the repeated issues which have prompted increased tension with North Korea. Moreover, the diplomatic stand-off: between the two Koreas; between North Korea and the United States; between China and South Korea; and between Korea and Japan reflect historic and also contemporary hard power relations. However, there is little sign of any movement in the hard power relationships and little scope of diplomatic flexibility in the hard power relationship. In terms of military and trade

power in South Korea, hard power is almost at a stalemate. South Korea, therefore, was looking for other means by which it could make marginal gains both in relation to the geopolitical context and also in relation to the global context and gradually realised that their current foreign policy based primarily on hard power could be valuably complemented by the use of soft power. The adoption of a soft power strategy was intended to project a more positive image of South Korea and mitigate to some degree the image currently defined by the unresolved war with North Korea, the large US military presence and the regular minor conflicts with North Korea. As a means of complementing hard power, soft power was seen as a high visibility and relatively low-risk resource for South Korea and soft power resources including sport have been used frequently by the state to support and complement a realist analysis of international relations including action designed to reduce international tensions, improve relations between states, and expand diplomatic ties to maximise the national interest.

In the case of the UK, the government is still giving greater prominence to hard power resources in its diplomatic portfolio. According to Williamson (2018: 1), soft power 'only works because hard power stands behind it' and 'soft power has the hard power to back it up', which is the reason why the British government invests in hard power capabilities. Nevertheless, soft power resources in the UK have not been totally absent from the foreign policy as the work of BBC World Service and the British Council have been instruments of British soft power for a long time. Despite a lack of obvious interest in the extensive utilisation of soft power in British foreign policy, the FCO had the chance to exploit a significant soft power opportunity through hosting the 2012 London Olympic Games. The FCO wanted to use the potential of the Games as a tool for global networking to gain influence with key individuals and groups in specific countries, in pursuit of the UK's interest, which were to: enhance the general brand image of the UK and the UK economy; encourage inward investment; boost exports; and address national security issues to reinforce values of tolerance, moderation and openness. In the liberalist perspective, as seen in the Figure 5.2, the UK has potentially a range of options for delivering impact in its national interest through various types of connections in international politics, such as highly institutionalised alliances (NATO), confederations, federations, and evolving entities like the EU. In other words, the UK through the

2012 London Games was provided with an opportunity not only to address the negative elements in the international perception of the UK, but also to target particular issues and countries. Moreover, the role of the Commonwealth in Britain's foreign policy is not only focused on major issues in international relations such as trade and defence but also on issues more amenable to soft power resources. The Commonwealth's informal networks are described as 'the soft power network of the future' (Hague, 2011), and are considered 'to embody soft power' (Onslow, 2015), and be 'excellent opportunity for the exercise of soft power' (House of Commons, 2012). The Commonwealth not only occupies a special place British history but also is a more cost-effective way to develop and pursue soft power objectives. However, there were still challenges for the British foreign policy such as economic pressures from globalisation, international threats such as terrorism and the conflict in the Middle East, the decay in international governance and particularly the UK's future status in Europe. Soft power strategies in the UK cannot be a complete solution to these challenges but soft power resource including sport arguably sit more comfortably in relation to the objective of winning the hearts and minds of foreigners.

6.2.3. Significance of sport as a tool of soft power in South Korea and the UK

Chapters 4 and 5 have examined the awareness and utilisation by the both country's governments of sport as a soft power diplomatic resource. Under the different geo-political situations and foreign policy objectives, there are some similarities and differences in the use of sport soft power that can help to analyse how and why sport soft power strategies were attractive to the South Korea and the UK governments.

First, both governments have a long history of involvement in international sport, and sport was acknowledged as a potentially significant diplomatic resource from the late 1980s in South Korea and the 1990s in the UK. As discussed in section 4.4. in Chapter 4, the scope and range of South Korea's diplomatic plans for sport steadily increased from the 1980s. The South Korean government gradually realised that their current foreign policy, based primarily on hard power, could be valuably complemented by the use of soft power. The adoption of a soft power strategy was

intended to project a more positive image of South Korea and mitigate, to some degree, the image currently defined by the unresolved war with North Korea, the large US military presence and the regular minor conflicts with North Korea. As seen in Table 4.1, sport was a significant tool of political propaganda before 1980s with much of its deployment resonating with the realist perspective on international relations as sport was used as a vehicle for the pursuit of international recognition. With this objective in mind, the government focused on the elite system and tried to dispatch athletes to international mega-sports events as president Park considered elite athletes as civil ambassadors who could promote the nation's prestige. From 1980s, sport continued to be used in a manner consistent with the realist perspective. In particular, it was the hosting of the 1986 Asian Games and the 1988 Olympic Games that heightened the government's awareness of the diplomatic potential of sport. The realist perspective provides the insight that sport has been used as a way to reduce international tensions or as a means of improving relations between states, a clearly state-centred deployment of this resource. The South Korean case illustrated the use of sport to expand diplomatic ties with neighbouring countries and reduce Cold War tensions with the Soviet Union and China.

In contrast, in the UK, sport was not acknowledged as a government responsibility until the late 1960s. In the 1970s the British government began to acknowledge the value of sport as a medium for diplomacy or a form of cultural propaganda (see Table 5.1), but in this period, sport policy in Britain was viewed in terms of the broader political consensus surrounding the promotion of the social welfare, an economic context of growing affluence and a politicised, bureaucratised and professional approach to sport rather than as a resource in international politics. However, from the 1990s, the British government began to acknowledge elite sports' potential contribution to international prestige and broader foreign policy goals, which was highlighted by the policy document, *Into the 90's: A Strategy for Sport 1988-1993: Sport in the Community*.

