

# Play the Game magazine 2013

home for the homeless questions in sport



*Governance: Calling for reforms in sport*



*Match-fixing: Fighting the problem globally*



*Mega-events: Rethinking the local legacy*

stepping up for democracy in sport

stories from the eighth world communication conference on sport and society

Aarhus, Denmark • 28-31 October 2013

## Play the Game 2013 conference magazine

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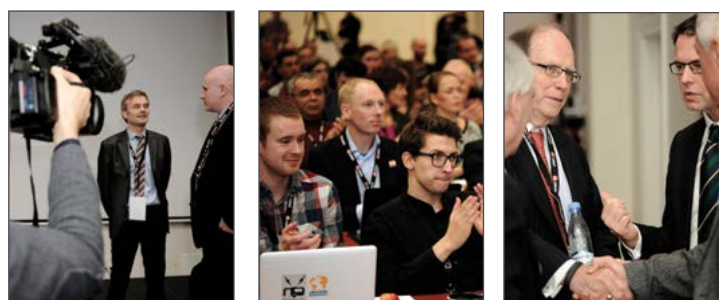
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The following magazine does not claim to paint a full picture of world sport – not even of Play the Game 2013. We have selected among articles already written about our 2013 conference in Aarhus and added new articles highlighting issues that need urgent consideration by the global sports community. Many valuable contributions have been sacrificed in the editorial process, but you can find most of the conference covered on video, slides and text at: [www.playthegame.org/2013](http://www.playthegame.org/2013)

We would like to thank our sponsors and partners who added value to a successful conference. See page 34.



## EDITORIAL



by Jens Sejer Andersen,  
international director, Play the Game

The most high-ranking host of the upcoming FIFA World Cup, the Brazilian President Dilma Rousseff, has a motto that sport could benefit from adopting.

She, who endured torture and imprisonment under the Brazilian military rule, says that she always prefers the noise from the free press to the funeral silence of dictatorships.

It is fair to say that Brazil has added its share of democratic noise to the international football and sports community lately.

It was no coincidence that FIFA's Confederations Cup in June 2013 gave rise to some of the biggest political demonstrations in modern Brazil, where hundreds of thousands took to the streets. In the eyes of the protesters, the global football events embodied all the shortcomings of the Brazilian society: the widespread corruption, the social inequality, the wrong use of public money.

The Brazilian activists are not alone in breaking the funeral silence that dominated world sports politics for decades. Over the past couple of years, taboos have fallen in great numbers.

A turning point was October 2010 with the revelations of corruption in FIFA's selection of World Cup hosts, followed by a number of scandals that forced FIFA to promise reforms. So far the reforms have stopped at the threshold to FIFA President Sepp Blatter's own office, but the reform agenda will not go away.

In sports like weightlifting, table tennis, handball and cycling, impatient sports leaders have tried to overthrow presidents charged with corruption or mismanagement, so far only with success in cycling.

Simultaneously we have seen a growing global awareness of how organised crime has invaded football and other sports with match-fixing and other illegal activities, and the ground has been prepared for a seismic shift in global sports policy.

This shift can be summarised in very few words: A

# Making democratic noise in sport

worldwide demand for better governance in sport.

This demand is on top of the agenda of transnational institutions like the European Union, the Council of Europe and the Commonwealth countries, and it was a key item on the wish list when UNESCO gathered sports ministries from 137 countries in Berlin in May 2013.

The world has begun to understand that good governance is an indispensable premise if sports organisations are to be trusted and relevant partners in fighting the threats to sport and to society that dominate this magazine about our Play the Game 2013 conference: Match-fixing, doping, corruption, excessive events and decreasing physical activity.

Without more democratic, transparent and accountable structures, sports organisations will remain part of the problems rather than drivers of the solutions.

No sports organisation has so far taken any step to improve its own behaviour without strong democratic noise from the outside. Therefore it is of paramount importance that we maintain a public pressure on sport from the outside.

We can appreciate that it is finally legitimate to ask for democracy, transparency and freedom of expression, as Play the Game has done since 1997.

But we must also acknowledge the risk that good governance can end up as a buzzword that will make politicians, sports leaders and conference organisers feel good – without any consequence in reality.

Therefore, Play the Game will assume a double role in the years to come. We will continue to serve as a platform for exposure of sport's darkest sides, and we will engage even more with those forces who wish to shape a better sports community.

A partnership we had with six European Universities and the European Journalism Centre has led to the creation of the Sports Governance Observer, a scientifically based tool to measure sports governance.

With this tool we wish to open the doors for a dialogue with sport, so we can together make a bit of democratic noise and drive the funeral silence out of sport.



## Declan Hill's bullshit detector

*There is a catalogue of clichés in the debate on match-fixing, and they will not help reduce the problem, said former Play the Game Award winner Declan Hill.*

by Marcus Hoy

Certain phrases in the English language mean the exact opposite of their dictionary definition, Canadian match-fixing exposé Declan Hill told the Play the Game conference. These include such terms as 'centre of excellence' and 'world class'.

In the area of match-fixing, 'red flags of bullshit' can be a handy tool to gauge the sincerity of the person making the statement, Hill said. Phrases like 'I don't see many fixes on the gambling market' and 'the problem is illegal betting' imply that the speaker is content to ignore the problem, the investigative journalist and PhD said in his conference address.

Successful fixes are those that go undetected by the betting industry, Hill pointed out. A bet's legality in a particular jurisdiction is irrelevant, he said, as certain bets are legal in some nations and illegal in others. The assertion that match-fixing is usually carried out by young, naive players also registered highly on Hill's faecal radar.

"An argument that you will hear from football offi-

cial is that most players involved in fixing are young and impressionable," he said. "This is just not true. Young people are the last people that fix. Often the younger players are left out of the fixing process."

In his speech, Hill detailed a global match-fixing network allegedly controlled by Dan Tan, an Asian businessman who was arrested by Singapore police in September 2013. While Tan's was not the only match-fixing network in existence, he said, it has likely contributed to the corruption of football in numerous nations across the world.

Generally, Hill said, the players that succumb to temptation are those who have financial problems – those who are owed money from their clubs, have no medical benefits, or are nearing the end of their career. These players' bottom line is their financial situation, he said.

"You don't get these guys [to refuse to fix] by appealing to their ethics," Hill said. "When Dan Tan says that he will pay you he actually will – which is more than can be said for many football officials."

“Thank you for a great conference. Play the Game is an extremely important organisation – in my eyes the most important – within the area of sport and society. I look forward to new conferences and exciting collaborations with you in the future.”

*Harry Arne Solberg, professor, Trondheim Business School, Norway*

## Match-fixer: I did it to survive

*Mario Čižmek knows his English is not very good. Regardless, he struggles through a conference presentation in English about something he is deeply ashamed about, and he does it in front of a big international audience. Why? Because he wants to warn all football players against ending up like him: Sentenced to jail for match-fixing.*

by Kirsten Sparre

Mario Čižmek was born in Croatia in 1975, and since the age of nine his life has been about football. It ended one day in June 2010 when police came to arrest him at his home in Zagreb. He was charged and later convicted of helping to fix the outcome of a number of matches in his club, FC Sesvete.

Čižmek does not want to go into too many details about how the fixes went down partly because his appeal is pending before the high court in Zagreb, and partly because he is worried about the criminals in Zagreb who run the fixes. But he does tell the conference audience that eight players on the team worked together to ensure the desired outcomes: "We lost because we did not give 100 per cent. Even a team of journalists could have won against us if they wanted to."

But Čižmek is an accomplished football player with an international career who would not normally consider running onto a football field with the aim of losing the match.



*We no longer spoke about football, but only about how we were going survive, Mario Čižmek said.*

### We only thought about surviving

So how could a player like Čižmek end up being banned for life from playing football in Croatia and facing a long prison sentence? In his halting English, he tries to explain how his financial situation became increasingly difficult and towards the end downright desperate.

"The situation in the club was exceptionally bad. There was a financial crisis, bad conditions for training, and people on the board did not care for their 'employees' and that was us – the players. I and the other players had not been paid a regular salary for 14 months and I owed money on taxes and my pension," he says.

"We had no money, and we no longer spoke about training or football, but only about how we were going to survive. Every other day we would ask whether we would be paid, and they would say 'Yes, on Monday.' But there would be no pay on Monday – only a promise to be paid Wednesday. It went on for months, and the whole team sank into depression."

Moving to another club was not possible for contractual reasons and finding a job outside football

was next to impossible for a player with no formal education. And that made him and the other players sitting ducks for the criminals who saw an opportunity to make money from gambling on fixed matches.

### Match-fixing looked like a solution

"During those depressive days, one person showed up who was known to all of us from the local football society. It was a person that was a member of the Zagreb Football Association and he promised us a way out of the crisis. He said it was in cooperation with other clubs and the board of our club. He wanted us to fix the results of some of the games during the rest of the season. It was about six games that were not important for the future of our club because we were already certain to fall out of the 1st league," Čižmek explains.

"And that is how it all began. One game after the other there was constant pressure, and we felt our souls were being eaten and we were deeply ashamed. The feeling was terrible

but I could not go back. The organiser was present everywhere in our lives and he put pressure on us. Each game he would call us and tell us how and what we had to do to fulfill his expectations, and I sold my pride for small money compared to the loss that I feel and that I am living with today," Čižmek says.

24 players from three different clubs were implicated in what has been dubbed the OFFSIDE affair in Croatia. But Čižmek has been in the public eye more than anyone else. He has given interviews to international media, taken part in a documentary about the affair and is now talking about his experiences at conferences with the backing of the World Player's Union, FIFPro.

Čižmek is not an attention seeker. He speaks quietly, takes full responsibility for what he did, and worries that others end up in the same situation.

In 2010, there was no-one the players in his club could turn to for help. Now, FIFPro can provide some assistance but he would like to see action that will force clubs to treat their players properly.

"The main reason for match-fixing in our region is the action of clubs against players because they are not paid," he says.

# Target fixers ahead of players, investigator says

*Doping threatens the integrity of sport, match-fixing threatens sport itself, argues Chris Eaton, director of the International Center for Sports Security (ICSS).*

by Marcus Hoy

Match-fixing is the “most serious threat to sport as we know it today,” former Interpol match-fixing investigator Chris Eaton told the Play the Game conference.

While doping threatens the integrity of sport, he said, match-fixing threatens sport itself. Currently the director for Sport Integrity at the International Center for Sports Security (ICSS), Eaton previously played a prominent role in Interpol’s liaison with FIFA during the 2010 World Cup.

The current debate places a strong emphasis on corrupt players and officials, Eaton said, but they are of lesser importance than the fixers themselves. Criminals are applying the same tactics to the sporting world as they apply to other human activities, he pointed out, and the lack of regulation in global sports betting only increases the opportunities for criminal gangs.

A market-driven “perfect storm” is approaching, he warned, driven by unregulated sports betting and organised crime, with governments as “mostly spectators”.

Although it was “horrifying to see the drop in interest” in the Tour de France caused by doping scandals, he said, such disillusionment is highly likely to spread to other sports if match-fixing is not curtailed.

## Eastern European problems

Drago Kos, a former Slovenian professional soccer goalkeeper and referee who is due to head OECD’s anti-bribery working group asked why so many Eastern European players are tempted to fix matches.

Among other reasons, he pointed to a culture of loyalty and the disparity in wages paid by clubs across Europe. Kos cited the case of a Slovenian player who was forced to retire at aged 24 after exposing match-fixing. Following his revelations, the player was sacked by his club and was subsequently unable to secure a new contract elsewhere.

During his time as a referee, Kos said, he acquired evidence of match-fixing. However, his attempts to report the problem were unsuccessful. A call to a UEFA help line was met with a request that he report the incident to the local police, who in turn suggested he contacted UEFA.

While the situation has improved today, he said, systems to encourage whistleblowing still do not fully acknowledge what a player has to lose. Temptation will always exist, he said, while players receive minimal wages or do not get paid at all.

“We cannot rely on self-regulation by football clubs in Eastern Europe,” he said. “They are not interested, and neither are the states.”