Second, there is a little doubt that both countries have been keen on hosting sport mega-events as a key sport soft power strategy. Since the 1980s, South Korea has hosted several international sports events including the Olympic Games, the FIFA World Cup, Asian Games and Universiade (See Table 4.5). Hosting international sport mega-events was one of the key sports soft power strategies for

South Korean government and was considered to be the most effective means of achieving international recognition and of promoting a positive image of the Korean nation. While concern with international recognition is important to the realist perspective, South Korean government's strategy also illustrated the significance of the hosting of sports mega-events as a soft power tool in relation to domestic politics such as the nation-building. The successful hosting of the 1988 Seoul Olympic Games was, for South Korea, a great source of international recognition in projecting a positive image of South Korea and particularly its technological and industrial advances and its economic achieves to the world. The 2002 FIFA World Cup was a great opportunity not only to enhance the national brand but also to improve inter-state relations between South Korea and Japan. The South Korean government attempted to use the 2002 World Cup as 'a catalyst to create popular harmony, system stability and to promote a neo-liberal hegemony in Korea' (Horne and Manzenreiter, 2013, p. 11). The significance of hosting sports mega-event as a sport soft power strategy was clearly evident in the 'five-year national sport for all promotion plans' from 1993 to present as a way of accomplishing several diplomatic objectives such as improving relations between the two Koreas through having a joint parade and between Korea and Japan through co-hosting the event and to enhancing the cultural power of the country through various sports programmes associated with the hosting of international sports mega-events.

In the case of the UK, over the last decade, the hosting of major sporting events has been a significant public diplomacy strategy, particularly designed to improve its international reputation as part of the FCO's public diplomacy and soft power strategy. Sport played a role in generating considerable diplomatic opportunities with the hosting of the 2012 London Olympic Games which offered an unparalleled opportunity to enhance the UK's reputation in the world and to promote various sports activities with potential soft power applications. The 2012 London Olympic Games supported the design and delivery of impactful international sport soft power programmes such as International Inspiration and these programmes generated improved UK visibility internationally, helping to enhance its reputation. Moreover, the 2012 London Olympics was a priority area for the UK as it was an example of 'low-cost ways of doing business' (House of Commons, 2011: 3) and it provided a positive impression which established a high level of trust and provides more

business opportunities to work with other countries. The FCO's public diplomacy policy referred explicitly to the concept of soft power in sport and its importance has steadily increased as a contributor to UK foreign policy objectives such as promoting British culture and values, prosperity and expanding business opportunities. The Glasgow 2014 Commonwealth Games provided positive opportunities to promote the UK's interest in strengthening Commonwealth ties and created an excellent platform through using cultural resources to strengthen connections between Scotland, the wider UK and the Commonwealth.

However, the hosting of sports mega-events is not necessarily positive in all respects in the UK. It is difficult to determine the extent to which a positive impact was generated in the pursuit of the UK government's foreign policy objectives and also it is doubtful whether the deployment of sports soft power resources linked to the hosting of sports mega-events is able to do more than reinforce hard power objectives. Moreover, there is a lack of empirical research on the measurement of the benefits, especially diplomatic benefits of hosting sports mega-events and the value of event hosting as a soft power resource. In South Korea, however, while it is extremely difficult to measure the impact of hosting sports mega-events as a soft power strategy, the expanding use of sport-related strategies linked to sports mega-events and increasing financial investment indicated the belief of the government that the hosting of sports mega-events was a positive soft power resource in South Korea.

Third, sport soft power strategies have been widely adopted as a political and diplomatic resource by both governments but with very different key objectives. South Korea's key sports soft power strategies such as elite sport success, hosting sports mega-events, and promoting sport development and peace-related programmes were considered to be the most effective means of achieving international recognition and of promoting a positive image of Korea. The South Korean government began to use elite sport success as a key diplomatic tool for enhancing national prestige from the late of 1970s, and the elite sport stars to boost national brand image particularly from 2010. According to the series of 'five-year national sport for all promotion plans' (See Table 4.2), South Korea's sports diplomatic soft power strategies such as taekwondo-related projects and the Dream Together programme as part of the ODA project have been supported and designed

to promote the national brand and upgrade the international profile of South Korea rather than simply to maximise the profits of South Korea's businesses. However, with the reference to the relations between sports soft power strategies and the national brand index, it is difficult to isolate the impact of sports soft power strategies on changes in South Korea's brand image. Some research by Monocle, Portland, and Anholt-GFK (See Section 4.7.) provided a helpful resource when measuring South Korea's sport soft power but it was assessed on the basis of a narrow range of indications (the number of mega-events hosted or overall medal standings at the Olympics) rather than on the broad range of diplomatic initiatives deployed by South Korea in relation to sport.

While South Korea's sports soft power strategies as a diplomatic resource mostly strove to improve the image and reputation of South Korea, the sport soft power strategies by the British government, in contrast, were intended to contribute to a wider set of UK foreign policy objectives. According to the FCO's reports (House of Commons, 2006 and 2011), the British government considered the use of sports soft power strategies not only to improve the reputational impact of the country but also to promote British values, to promote prosperity, to address the security issue through the Premier Skills, EPL and Try Rugby programmes, to contribute to the development of developing countries, and to exercise political influence through the International Inspirations programme. Above all British sport soft power played a significant role in providing benefits in the context of business opportunities. The successful hosting of the 2012 London Olympics provided a positive impression which established a high level of trust and provided businesses with opportunities to work in other countries. The EPL and its related-sport soft power projects helped the UK to build long term business opportunities abroad. Therefore, British sport soft power assets were strongly associated with an increase in trust and there was also strong correlation with business and economic benefits.

6.2.4. The Significance of sport soft power within the foreign policy objectives in South Korea and the UK

The significance of soft power and sport soft power have changed over the last 20 years in South Korea and the UK. The range of sport soft power strategies have increased in both scope and sophistication and both governments have used sport soft power as key sources of public diplomacy in relation to a number of different diplomatic objectives. However, with reference to the use of sport soft power within foreign policy there are few commonalities in terms of objectives. Sport soft power in South Korea has been an effective tool particularly in improving the national image and in managing specific diplomatic relations and overcoming particular diplomatic obstacles but in the UK, it has been utilised more generally as a political resource in connection with diplomatic objectives such as promoting national interest, prosperity and concerning safety.

In the early 1990s, hosting sports mega-events was a clear illustration of how the South Korean government utilised sport as a soft power strategy to enhance national prestige. After that, however, there was an increasing subtlety and sophistication in the South Korea's sports diplomacy and hosting or participating in sports mega-events has been a useful opportunity to accomplish several different diplomatic objectives such as improving relations between the two Koreas through having a joint parade at the Sydney Olympics in 2000 and participating as a unified team at the 2018 PyeongChang Winter Olympics for the first time and between Korea and Japan through co-hosting the 2002 FIFA World Cup. In addition, the South Korean government and sports organisations conducted a wide variety of sport development and peace programmes such as Taekwondo-related sport projects and Dream Together projects. These sports development and peace projects contributed to strengthening South Korea's sport soft power in developing countries and potentially reducing the development gap between Northeast and Southeast Asia.

While the South Korean government has tended to use sport soft power to address specific issues such as improving diplomatic relations with specific neighbouring countries, the UK was interested in sport as a soft power tool to pursue more general national interests such as the promotion of British values and culture, strengthening of Commonwealth ties and addressing national security issues. For example, the British Council's sport soft power programmes such as Premier Skills, International Inspiration and Try Rugby provided opportunities to showcase the British values

including a commitment to human rights and to education for young people. The Culture 2014 and Festival 2014, which were the Glasgow 2014 cultural programmes had positive impacts on strengthening Commonwealth ties and the Premier Skills, in terms of the security issue, contributed to promoting British values of tolerance, moderation and openness in targeted countries including Egypt, Pakistan and Afghanistan (See section 5.5.3). The UK has utilised a wide range of sport soft power strategies through government and non-governmental actors which are considered to have potential to enhance the UK's soft power and which have had a generally positive impact on the pursuit of the UK government's foreign policy objectives.

The other main objective of both governments' foreign policy to be achieved partly through sport soft power concerned the promotion of prosperity. In the case of South Korea, hosting international sports mega-events and achieving elite athletes' success as sport soft power strategies were considered to be effective in promoting economic growth. Since 1980s, staging sports mega-events, in particular the 1988 Seoul Olympics and the 2002 FIFA World Cup, was regarded as useful opportunities to contribute to economic development. The hosting of sports events contributed to the regional economic growth of the host city by promoting tourism and attracting more foreign investment. In terms of the relationship between elite athletes' success and economic growth, great performance by a South Korea athlete at international sports mega-events generated media exposure that had a positive impact on enhancing the national image and the brand perception of South Korea, which has synergic influence on South Korea's business image, thereby creating a significant synergy for economic growth. However, it was extremely difficult to assess and measure the precise impact of soft power and the utility of the economic value of sport soft power. Notwithstanding the lack of precise measurement of impact, the continued willingness of successive governments and cities to invest in sport soft power projects is an indication of the confidence that the South Korea government has in its efficiency.

However, in contrast with the case of South Korea, the British utilisation of sport soft power played a more significant role in providing economic benefits in the context of business opportunities particularly for the event-related series. The successful hosting of the 2012 London Olympics was a priority area as a low-cost way of doing

business and provided a positive impression which established a high level of trust and created more business opportunities to work in other countries such as Brazil. Moreover, the British professional football league and its related-sport projects also supported the UK in building long term business opportunities such as in the case of China (See section 5.5.3). The benefits of the British sport soft power indicated that the British sport soft power assets were strongly associated with an increase in trust and there was also a strong correlation with business and economic benefits.

While both countries' sport soft power strategies provided a generally positive impact on the pursuit of the governments' foreign policy objectives, there are still challenges in demonstrating clearly the contribution of sport soft power to the achievement of the both countries' diplomatic objectives. First, both countries are still giving greater prominence to hard power resources in their diplomatic portfolio. There still exists a limit to the extent to which sport soft power is considered as a significant resource for the achievement of foreign policy objectives, which raised the question of whether sport soft power strategies have the ability to do more than reinforce hard power objectives. Second, both countries have difficulty in measuring the impact of sport soft power. In case of the South Korea, sport soft power has been assessed in terms of the number of international sports mega-events that have been hosted or by overall medal standings at the Olympics, i.e. a measurement of outputs rather than outcomes. Moreover, there is a lack of empirical research on the measurement of the benefits of sport soft power strategies from a diplomatic perspective and the value of sport as a soft power resource. Similar to the case of South Korea, while the case study of the UK's sport soft power provided strong circumstantial evidence of positive outputs and outcomes in terms of achieving the FCO's objectives, it is still far more challenging to demonstrate a causal relationship between particular sport soft power strategies and specific UK diplomatic objectives. Third, both countries' utilisation of sport soft power shows a limited range of strategies. South Korea's sport soft power overly focused on promoting a positive national image through hosting international sports mega-events and elite sports success. In addition, under the unstable geo-political situation, sport as an indirect route and a soft power resource has been used by the South Korean government to reduce international tensions, in particular with North Korea and to improve relations with neighbour countries. Compared to the case of the South Korea, British sport soft

power has been used in relations to a wider range of diplomatic objectives. However, projects run by the British Council displayed a tendency towards targeting mostly young people rather than the public and also towards using football in particular. In terms of considering the FCO's objectives related to the promotion of a partnership with EU that contributes to the prosperity, security and global power, there is a lack of evidence of a sport soft power strategy linked to the relationship between the UK and EU.

6.3. Theoretical insights

This section is concerned with a discussion of the concept of soft power within the context of the current international relations theories explored in Chapter 2 and how the concept of soft power accommodates the role and significance of sport in international politics. The aim of this section is not to repeat the detailed discussion of Chapter 2 but instead, it will evaluate the utility and limitations of the concept of soft power including its potential contribution to our understanding of the state's use of sport as a soft power resource. The first part of this section will examine the contribution of this study in enhancing our understanding of the utilisation of sport soft power based on the empirical findings presented in the previous two chapters. The second part examines international relations theories to evaluate them in terms of their utility in accommodating and operationalising the concept of sport soft power.

6.3.1. Power and Soft Power

The discussion of different conceptualisations of power, in particular the work of two leading theorists, Steven Lukes and Michel Foucault, was considered in Chapter 2. In terms of the compatibility of their conceptualisations of power with the concept of soft power, Lukes' conceptualisation of power, particularly his second and third dimensional views of power, was considered more compatible with Nye's conceptualisation of soft power. Foucault's conceptualisation of power is of considerable interest although his focus is primarily on the control of social behaviour rather than on the pursuit of national interests by states. At the societal level

Foucault's view of power offers insight into the nature of structural forms of power and the relationship between these forms of power and how they shape behaviour. Foucault's concept of governmentality resonates to an extent with the concept of soft power as power can manifest itself positively by producing knowledge and certain discourses that get internalised by individuals and guide the behaviour of populations. However, it is considered to be of less utility to this research than the theorising of Lukes as it tends to be more easily applied to domestic political system rather than to the international political systems.