## Spot betting as a gateway

Richard H. McLaren, a lawyer and arbitrator at the Court of Arbitration for Sport (CAS), gave an overview

of how his organisation was approaching match-fixing.

The gateway to the problem is “gambling by primary actors”, he said. That is, players, managers and associates betting on their own sport. In such cases, he said, CAS is less willing to show deference as the practice is seen as a gateway to so-called spot betting, or the manipulation of specific aspects of a game. Although some see spot betting as a less severe type of match-fixing, he said, it is the second step of the slippery slope towards full-blown match-fixing.

## Small risks, enormous rewards

The rewards are often great for the fixers, and a broad network of agents and middlemen help shield them from the law, said Nick Garlick, a Senior Specialist at Europol’s Organised Crime Networks.

Globalisation, the growth of the Chinese economy, and the Asian betting culture are all factors that have triggered an increase in match-fixing, he said.

The value of the global sports betting market is enormous – the Hong Kong Jockey Club has estimated it could be worth four billion US dollars per day – but Garlick was unable to guess what fraction of that sum was bet on fixed matches. However, he was able to put a figure on bribes: up to 100,000 euro could be used to fix a single football match, he said.

A successfully fixed match often does not result in detectable betting patterns, Garlick said, as bets are typically divided between numerous bookmakers. At other times, abnormal betting patterns are detected but no action taken.

At one point Billericay Town, a soccer club playing in the sixth tier of English football, was attracting more bets than FC Barcelona, he pointed out, but no criminal action resulted.

## The ‘players’ are not the players

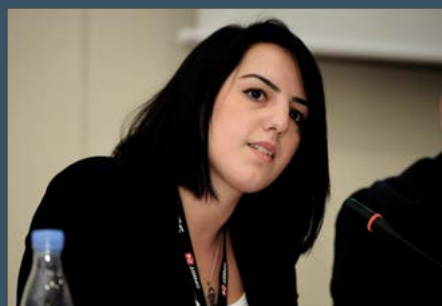
The fixers employ a network of middlemen including highly skilled linguists who travel the globe making contact with players and officials, Garlick said. Often, the least professional members of the conspiracy are the players themselves.

“The players are not criminal masterminds and are not particularly good at covering up what they are doing,” he said.

While the problem is undoubtedly a serious one, Garlick added that one positive development is a much greater awareness of the issue both in the sports community and generally.

One institution that is currently instrumental in raising awareness is Interpol thanks to a 20 million euro grant over 10 years signed with FIFA in 2011. The programme director Dale Sheehan told how this campaign had had an outreach to 160 countries since its start, and how Interpol was also active in the operational field:

“We have assisted in around 2,360 arrests and closed down several illegal gambling dens handling betting worth two billion US dollars,” he said, calling for a holistic effort and a coordinated co-operation between all relevant stakeholders.



Gamze Bal: Football can become a fairy tale.

## Lack of action can lead to loss of public interest

by Steve Menary & Stine Alvad

Turkish journalist Gamze Bal from Bordo-Mavi.net told the conference delegates how an inability to deal with the match-fixing issues in football in Turkey has undermined the public’s perception of the sport.

The Turkish Football Federation has punished 21 defendants for their part in a match-fixing scandal that denied Trabzonspor the title in favour of Fenerbahçe but Bal argued that a decision to only punish individuals instead of relegating the clubs involved could see football in Turkey “become a fairy tale rather than fair play”.

“This irrational approach to match-fixing could lead to the end of the sport’s integrity. Turkish people are not watching football, they are watching theatre with million dollar players,” Bal said.

Although the Turks may have lost confidence in the system controlling football, they have maintained a vivid engagement in the sport. This engagement became visible at the conference when the conference’s Twitter hashtag #ptg2013 saw a significant peak in activity in connection with the Turkish match-fixing case and Bal’s presentation, making this session the conference’s most popular on social media.



Morten Løkkegaard, MEP.

## New international convention

“You have this anxiety to do something, but on the other hand you have a system which is very difficult to unite.”

The Vice-Chair of the Committee on Culture and Education in the European Parliament, Morten Løkkegaard, did not mince words when laying out EU’s position in the fight against match-fixing.

He was, however, cautiously optimistic in his opening address at Play the Game 2013, referring to EU’s plans for this combat in the future budget and work plans for the Commission.

“I think we are on the right track, but failure is still an option if we don’t bring our common efforts to the next level,” Løkkegaard warned.

It might well turn out that the EU will be rescued by its weaker sibling, the Council of Europe (COE), which has less legal power, but more member countries.



Harri Syväsalmi, chief negotiator for the new convention.

The COE is currently drafting a new international convention designed to combat the manipulation of sports competitions, said Harri Syväsalmi, the chairman of the Council of Europe’s Expert Group on Match Fixing.

The drafting process involves a large number of stakeholders, including Interpol, FIFA and UEFA. The process is not restricted to European nations, he said, and Japan, Australia and Canada are among the nations actively involved.

Syväsalmi, who is also director at Finland’s Ministry of Education and Culture, said that the proposed convention will involve the formation of national platforms bringing together all those with an interest in preventing match-fixing.

# Sports reform: How to change the tone at the top?

*Play the Game's international director Jens Sejer Andersen has called on politicians and the International Olympic Committee (IOC) to take a greater role in funding investigations into sports governance and ensuring the safety of whistle-blowers.*

*There is a culture of fear in the federations, said one of the few sponsors who have pushed for sports political change, Jaimie Fuller from Skins.*



by Steve Menary

"We need to convince politicians to finance investigation into sports governance and we also need to convince sports organisations to establish something like whistle-blower protection programmes," said Jens Sejer Andersen, as he regaled the audience with the terrible fate of Mario Goijman, whose attempts to force reform of the Federation of International Volleyball (FIVB) has left the Argentinian broke and homeless (see opposite).

"The IOC has had a few great results when trying to improve governance, like in wrestling. In just four months this sport realised great changes facing the threat that wrestling would not be in the Olympics. So why not in volleyball where [former FIVB president Rubén] Acosta was instead allowed to plunder or in FIFA with the ISL scandal?"