With regard to Lukes' three faces of power in the study of international relations, they were not all compatible with the concept of soft power. Luke's first dimension of power which focuses on the visible dimension of power relations is closer to examples of hard power as it involves the application of force or other forms of explicit leverage, such as financial resource dependency, to achieve the compliance of the target actor or actors. The second dimension of power looks at non-visible forms of power relations, in the attempt to capture the ways in which non-material power is expressed. The fundamental assumption of the two-dimensional view is that power can be perceived in non-decision making processes. This is not just about who or what group prevails, but who controls the agenda on which decisions are based. However, it is too focused on actual behaviour, which associates power with actual observable conflict and non-decision making power only relies on grievances which are denied entry into the political process in the form of issues. While agenda control, which set in the second dimension of power, could be consistent with some elements of soft power, the major essence of the idea of soft power relates more closely the third dimension of power. Lukes' third dimension of power, which pays more attention to the invisible nature of power, emphasises the significance of the manipulation of ideas and of people's preferences. This conceptualisation is very much at the heart of the concept of soft power. Moreover, as Lukes' third dimension of power is the power to influence the beliefs and ideas of others even if these preferences are in opposition to what would benefit them or be in their interest, it is the most effective and powerful form of power. According to Nye (2008, p. 94), soft power is the ability 'to influence the behaviour of others to get the outcomes one wants' and it resides in a nation's attractive culture, political ideas and foreign policies. Therefore, as illustrated by a number of specific examples of soft power in

this research, it was considered that the shared ideas and values form a key aspect of the concept of soft power and it is closely associated with the Lukes's third dimensions of power.

6.3.2. Sport and the concept of Soft Power

The concept of soft power is now firmly established within the study of international relations and the significance of the concept is demonstrated through the increasing number of academics, politicians, governmental authorities, and private institutions that analyse and claim to deploy soft power as part of a diplomatic strategy. In recent years, there have been signs of a growing interest in the concept of soft power which is seen as offering a lens through which to explore sport as a global phenomenon (See for examples, Grix and Houlihan, 2014, Brannagan, and Giulianotti, 2014, Merkel, 2008 and Nygard and Gates, 2013) and furthermore, the use of sport as a form of soft power has become increasingly common in political practice by governments as illustrated by the two case studies. However, both the concept of soft power and particularly the use of sport as a tool of soft power still remain problematic. The issues that remain unresolved are related to: intended and unintended consequences; measuring the impact of soft power; the lack of theoretical development; and the inadequately developed linkage between hard and soft power.

Before starting to explore the drawbacks of the concept of soft power and sport as a tool of soft power, it is necessary to analyse the empirical findings to demonstrate how sport is used to help identify and explain the mechanisms through which a state can deploy soft power for domestic and diplomatic purposes.

As mentioned in section 2.3, Nye observed that the soft power of a country rests mainly on three key sources: 'a state's culture, its political values and its foreign policies' (Nye, 2004a, p. 11). Each of these different soft power sources plays a significant role in creating an attractive image of a country that can improve its prospects for obtaining its desired outcomes. A state's culture, Nye's first key source of soft power, has been used as one of the instruments of public diplomacy by a wide range of governments to exercise soft power to capture the attention of a global

public and contribute to foreign policy objectives. In the empirical findings from both case studies, sport has been used as a source of soft power and a means of public diplomacy by the South Korean government to enhance the country's national image and by the British government to contribute to the achievement of UK foreign policy objectives. For the South Korean government, the aim was to use sport soft power to create a clear and positive image of the country while for the UK the aim was to exploit an already well-established national image. Thus, both case studies illustrate that sport is recognised by government as an important source of a country's culture and hence a valuable element in a soft power strategy. In other words, sport is acknowledged as a tool of soft power that contributes to achieving a state's foreign policy through the different mechanisms such as image-building (Potter, 2008), enhancing the nation's international prestige (Nye, 2004a), promoting the relationship between nations (Nye, 2008), and as a platform for dialogue (Nygard and Gates, 2013). Both case studies showed that the hosting of an international sport mega-event presents an opportunity for the deployment of soft power and that it is considered by governments to be an effective way to increase the state's reputation and promote positive image-building. Moreover, the case of South Korea illustrated that sport can be used as a platform for dialogue (Nygard and Gates, 2013) concerned with the promotion of a relationship between nations, in particular North Korea. In the case of the UK, the successful hosting of the 2012 London Olympics Games and the football-related soft power projects had a notable impact on the development of UK-Brazil and UK-China relations while the Glasgow 2014 event was considered by the UK government to have had a positive influence on improving relationships between Commonwealth countries (See section 5.5.3). In terms of the political value, Nye noted that government policies at domestic and international level are another potential source of soft power (Nye, 2008). Similar to a state's foreign policies, the political value at international level, strongly affect soft power 'when they are seen as legitimate and having moral authority' and 'promoting peace and human rights' (Nye, 2004a, p.11). In this light, the two case studies' sport soft power strategies such as South Korea's Taekwondo-related projects and the UK's International Inspiration projected the countries' soft power while these programmes were also considered to be positive influences on promoting peace and human rights. In addition, the South Korean government's effort to create a mood of reconciliation with North Korea and the British Council's contribution to anti-racism

and anti-terrorism through sport soft power strategies played a role in enhancing the country's soft power by projecting its political values.

Besides the utility of Nye's theoretical concept, Lee's (2009) conceptual framework of soft power helps to improve our understanding and produces a useful means through which to examine policies and practices related to sport soft power strategies. Lee's third conceptualisation emphasised the capacity of soft power to manipulate other countries' way of thinking and preferences by using ideational resources and 'international celebrities' (Lee, 2009). Both case studies illustrated that elite players and international sports celebrities have played a big part in projecting a positive national image around the world and in particular their influence was able to change people's perception of South Korea positively from the image of a divided and poor country to that of an advanced industrial power. Lee also suggests the fourth conceptualisation of soft power that presents a long-term soft power impact is in the form of 'social habits'. He describes a pattern that when the recipients tend to 'feel and think' in similar patterns continuously, then no significant additional efforts are necessary to exert soft power (Lee, 2009, p.9). For example, South Korea's taekwondo projects are considered to have a positive influence on people in developing countries, particularly Africa and Asia and develop a positive impression of Korea as a country of 'Taekwondo and Peace' which is an image that receive higher recognition than Samsung, LG, or K-pop when thinking of South Korea (See TPC's survey, 2016 in section 4.7.4). In the case of the UK, the EPL has been a top of the British Icon Index II (Populus, 2018) and 'important in the whole area of soft power' as 'one of the most attractive aspects for people right around the world when they look at the UK' (Davidson, 2013, p.15).