The call for help in financing investigative journalism into sports governance came during a session, where a panel of leading figures in sports governance revealed the need for investigation and the limits placed on making change.

## "Self-reporting can be hollow"

Former International Handball Federation (IHF) official Christer Ahl recounted another sorry tale of mismanagement and corruption at the IHF, which illustrated the difficulties in clubs trying to bring change

from the grassroots.

Recently, some of the very top clubs took the IHF to court, as the IHF refused to negotiate about critical issues, such as the competition calendar and compensation to clubs for releasing players for IHF events.

"The IHF President unilaterally dictates what the clubs get. If they disagree, then they get nothing," Ahl said.

He told how the handling of the supposedly secret bids for broadcasting rights caused the authorities in Germany to start a criminal investigation, and how a democracy involving one vote for one country was often an illusion:

"It can amount to camouflage for a dictator, who will easily be able to take advantage, especially if the vast majority of the member federations are uneducated, uninformed and unaware of what support they should have the right to expect."

Ahl also indicated that serious threats from the IOC could be

"effective" in terms of handball governance.

"Self-reporting can be hollow," added Ahl. "External monitoring is needed and a clean-up is needed. Autonomy from political interference [that is insisted on by the IOC] can be hypocritical and prevent genuine monitoring."

## Sponsors can play a positive role

The positive role that sponsors can play in sports governance was illustrated by Jamie Fuller, the chairman of kit supplier Skins. Fuller was involved in setting up the Change Cycling Now lobby group, which was ultimately influential in ousting Pat McQuaid from the presidency of Union Cycliste International (UCI).

Fuller bemoaned the culture of fear that prevented both cyclists and sponsors in getting involved with Change Cycling Now.

"I couldn't get anywhere with the cyclists or the sponsors. I spoke personally to ten elite cyclists and they were all terrified. One wrote me a really eloquent letter saying what you are calling for is a revolution and in revolutions people die. If you can make a positive [drug] test disappear, then you can make one appear too," he said.

## A change of culture

Fuller was followed onto the podium in Aarhus by Finn

Baagøe Hansen, a regional compliance officer from engineering giant Siemens, who recounted how the culture at his company had to be changed completely, including its own systems of governance. "You need to have management over your cash flow in order that the cash flow does not disappear," Hansen said.

Siemens now employs 600 people in its in-house compliance programme and Hansen agreed with Jamie Fuller that sponsors had a voice that must be used.

"As a company we should be able to influence stakeholders, NGOs and even governments to show there is a fairer way of doing business," he said.

## Combined effort is essential

It was evident from the final two speakers that sports governance needed a combined effort from

all stakeholders. Yves le Lostecque, the head of the European Union's sports unit, insisted that his body was a "modest player."

He added: "We are not in a position of imposing models of how to behave in sports organisations, but we are in a position to help. We have the political support of our member states."

Finally, Richard H. McLaren, an arbitrator at the Court of Arbitration for Sport admitted that CAS was going to "have a very limited role in sports governance."

"You are not going to see CAS lead like you have in doping. It's got to be up to the sport," he added.

That admission led to Andersen's plea for sports bodies to engage further in rooting out corruption and protecting whistle-blowers.

## Don't betray your family

*Sports organisations turn their backs on sports leaders who try to fight corruption. Protection of whistle-blowers is needed.*

by Jens Sejer Andersen

No personal destiny illustrates the need to protect whistle-blowers in sport more than that of the Argentine Mario Goijman, who spent years of his life exposing the corruption of the long-time president of the International Volleyball Federation (FIVB), Rubén Acosta from Mexico.

In his 24 years as the head of world volleyball, Acosta cashed in at least 33 million US dollars in personal commissions.

Mario Goijman's tireless efforts to get the IOC, the FIVB and the Swiss court to react against Acosta's abuse have cost Goijman all his influence in world sport, his personal fortune and most of his property.

Since Mario Goijman testified at our Play the Game conference in 2011, he has been evicted from his home by the police, and on 10 October 2013 his last belongings were put on compulsory sale.

The reason for his ruin? When Argentina hosted the volleyball World Championships in 2002, Goijman guaranteed personally for loans worth hundreds of thousands of dollars in his function as national volleyball president.

At the same time he started questioning Rubén Acosta's actions. Consequently, Acosta threw out Mario Goijman and the Argentine federation and refused to pay 800,000 US dollars owed after the world event.

It is of little use to Mario Goijman that we in 2005 gave him the Play the Game Award for exposing what was later confirmed by the FIVB itself, that Acosta in his last ten years as FIVB president took 33 million US dollars in personal commissions.

Since then two consecutive FIVB presidents have



*Mario Goijman blew the whistle on corruption in volleyball and lost his fortune. Photo: Tine Harden*

had the chance to repair what Acosta destroyed, but instead they have left Mario Goijman financially ruined and psychologically broken.

To add insult to injury, Rubén Acosta has taken the FIVB to court in order to release further five million dollars which he believes he is entitled to. In strict legal terms, he might have a strong case.

Play the Game has for years appealed to the FIVB, to the IOC, and recently to the Pan American Sports Organisation. So far all doors have been shut.

The unspoken message is clear: Sports leader, don't betray your family, for you shall never be forgiven. Don't blow the whistle.

*I overestimated the will for change, said FIFA's chief reform adviser Mark Pieth who nevertheless agreed with FIFA's Communications Director Walter de Gregorio that important progress had been made.*

# FIFA reform – is it producing results?

*Has football's world governing body implemented any meaningful reforms since the much-criticised bidding process for the 2018 and 2022 FIFA World Cups? A top FIFA official and some of the organisation's most prominent critics shared a platform at the Play the Game conference to address this question.*

by Marcus Hoy

Since FIFA controversially awarded World Cup hosting rights to Russia and Qatar in late 2010, three reports have proposed changes to its internal structure. A report from global anti-corruption group Transparency International came first, followed by a report from University of Basel Professor Mark Pieth. Pieth then became chairman of FIFA's Independent Governance Committee (IGC) which also produced its own set of recommendations in areas such as transparency, democratic reform, age and term limits of officials and salary disclosure.