However, despite the potential theoretical contribution of soft power, both the concept of soft power and particularly the use of sport as a tool of soft power still encounter difficulties associated with: intended and unintended consequences; measuring the impact of soft power; the lack of theoretical development; and the inadequately developed linkage between hard and soft power. Viewed in this theoretical perspective, the effect of sport as a tool of soft power can be indeterminate and needs to be considered carefully by addressing those four specific issues associated with the concept of soft power.

First is the challenge of determining whether soft power, especially sport soft power, is a more manageable diplomatic resource than other resources towards the hard power end of the diplomatic spectrum. In other words, are the consequences of the use of sport soft power more likely to be those intended by governments? Sport soft power is seen as a 'high visibility and relatively low-risk' resource, which means that the risk of unintended consequence is considered to be quite low. In terms of sport soft power strategies that South Korea used, most of the consequences were those intended by the government and generally positive. Before 1980s, sport was a significant tool for the pursuit of international recognition. Then, sport, particularly the hosting of international sports mega-events, was utilised to project a more positive image of South Korea in 1990s and to create a mood of reconciliation and collaboration with Northeast Asia in 2000s. More recently in the 2010s, South Korea's sport soft power strategies have been more subtle and sophisticated and have been effective in enhancing the cultural power of the country, thereby providing greater visibility in the international community particularly among developing countries. Similar to South Korea, sport soft power used by the British government has generally been positive in outcomes and the intended consequences have been in line with government objectives. The hosting of international sport events and initiatives linked to those sport events generated improved visibility internationally for the UK, helping to enhance its reputation. Moreover, sport as a tool of soft power in the UK has been considered to have generated positive outcomes in the pursuit of the governments' foreign policy objectives.

However, both case studies also shown that sport as a tool of soft power is not risk free and can have unintended and potentially negative consequences. In South Korea the hosting of international sports mega-events occasionally raised tension between the two Koreas due to the North Korea's military provocations and has also led to a diplomatic conflict as in the case of the violence by Chinese students during the Olympic torch relay in Seoul. In the case of the UK, a big risk with the hosting of the 2012 London Olympic Games was ensuring security. The UK put huge resources into ensuring the security of the Games but even a minor terrorist incident would have undermined the effectiveness of that particular sport soft power initiative.

Nevertheless, most of the sport soft power strategies in the two case studies produced the consequences that were intended and were generally positive partly

because both governments were in control of the relevant resources and were the dominant stakeholders who had much greater control over how the resource of soft power was used. A further reason for reaching this conclusion is that the objectives set for soft power diplomacy by governments are often vague rather than precise. Thus, the 'high visibility and low-risk' formula of sport soft power seems to be applicable in the two case studies. Sport, as a soft power resource, is generally easier to control and calibrate than hard power resources which means that sport soft power might be more attractive to countries because they feel they can adjust its use more finely than many other resources they have available.

The second issue is related to measuring the impact of soft power. It is extremely difficult to measure the impact of soft power generally and sport soft power in particular. As seen in section 4.7, research like the Monocle's Soft Power Index, the Portland's Global Ranking of Soft Power, and the Anholt-GFK's National Brand Index have attempted to measure soft power and sport as a source of soft power. For example, Monocle attempted to measure state's sport soft power taking account of the number of international sports mega-events that it had hosted and the country's performance at the Olympics (Monocle, 2012). Portland and Anholt-GFK acknowledged the significance of sport as an element within the culture sub-index and acknowledged that a nation's successful hosting of international sporting events had the potential to bolster the image of the host nation on the global scene such as the case with Germany in 2006 (Anholt National Brand Index, 2007), China in 2008 (McClory, 2017), and South Korea in 2018 (McClory, 2018). It is agreed by all three research organisations that sport has an effect on the national brand and is a significant element in soft power. However, it was extremely difficult to assess and measure the precise impact of soft power generally and the utility of the diplomatic value of sport soft power in particular. Categorising and quantifying the impact of soft power at the international level is very complex and challenging task with few methodological examples. In the case of South Korea, the significance of sport soft power has been assessed with reference to a limited range of indications such as the number of sports mega-events hosted or the overall medal standings at the Olympics rather than on the basis of the broad range of South Korea's sports soft power initiatives. In the case of the UK, while the case study of UK sport soft power provides strong evidence of positive outputs in terms of achieving the FCO's

objectives, it is still far more challenging to demonstrate a causal relationship between sport soft power strategies and the UK's diplomatic objectives/outcomes. Notwithstanding the lack of precise measurement of impact, the continued willingness of successive governments to invest in sport soft power projects in South Korea and the continued efforts to measure the impact of sport in the UK are indications of the confidence that the governments have in its effectiveness.

The third issue is related to the lack of theoretical development. According to Gallarotti (2010) and Kearn (2011) in section 2.3.6, one of major criticisms of the concept of soft power pertains to its scope and context. In detail, there is a limit on the applicability of soft power in inter-state relations as states hold different ideas about appropriate behavior, possess divergent interests and operate within different diplomatic context. Consequently, while the influence of soft power can be identified its use cannot be generalised to refer to the larger patterns of global politics (Checkel, 2001). Unfortunately, in this context, Nye fails to offer much in the way of a solution regarding discussions of non-Western cases. Therefore, the empirical example of South Korea as a non-Western state which has geopolitical differences and also as a middle range power state illustrates the wide (different) applicability of soft power and sport soft power in particular. First, South Korea illustrated the deployment of sport soft power strategies in an unstable geopolitical position characterized by: a) the big military presence of the United States; and b) the repeated issues of tension with North Korea; and c) geopolitical constraints on its hard power throughout its history such as the diplomatic stand-off between China and South Korea and between Korea and Japan. The South Korean government, therefore, was looking for other areas where it could make marginal gains both in relation to the geopolitical context and also in relation to the global context and began to use sport as an indirect route and as a soft power resource to play a role in reducing international tensions, improving relations between states, and expanding diplomatic ties to maximise the national interest. In this sense, the geographical positioning and limits of South Korea's geopolitics surrounded by bigger states can be transcended by soft power strategies and South Korea's soft power and sport soft power in particular are regarded as an alternative to, rather than an extension of, hard power. Second, South Korea as one of the middle-range powers utilised different elements in its efforts to use sport as a soft power diplomatic tool. In terms