While agreeing that FIFA has taken a few important steps, Professor Roger Pielke, Jr. of the University of Colorado's Center for Science and Technology told the Play the Game conference that FIFA has still neglected the vast majority – 42 out of 59 – of the recommendations contained in the three reports. This argument was countered by Mark Pieth whose critical 2012 report was commissioned by FIFA. It was not the number of changes made, he said, but the importance of those realised that counted. Pieth acknowledged that he had “overestimated the will for change” within FIFA

and did not realise how long the reform process would take. The “real challenge”, he said, was not so much structural reform, but “the introduction of cultural change” within the organisation.

### “It's about power and money”

Typically, nations that provide a home to sport's governing bodies believe that the affairs of such bodies should be private and self-regulating, Pieth said. However, he had found that many of those working in such organisations were “more concerned about money and power” than sport itself.

Civil society, the media, academics and some politicians are all demanding change, he said, but their power is limited, and sponsors could play a greater role in the process. “It is a sad story that the sponsors have not come out a bit more forcefully, as their names could be negatively impacted if associated with unrest,” he said.

FIFA Communications Director Walter de Gregorio admitted that his organisation had “made a lot of mistakes” in the past. He agreed that the decision to award two World Cups simultaneously was a “major

# The socceroo that felt swindled by FIFA

*Australia's bids for the 2018 and 2022 FIFA World Cups did not fail due to a lack of suitability, rather it was due to a culture of corruption within FIFA, claimed Bonita Mersiades, former head of Corporate and Strategic Affairs at the Australian Football Federation (FFA).*

by Marcus Hoy

Australia, which has never hosted a World Cup, had already proven that it could successfully host a mega-event after the 2000 Sydney Olympics, Mersiades told Play the Game. However, after the decision to bid for football's grandest tournament was made, a number of outside consultants were brought in to oversee the bidding process.

During this process, Mersiades said, the Australian taxpayers spent millions of dollars, much of which was pocketed by European consultants who claimed to have the ear of FIFA officials. These consultants included Peter Hargitay and Fedor Radmann, whose efforts in advocacy and bid preparation alone cost AUD 5.3 million. Another outsider, Andreas Abold, was handed a contract to compile the so-called bid

book, the final presentation, and oversee the technical inspection, which together cost more than AUD 10 million.

The FFA also funded a trip for the Trinidad and Tobago Under-20 team to Cyprus, which entailed a payment of half a million Australian dollars to then-FIFA Executive Committee member Jack Warner, Mersiades said. The

final cost of the bid was around AUD 46 million.

As the bidding process gathered pace, the consultancy expenses mounted, with first class travel and top hotels adding to the FFA's financial burden. However, as the vote drew near, it became clear that Australia was unlikely to garner enough votes to reach the final round of bidding. In the end, the nation received just a single vote out of a possible 22. The final nail in Australia's coffin, Mersiades said, was a cliché-ridden presentation involving a cartoon kangaroo stealing the FIFA World Cup, which was “embarrassing to all Australians”. The concept was not developed by the FFA – it had been farmed out to Andreas Abold.



*Australian soccer wasted millions of dollars from taxpayers in an embarrassing bid, said Bonita Mersiades.*

In hindsight, she said, it was likely that FIFA executives had not even opened Australia's bid book, and it was probably

only read by bureaucrats that were paid to read it. “We couldn't have done any worse if we'd done it all ourselves,” Mersiades said.

After criticising the financial aspects of the bidding process, Mersiades was dismissed from her position at the FFA. She is currently writing a book entitled ‘The Bid – Secrets of the Battle to Host the World Cup’.

mistake” that had encouraged backroom deals and trade-offs. However, he added that some important reforms had already been implemented and others were ongoing.

Among the already implemented reforms, he said, was the decision to shift the responsibility of awarding World Cup hosting rights from the 24-member Executive Committee to the 209-member FIFA congress. The organisation's Ethics Committee has also been handed more independent power, he said, including permanent observer status on the Executive Committee and the

right to observe other FIFA committee meetings.

While de Gregorio agreed that the idea of minimum human rights standards for those countries hosting big tournaments should be examined, he asked where the line should be drawn. “Would Guantanamo Bay bar the USA from bidding?” he asked.

Human rights issues in World Cup host nations would be thrust into the spotlight, he pointed out, meaning that the hosting of a tournament could have a reforming effect. “I truly believe that Qatar will be a different country ten years from now,” he said.



Sometimes up to 30 per cent of hall capacity is unused even if pre-booked, a Danish survey shows. Photo: Blue Square Thing/Flickr

## Facilities don't fill themselves

*Often, the vast majority of public investments in sport goes into sports facilities like football fields, sports halls and aquatics stadiums. But simply building facilities does not make more people active.*

by Trygve Buch Laub

In many countries, the number of sports facilities per capita is high, and the nearest place to be active is rarely far away. Therefore, the claim that more facilities could drive increased participation was highly contested by sports researchers in a session focussing on how to make the most of existing sports facilities.

"Non-sports participants are not interested in more sports facilities. They first have to be motivated to participate in sport, and perhaps once they are motivated, then they will suddenly start to see that there are a lot of sports facilities in the neighbourhood," said senior researcher Remco Hoekman from the Mulier Institute in the Netherlands.

Better use of existing facilities could be a more fruitful path to explore. Even though there is a call for more facilities by many clubs, around 30 per cent of facility capacity is unused, even in pre-booked prime time, a Danish study in the municipality of Rudersdal just outside Copenhagen shows.

"We need to look into this hidden treasure of sports facilities and make use of the facility time that is wasted when clubs have bookings but don't show up,"

said Peter Forsberg, analyst at the Danish Institute for Sports Studies and the researcher behind the study in Rudersdal.

### Also massive investments in elite facilities

Much of the caveat on facility building can be transferred to stadium building for the sporting elite, too. The Danish FA imposes on first tier clubs a requirement to be able to seat a minimum of 10,000 people. But spectators, like sports participants, do not show up just because the building is there.

Since the requirement was put in place, average attendance in the Danish Superliga has declined, and only two in 12 clubs' average attendances are more than 10,000.

"Maybe the requirements are too harsh compared to the actual needs. And as most of the empty seats are expenses, not only to build but also to maintain, and as most of the elite facilities are funded by the municipalities, in some sense you can say that it is a waste of tax money," said elite facility researcher and PhD student Jens Alm from the Danish Institute for Sports Studies.

## Sports clubs stand in the way of their own members

*Parental focus on competition causes massive drop-outs among young people in sports clubs. But talent production and mass participation are not mutually exclusive, a former assistant coach for the Danish national football team argued.*

by Trygve Buch Laub

Competitive sport's focus on winning and losing can be its worst enemy – particularly when it comes to making children and teenage members feel welcome in traditional sports clubs.

"If winning is everything, the loser is nothing. And who wants to be a nothing, certainly not the kids. It's tough to change the culture. The first thing we should do is to listen to the kids," former assistant coach for the Danish national football team Keld Bordinggaard said in a session on rethinking sports participation.

However, the loudest voices in children's sports clubs often belong to the most engaged parents and coaches who are eagerly ambitious on behalf of their children. The global medal race and focus on performance in professional sport spill into amateur sport and dominate club culture, argued Dutch social researcher Inge Claringbould, giving an example of a female coach's discussion with a male co-coach.

"The main issue was that she tended to value equality above winning. The dominant culture of winning leaves little space for critical reflection. If we really want sport to be pleasurable and for all, we need a critical reflection on the reproduction, consequences and contestation of the culture of winning," she said in her presentation. "Most coaches are rather enthusiastic."

### Organised sport is aware of the problem

Sports organisations are all but unaware of the problem of teenage drop-out rates and the particular challenge of accommodating children at both ends of the talent scale. The change in attitude has to take place at grassroots level in the many local voluntary clubs that engage a majority of children.



"The winning culture makes little space for critical reflection," Claringbould said.

In this context, sports organisations can only do so much to encourage a more inclusive club atmosphere. But one way to create space for the less talented or ambitious children might actually be to argue that a wider appeal also creates a larger talent mass.

"When we work with the clubs, there is a lot of conservatism, but one of the key drivers of change is telling them that if they do change, they will get more talents and better players. So it's not just for fun," said Troels Rasmussen, who is a board member of the Danish Gymnastics and Sports Associations (DGI), organising and advising more than 6,000 local clubs.

“It was a great privilege to share the stage with such distinct subject matter experts on the topic of match-fixing and integrity in sport, and I highly commend the work that was put into developing such a strong and well-rounded agenda. Congratulations on a successful event. Best of wishes for your continued efforts in the field of strengthening the ethical foundations of sport, and combatting the menace of match manipulation.”

Dale Sheehan, director, Capacity Building and Training, Interpol, USA



Around 86 per cent of Danish children are members of sports clubs, one of the highest participation rates in the world.  
Photo: Rune Johansen

# Mega-events are not helping sports participation

*Do sport mega-events increase mass participation in sport? Many politicians trying to gain acceptance for a bid to host a major sport event would say yes. But according to two speakers at Play the Game 2013, this theory of a trickle-down effect is very dubious.*

by Kirsten Sparre

The idea of the trickle-down effect posits that exposure to elite sports – particularly in connection with mega-events – will inspire people to take up sport due to its exposure in the media. However, Koen Breedveld, director of the Mulier Institute in the Netherlands, dismissed the trickle-down effect completely in one of the several discussions about mass participation taking place at Play the Game 2013.

“Forget about trickle-down effects. They do not happen,” he said and backed it up with findings from a recent evaluation of the effects of the 2012 Olympic Games in London on mass participation in sport.

80 per cent of clubs in London reported that they did not see the Games as an opportunity to increase participation in their activities, and 21 out of 26 types of sport did not experience an increase in membership following the Olympic Games.

“There was no big increase in sports participation during the years the Games were planned and executed. It was very disappointing,” Breedveld said.

In Breedveld's view, mega-events fail to produce a trickle-down effect on mass participation in sport because sports participation for most people is rooted in long established habits from childhood and is influenced by many social factors and time constraints. It is also completely dependent on whether sports federations, clubs, and municipalities have set up the appropriate infrastructure that allows people to take up a particular sport.

“If mega-events have an effect on sports participation, it is because they can persuade people who are already

active in sports to take up another sport or set new goals. Mega-events will not raise sport participation levels in general,” Breedveld declared.

## Some short term effect in Denmark

Trygve Buch Laub from the Danish Institute for Sports Studies has also tried to test the theory of the trickle-down effect.

Sports participation in Denmark is quite high. 64 per cent of the adult population play sports at least once a week, and participation rates among children are even higher. The question for Laub and his colleagues was whether the high participation rates have been inspired by elite sport events.

“Our research shows that elite sport does inspire certain groups to some extent, particularly teenage girls and boys and men from the age of 7 to 29. It particularly applies to the most popular sports that are covered heavily by the media such as handball, table tennis, and football,” Laub explained.

However, the effects are dubious, short term and seemingly based solely on media coverage, Laub continued.

The research led him and his colleagues to look at the question from another angle. The rise in sports participation from 2007 to 2011 consists primarily of runners in their 20s, 30s and 40s.

“Running inspires mass participation, which on the other hand has led to a massive rise in running events. So in terms of understanding the effects of mass events on sports participation, it might be more interesting to study the effects of mass events where people are participants rather than spectators,” Laub suggested.

**“If mega-events have an effect on sports participation, it is because they can persuade people who are already active in sports to take up another sport or set new goals.”**

*Koen Breedvel*

“Conferences that are really worthwhile are few and far between. This was certainly one of them... It was a pleasure and an honour to be included”.

*James Dorsey, journalist & blogger, Singapore*



# Why taxpayers end up with the bill for white elephants

*The mega-events of sport continue to mass produce oversized stadiums with little to no use after the event has moved to new pastures. Play the Game 2013 took a look into the dynamics behind the over-spending.*

by Kirsten Sparre

Two years after Play the Game launched the World Stadium Index at the conference in Cologne showing the level of utilisation, mega-events all over the world continue to breed little used stadiums and sports facilities, also nicknamed white elephants.