of emerging middle powers' aim at strengthening the international profile (Watson, 2012), the South Korean government firstly invested heavily in hosting international sports events and elite sports success. Hosting of a number of international sports events since 1980s and the investment in the elite sport system were the South Korean government's strategy to strengthen its profile not only to enhance international prestige but also to have a positive influence on the national image. The second element of the sport soft power strategy of South Korea was the involvement in international sport NGOs, particularly, to seek the appointment of South Koreans to influential posts in international sport NGO and to promote exchanges and cooperation through the sport MOU. South Korea's sport development and peace initiatives as the third element has led to an image of middle powers as being good international citizens. In particular, South Korea's sport-related ODA projects such as Dream Together and Taekwondo-related projects, which contributed to progress towards the MDGs, have often been placed in soft power strategic framework to promote the national vision on the basis of shared experience and development of partnerships.

The fourth issue is related to the inadequately developed linkage between hard and soft power. There are several debates on this hard and soft power relationship. First, whether soft power is an alternative to the use of hard power in sensitive regional politics and whether it is regarded as weakness rather than strength (Watson, 2012). The South Korean government, in an unstable and constrained geopolitical context, has used soft power resources in its foreign policy along with more traditional political and economic resources. However, due to the lack of clear signs of movement and little scope of diplomatic flexibility in the deployment of hard power such as military and trade, the use of soft power resources in South Korea are regarded as a valuable alternative to the use of hard power. In case of the UK, despite a lack of obvious interest in the extensive utilisation of soft power in British foreign policy, there has been a continued steady growth and a greater recognition of the soft power and sport soft power in particular. Soft power strategies in South Korea and also in the UK cannot be a complete solution to the challenges for both countries' foreign policy but relying on soft power is not an indication of weakness and is more accurately conceptualised positively as complementary to other forms of power. The second debate is the whether state-

centric approach to soft power is a mere extension of a state's coercive hard power (Nye, 2011). In this sense, it is difficult to draw a clear distinction between a country's use of soft or hard power to shape the behaviour of others in a way that furthers its interests as hard power and soft power can reinforce and undermine each other. For example, Britain's deployment of hard power in Afghanistan and Iraq undermined its soft power. However, Britain's sport soft power strategies such as International Inspiration, Premier Skills and the case of Speed Sisters are related to the enhancement of British security while promoting British values of tolerance, moderation and openness. In the case of South Korea, the adoption of sport soft power strategies was intended to mitigate to some degree the image currently defined by the unresolved war with North Korea. Therefore, in case of the both countries, it seems that hard and soft power are interdependent, and the use of soft power is not merely an extension of hard power. The third debate concerns whether soft power can support a more effective exercise of hard power as a part of, or interrelated to, hard power (Gallarotti, 2011 and Watson, 2012). In this sense, both case studies illustrated that soft power and sport soft power are considered to be valuable and positive additions to their traditional diplomatic resources although there still exist challenges to demonstrate clearly the contribution of sport soft power to the achievement of the both countries' diplomatic objectives, which raised the question of whether soft power and sport soft power strategies have the ability to do more than reinforce hard power objectives.

6.3.3. Sport Soft Power in context of International Relation Theory

The international relation theories identified in Chapter 2 were of considerable value in guiding the application of the concepts of soft power and sport soft power. The research findings indicated that the liberal perspective had considerable capacity to accommodate the role and significance of sport soft power in international relations. However, given the extent to which the realist perspective can also accommodate the use of sport soft power, the findings emphasised the need for caution in associating sport soft power with one particular perspective on international relations.

With reference to the liberalist perspective, the concept of soft power is generally close to the liberal tradition (Gallarotti, 2011), particularly the neoliberal perspective (Nye, 2011). Soft power for liberalists emphasises the possibility of cooperation and the power of ideas and reduces the emphasis on the reliance on war and military power found in the realist perspective. Nye (2011) noted that liberalists emphasised the important political resources of democracy, economic interdependence, and international institutions and were consequently more inclined to value soft power resources. Furthermore, the neoliberal perspective also takes account of a broader range of political actors including international sport NGOs and supports the examination of the use of international organisations as arenas within which to pursue state interests. Moreover, the increased global profile of international sport NGOs encouraged governments to explore the potential value of sport in facilitating cooperation between states. In this theoretical perspective, the research findings confirmed that sport soft power fits more closely with the neoliberal perspective of international relations as both countries adopted sport soft power strategies that acknowledged, partially at least, the autonomy of sport as a political resource and the significance of international sport NGOs. For example, since 1993 the South Korean government sought the appointment of South Koreans to influential posts in international sport NGO (361 staff in 2015) and the promotion of exchanges and cooperation through the sport MOUs (35 countries and with 56 NOCs in 2015) for the objective of obtaining increased involvement and prominence in international sport NGOs, which was part of a strategy to enhance the value of other sport soft power resources such as hosting opportunities and ranking in medals tables. Furthermore, both countries' international cooperation projects with international NGOs such as taekwondo-related projects and Dream Together by South Korea and International Inspiration by UK sought to develop a stronger global profile on non-sport issues (such as achieving the MDGs) and provide further evidence to support the neoliberal view of international relations. In the case of the UK, sport soft power strategies highlighted the role and significance of non-state actors (such as international sports partnerships, campaigns, and sporting activities through the English professional sports) and these sport soft power strategies indicated the capacity of transnational organisations to function as relatively independent actors on the international stage.