At the 2013 conference delegates were introduced to new academic attempts to come to grips with the underlying dynamics of that breeding process.

Among the well-known factors are the high capacity demands introduced by sports organisations like FIFA and UEFA. But by putting the numbers from the stadium index into regression models, Harry Arne Solberg, professor of economics from Trondheim Business School, Norway, has come up with a number of additional ideas for what constitutes good breeding grounds for white elephants.

"The analysis shows that the more corruption you have in a country – as defined by Transparency International – the lower the utilisation is after the sport event. Privately owned venues have higher utilisation, and also the higher the capacity of the venue is, the higher is the utilisation. Finally, if you look at gross national income, the utilisation is lower, the lower the gross national income is," Solberg explained.

Solberg believes that the core of the problem lies in the fact that a number of stakeholders in the mega-event process are operating as free-riders with federal governments paying the bill. So they demand a lot of things without ever having to pay for them – including the sport governing bodies.

## Host cities operated in splendid isolation

Meanwhile, Trish Audit and Eamon Molloy from the University of Oxford have been exploring the organisational processes behind the 2010 FIFA World Cup South Africa Stadium Programme.

Eight of the ten stadiums South Africa built from scratch or refurbished fundamentally are now suffering from almost zero utilization. Audit and Molloy have been tracking the patterns in the process from winning the bid to now in the hope that it can prevent similar things from happening in other countries in the future.

The overarching conclusion of their study is that there were no central organisation or leadership for the process.

"The host cities operated in splendid isolation," said Molloy and quoted one of their interviewees concluding



The Cape Town Stadium is located close to the Cape Town city centre. Photo: Schalk Van Zuydam/Polfoto

that in effect there were nine programme managers, one for each city.

Audit went into details with some of the other factors the study identified as contributing factors to explaining the empty stadiums across South Africa.

"One problem was over-optimistic estimations: Costs for stadiums were 1.58 billion rands in the bid book but taxpayers ended up paying 16.77 billion rands.

That is a rise of 965 per cent. The bigger surprise here is not that estimates were too low but that FIFA knew that. Apparently, you could give FIFA any figure, and they would still give you the World Cup," Audit said.

There was also a lack of national direction on funding requirements. When

South Africa won the bid, nothing happened for almost two years and responsibilities were unclear, so host cities went ahead projecting iconic stadiums because they expected lots of free money from the state.

A third and more historical explanation for the rush to build football stadiums can be found in South Africa's history. There was a widespread feeling that in the past too much money had been spent on rugby, which is

considered a white sport.

"So now they wanted to build football stadiums even though rugby had many full capacity stadiums already,"

## The legal cost of hosting a mega-event

by Marcus Hoy

While the financial cost of hosting a sporting mega-event runs into billions of dollars, a legal price must also be paid. Before some of the biggest events on the sporting calendar are allowed to go ahead, governing bodies like FIFA, UEFA and the IOC insist on strict legal preconditions being in place. But what is the legal cost of hosting such events?

Carolina C zar Ribeiro, a Legal Consultant at the Brazilian Congress Chamber of Deputies, told Play the Game that a number of legal hurdles had to be surmounted before the 2014 FIFA World Cup could go ahead, and Brazil's Parliament was called on to consider and approve the specific legal guarantees required by FIFA.

The law allowed for tax exemptions not only to FIFA itself, she said, but also for all its commercial partners and

Audit explained, ending her presentation by showing a picture of the football stadium in Durban that is built right next to a massive rugby stadium.

## Demolishing is cheaper

At Play the Game 2011, a number of Portuguese stadiums built for the European football championships in 2004 were pointed out as typical examples of white elephants. And they still are, Francisco Pinheiro from the University of Coimbra in Portugal told.

The local municipality of Leiria is paying 5,000 euro per day in maintenance costs for a stadium that is now closed. And a further eight per cent of the annual local municipality budget is spent repaying the mortgage of the stadium.

These figures are the perfect illustration of a key point in the discussion about white elephants in sport: Local taxpayers are often left to pay the exorbitant bills of sports stadiums even if they cannot be utilised locally after the sport event.

"The stadium in Algarve was constructed in a no man's land, and there is no local football team to use the stadium. It is now owned by the local municipalities who spend 2.1 million euro per year on mortgages and maintenance. In Averoio, the municipalities pay four million euro each year in mortgages and maintenance," Pinheiro explained.

So in several Portuguese municipalities it has been proposed to demolish almost brand new stadiums. "In Averoio it would be cheaper to demolish the stadium than pay the maintenance cost of 0.650 million euro per year. It is simply cheaper in the long run," Pinheiro concluded.

associated companies, regardless of whether they are domiciled inside or outside Brazil.

Other requirements included handing over all responsibility for ticketing arrangements to FIFA, and only by intervention of Parliament was the allocation of discounted tickets for OAPs and students guaranteed.

Civil liability, consumer protection and project design rules could also be affected. "There will be a football legacy, but there will also be a political and legislative legacy," Ribeiro said.



Carolina C zar Ribeiro.

# The Brazilian mega-event challenge

*Will the Brazilian staging of the 2014 World Cup and 2016 Olympics turn out to be stepping stones towards a brighter future or a heavy burden for its citizens? Conflicting views on Brazil were presented by speakers from both ends of the spectrum at Play the Game 2013.*



*Saint-Clair Milesi, head of communications of the Local Organising Committee of the FIFA World Cup 2014.*

by Steve Menary and Søren Bang

Few doubt that the upcoming mega-events in Brazil pose enormous challenges for the country. But how will history judge the massive investments in the two biggest and most expensive sporting events ever held in South America? The question overarched the debates on Brazil's hosting of the football 2014 World Cup and the Rio Olympics in 2016.

Putting across the first of two positive portrayals on how Brazil is tackling the staging of a first football World Cup since 1950, Saint-Clair Milesi, the head of communications at the Local Organising Committee (LOC), countered a list public preconceptions about his country's ability to stage the competition.