However, the research findings also show the need for analysing the significance of sport soft power in relation to the different major IR perspectives to understand and explain the broader patterns in the relationship between the state and sport and to explain more comprehensively why states utilise sport soft power in international politics. First, the realist perspective cannot be ignored when analysing South Korea's geopolitical situation because almost all examples of the deployment of sports soft power through South Korea's government and non-governmental organisations have clearly been linked to the unstable geo-political position of South Korea and to the government's desire to influence the behaviour of other states. Moreover, South Korea's sport soft power strategies are very much government centred and reflect a government-driven strategy to support and complement a realist analysis of international relations including action designed to reduce international tensions (in particular with North Korea) and improve relations between states (in particular with neighbour countries, China and Japan which are characterised by historic and contemporary hard power relations). Moreover, in the realist perspective, there is weak evidence of international sport NGOs' power and there is little evidence of those sports NGOs influencing state's policy in South Korea. In case of the UK, adopting the realist perspective, the government still places greater importance on hard power resources in their diplomatic portfolio such as the Britain's role in the overthrow of the Taliban in Afghanistan in 2002, in the dismantling of the al Qaeda network in late 2002 and the decision to go to war in Iraq. There has been criticism that the British military intervention played a role in motivating terrorism so that the government must prioritise the stabilisation of a country. In this respect, the realist perspective provides the insight that British sport soft power programmes have been designed in part to address national security issues more specifically targeted to the Middle East countries and counter, to some extent, the antipathy towards Britain. More generally sport soft power has been designed to reinforce the view of the UK as a safe country while promoting 'the British values of tolerance, moderation and openness' as a way of minimising the threat of terrorism.

Second, constructivism provides another perspective which argues that sport soft power plays a part in both countries in the construction or reconstruction of their national image and identity. For example, South Korea has been effective in

exploiting the flexibility of sport soft power in the construction of an international image. Hosting of international sports mega-events, in particular the 1988 Olympics Games and the 2002 FIFA world cup, was used to promote national prestige and brand identity while the march with North Korea under a joint flag at the 2002 Busan Asian Games promoted a united national identity aimed at strengthening mutual understanding and shared cultural identity (as 'multicultural') and enhancing inter-Korean relations. In addition, elite sport success and sport development and peace projects were considered to be a great resource to project South Korea's identity to the world. In the case of the UK, the successful hosting of the 2012 London Olympic Games provided a positive impact on the national image, in particular enhancing Britain's international image as modern, open, creative and dynamic. In the constructivist perspective, the prominence of both countries in hosting international sport mega-events and sport development and peace initiatives indicate the potential of sport soft power to play an important role in constructing or reconstructing a national image and also impacting on the formation of national identity.

However, although realist and constructivist provide valuable insight to understand the role and importance of sport soft power in international relations, these paradigms give less emphasis to considering the significance of soft power and sport as a tool of soft power than the neoliberal perspective. Moreover, the changing nature of international relations and the risk of the use of traditional military forms of power drew the attention of governments to a broader range of political actors such as enterprises, NGOs, and even private citizens who are able to utilise soft power, thereby acknowledging the greater insight provided by the neoliberal perspective.

6.4. Conclusion

The final chapter has examined first, the contribution of this study in enhancing our understanding of the utilisation and limitations of sport soft power based on the empirical findings in the two case studies and second, how the role and significance of sport soft power can be accommodated in international relations theory. Notwithstanding the different geo-political contexts and foreign policy

concerns, the findings from the case studies demonstrate that sport is a clear and prominent element in the soft power strategy in both countries.

First, both countries recognised, although only slowly in the UK, the flexibility and usefulness of soft power and sport soft power in particular as a resource in pursuit of political and diplomatic objectives. As highlighted throughout the chapter, sport soft power strategies have been widely adopted by the South Korean government in a variety of different ways such as the pursuit of elite sport success, hosting sports mega-events, and promoting sport development and peace-related programmes, which were considered to be the most effective means of achieving international recognition, promoting a positive image of South Korea and of managing diplomatic relations. Sport soft power was utilised in the UK to contribute to a wider range of foreign policy objectives, not only to improve the reputational impact but also to promote British values, prosperity, and to address the security issue.

Second, the findings from the two case studies reinforce the point that sport soft power is a high visibility and relatively low-risk resource. In terms of sport soft power strategies that both countries used, most of the consequences were those intended by the government and were generally positive. In particular, the hosting of international sport mega-events generated improved visibility internationally for both countries. Moreover, sport soft power has been considered to have generated positive outcomes in the pursuit of the both government's foreign policy objectives. However, both case studies also showed that sport soft power is not risk free and can have potentially negative consequences. The obvious risk in the UK was that even a minor terrorism attack incident during the 2012 London Olympic Games would have undermined the effectiveness of sport soft power. Nevertheless, most of the sport soft power strategies in the two case studies produced the consequences that were intended and were generally positive.

Third, in neither case can soft power and sport soft power be considered to have been a replacement for hard power. Both countries still place greater importance on hard power resources in their diplomatic portfolio and the deployment of soft power has generally been used as a means of complementing hard power. However, due to the limited scope for diplomatic flexibility in the deployment of hard

power, the use of soft power resources in South Korea are regarded as a valuable alternative to the use of hard power. In case of the UK, despite a lack of obvious interest in the extensive utilisation of soft power in British foreign policy, there has been a continued steady growth and a greater recognition of the value of the soft power and sport soft power in particular.

Limitations of this study and a reflection on the research process have also been highlighted throughout this chapter. First, there were few significant limitations in terms of the two countries that were subject of this research. However, one limitation is in relation to the capacity to generalise about the concept of sport soft power. In order to make a general statement about the usefulness of sport soft power, it is suggested that the research needs to look at a broader range of countries, particularly countries that are not generally considered to be major sport powers and that consequently have not had access to significant sport soft power resources. Sport soft power resources are, to some extent, limited to successful countries in sport and generally rich countries that are capable of hosting international sport mega-events. In relation to sport soft power, it does not always work with other smaller countries. For example, Singapore's sport policy of employing foreign 'mercenaries' has drawn criticism from within Singapore as well as from neighbouring southeast Asian countries such as Malaysia, Indonesia and Thailand (Houlihan and Zheng, 2015). Therefore, the major limitation is our understanding of the utility of sport soft power beyond the rich and successful sporting countries. Moreover, other countries where the use of sport soft power has resulted in negative outcomes include Qatar's hosting of the 2022 World Cup where the dominant international media coverage has been of its poor treatment of the foreign workers and India's hosting of the 2010 Commonwealth Games where the dominant narrative was of inefficacy and poor planning.

Not only is it the case that the same range of sport soft power strategies are not available to all countries it is also the case that not all soft power strategies are successful. As the example of Singapore illustrated the importing of foreign talent resulted in criticism both domestically and abroad. Both the UK and South Korea avoided a heavy reliance on foreign talent and confined their sport soft power strategies to projects that had a history of success like a positive domestic and international reception such as hosting events and developing home-grown talent.

Second, in terms of reflections on the research process, data was collected through qualitative document analysis and semi-structured interviews. Throughout the document analysis process in both countries, no significant problems were encountered. In case of South Korea, official government documents which are only published directly by state authorities and collected from National Archives of Korea, examples of which include the MOFA, MCST, KOC, and the organising committees for the summer and winter Olympics and FIFA World Cup, were analysed. In case of the UK, the core documents were easily accessed through the websites of relevant organisations. For example, documents published by the government's two sports agencies, UK Sport and Sport England; and sport policy documents from DCMS, FCO and House of Commons such as strategic plans and annual reviews.

With reference to the semi-structured interviews, one potential limitation is that the sourcing of interviewees in the UK encountered some problems. Many leading figures associated with the London Olympics were not available for interview as they had already moved on to other departments or had left the original organisations. However, to overcome this problem, it was possible to access the rich printed literatures such as the government reports, policy documents, and also newspaper quotes. In particular, the reports in the form of interviews by the Select Committee on soft power and the UK's Influence (House of Lords, 2013; 2014a; 2014b; 2014c) was very rich oral and written evidence for analysis. In case of South Korea, for analysing the use of sport soft power for diplomatic influence with neighbouring countries, it would be valuable to conduct an interviews in Japan for their view of the 2002 FIFA World Cup and North Korea for their view of the 2002 Asian Games and the 2002 and 2018 Olympics Games. However, a lack of research funds and the difficulties in tracking down key people in Japan and of data accessibility in North Korea restricted the number of interviews conducted. Although constraints were placed on the data collection process, fortunately, it was possible to conduct interviews with the personnel from key governmental and private sector organisations at the recommendation of my boss at the previous office. As outlined in Chapter 3, all of the interviewees held a senior position and were key policy makers within their organisation so that they expressed interest in the research area and sought to provide as much information as possible to help collect a lot of rich data.

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Appendix 1: List of Interviewees

Date	Position	Organisation
16/05/2016	Deputy Director of Public Diplomacy Division	Ministry of Foreign Affairs
16/05/2016	Second Secretary of Cultural Cooperation Division	Ministry of Foreign Affairs
23/05/2016	Deputy Director of International Sports Division, Sports Policy Office	Ministry of Culture, Sports and Tourism
23/05/2016	Director of International Sports Division, Sports Policy Office	Ministry of Culture, Sports and Tourism
23/06/2016	Director General of International Affairs	Korean Sport and Olympic Committee
03/05/2016	Secretary General	International Sports Diplomacy Institute
25/07/2017	Deputy Director	International Sports Diplomacy Foundation

Appendix 2: Example Interview questions

Interview questions for the MOFA

<About the exchange and cooperation of sports diplomacy>

- How important is sport considered to be by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs as a diplomatic resource?
- What are the roles and objectives of MOFA to strengthen sports diplomacy?
- The MCST and MOFA as the government sector and KOC as the private sector are in charge of establishing sports diplomatic strategies. Who sets the objectives for sport diplomacy? And how three different bodies maintain the mutually cooperative relationship?
- To what extent do you think the independent governmental body for sports diplomacy is necessary for efficient unification of tasks?

<About hosting international sports mega-events as a soft power strategy>

- What impact do you think hosting sport mega-events had on the improvement of nation brand and relations between nations? And how is impact measured?
- What are the MOFA's sports diplomatic strategies through hosting sport mega-events?
- To what extent do you think hosting the 2002 FIFA World Cup and Asian Games contributed to the prestige and brand image of South Korea? And how is it measured?
- What are the MOFA's valuation criteria for successful hosting of sports mega-events and how do you measure it? In terms of sports diplomatic perspectives, to what extent do you consider S Korea's successful hosting of sports mega-events?

<Sport as a strategy of soft power and as a public diplomacy means>

- How is sport utilized by the MOFA as a public diplomatic means?

- In terms of sport diplomatic strategies, what do you think if there is a legacy that lasts through hosting international sports events?
- Do the MOFA (or any Korean cultural organization) have any international programmes or strategies to use 'sport' as a soft power strategy?
- PyeongChang's Dream Programme has achieved an excellent result by using sport as a soft power strategy. But, this programme is mainly focus on people who are from developing countries. How does the MOFA use sport as a strategy of soft power for diplomatic (for advanced countries) but also domestic?
- In terms of public diplomacy for unification of North and South Korea, what impact do you think hosting sport mega-events had on the inter-Korean relations?

Appendix 3: List of government documents

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<p>The official government documents collecting from the National Archives of Korea</p> <p>National Archives of Korea (NAK). (1979). BA0084905. A plan to host Olympic Games in Seoul, South Korea.</p> <p>NAK (1982). HA0001892. A comprehensive plan for hosting the 1988 Seoul Olympic Games.</p> <p>NAK (1984). HA0001829. Analysis of economic effect and influence of the 1988 Seoul Olympic Games.</p> <p>NAK (1987). BA0117766. A management of the Seoul Olympic Organizing Committee.</p> <p>NAK (1988). IA0001863. A report of result of the 1988 Seoul Olympic Games.</p> <p>NAK. (1993). C11M30381. A five-year plan for the National Sports Promotion Act. The First Edition.</p> <p>NAK (1997). C11M02923. A report of the 1997 Muju and Chunju Winter Universiade [White Paper].</p> <p>NAK (1998). BA0196861. A five-year plan for the National Sports Promotion Act. The Second Edition.</p> <p>NAK (1999). C11M06754. The 4th Kangwon Asian Winter Games Official Report. The 4th Kangwon Asian Winter Games Organizing Committee.</p> <p>NAK (2003). C11M40999. A five-year plan for the National Sports Promotion Act. The Third (participative government) Edition.</p> <p>NAK. (2002): DA1292083. A study on strategies of promoting a national brand: focusing on the 'Dynamic Korea'.</p> <p>NAK. (2003): DA0534649. Understanding development of changes of South Korean national brand image. Since hosting 2002 FIFA World Cup by KOTRA (Korea Trade-investment Promotion Agency).</p> <p>NAK (2016). South Korean sports policy and system. National Archives of Korea.</p>
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