These ranged from how public money could be better spent, to the real value of extra tax returns and the cost of staging the World Cup. Milesi asked the audience to consider the wider benefits and the need for improving Brazilian infrastructure outside of staging the event. He said: "We need better airports now, not because we are hosting the World Cup. We have to look at Brazil as a whole, not just the World Cup, which is a

stepping stone."

Drawing on a vast list of surveys and economic data, Milesi insisted there would be no white elephants as the value of Brazil's infrastructure as a ratio to gross domestic product (GDP) was low compared to other emerging countries in the BRICS grouping. He also insisted there would be no forced evictions in the building of the 12 stadiums for the event and that public subsidies are being more than offset by private sector investment.

Other data cited an Ibope poll showing 63 per cent of Brazilians favoured hosting the tournament, while Milesi also recounted how the World Cup had brought out a vast army of volunteers with 150,000 Brazilians offering to help compared with 70,000 South Africans in 2010 and 48,000 Germans in 2006.

"There was no culture of volunteering in our country but these volunteers will be the fibre of the event," said Milesi, who was followed by Brenno d'Aguiar de Souza from Brazil's public sector watch-dog, the Controladoria-Geral da União (CGU).

He said that despite over-runs on some projects such as the rebuilding of the Maracanã stadium, others are coming in under budget. "We are doing site visits to confirm specifications and executions. If there is something wrong, we make recommendations and monitor this. We hope to have not just a tournament legacy but a transparency legacy too," Souza explained.

However, de Souza admitted that the CGU sometimes had problems getting managers to provide information and that his organisation lacked the judicial power to prosecute anyone for withholding information.

## Power games or people's games?

Other speakers painted a bleaker picture of Brazil's mega-events and how they will affect the country.

Earlier, Milesi had cited the 120,000 World Cup tickets that will go to construction workers and indigenous peoples, but investigative journalist Andrew

Jennings countered this with another statistic: the 450,000 corporate hospitality tickets going to a company part-owned by the nephew of FIFA president Sepp Blatter.

Jennings also questioned the economic impacts if, as he insists, swathes of fans from countries such as England do not attend due in part to the cost of travelling huge distances to get to venues. "One of the scandals of the Brazilian World Cup is that athletes and fans will have to travel huge distances," said Jennings to Milesi and de Souza, an assertion neither disagreed with.

In line with the many protesting people on the streets of Brazil, the American academic geographer Christopher Gaffney from Universidade Federal Fluminense in Rio de Janeiro also confronted the official claims that the investments will be for the benefit of the Brazilian society as a whole.

So far 3.6 billion US dollars, predominantly public money, has been put into World Cup stadiums that are placed in cities often lacking basic infrastructure investments, Gaffney stressed. This, and the fact that less than 10 per cent of the World Cup tickets are affordable for most Brazilians, show that mega-events like the World Cup in Brazil have more focus on securing the interests of sports organisation and local elites than the needs of the population, he concluded.

"The event acts like a parasite, it takes public money,

*"The event acts like a parasite, it takes public money, it changes urban economic, political and social relations - and then it goes on, never to return."*

*Christopher Gaffney*

it changes urban economic, political and social relations - and then it goes on, never to return," Gaffney said, predicting more social unrest in Brazil and a massive police presence around the

stadiums securing what he called 'FIFA's World Cup.'

## "Occupy the police"

The role of the Brazilian police and security forces is another major concern in a country, which is not only fighting soaring crime rates with close to 150 homicides a day, but also seeing policing methods criticised for being brutal.

German Dennis Pauschinger, who is completing a doctorate at the University of Kent on security models associated with sport mega-events, criticised the security strategies chosen in Brazil, which include police raids in the favelas (slum districts). According to Pauschinger, such methods are more likely to support the culture of violence and crime in Brazil.

"It will strengthen the militarisation of the Brazilian public security and fortify the cultural conditions of violence and social exclusion," he said, quoting the Brazilian political scientist and public security expert Luiz Eduardo Soares: "Occupy the police, not the favelas!"

## Licence to kill?

by Søren Bang

Police in Rio de Janeiro is reported to kill one person every 16 hours on average, adding up to more than 500 people a year. In a highly personal speech, American activist Elizabeth Martin called the numbers a result of a "perverse policy" which effectively gives the police a licence to kill.

Elizabeth Martin spoke from personal experience. She lost her nephew Joseph, who was living in Rio in 2007 when he was shot dead by an off-duty policeman as he tried to intervene after seeing the policeman threatening a boy on the street.

"I remember being so confused. Why would a cop shoot an unarmed man? Then I found that in the year my nephew was murdered 15 per cent of all the murders in Rio were committed by the police. I would find out that Brazil has one of the most murderous police departments in the world," Martin told the conference.

As the daughter of a policeman, the killing came as an extra shock, but it also led her to Brazil where she got in



*"Brazil has one of the most murderous police departments," Martin said.*

contact with families who had also lost a relative by the hands of the police.

Eventually, she launched the campaign 'Don't kill for me - safe games for all' particularly opposing the police killings as part of the "clean-up" prior to the Brazilian mega-events. A petition on [www.dontkill4me.org](http://www.dontkill4me.org) urges FIFA and the IOC to press for police reforms, including a demilitarisation of the police, training in non-lethal policing methods and an end to raids in the favelas.

# Europe is still dominating the global event race

While sport's mega-events have seen an exodus to the rest of the world, Europe and the Western world still have a solid hold on the small- and medium-sized sports events, an analysis of all World Championship events since 1990 shows.

by Søren Bang

The 2014 football World Cup and 2016 Olympic Games in Brazil, the 2018 Winter Olympics in South Korea, the 2022 football World Cup in Qatar... The list of high profile sports events that are moving away from sport's traditional strongholds in Europe and North America is long.

But a look beneath the upper tier of the world's most glamorous events tells a story of continuity rather than one of change. According to an analysis from the Danish Institute for Sports Studies/Play the Game, the idea of a rapid globalisation of all types of sporting events seems widely exaggerated. In fact, the placement of all World Championship events in Olympic disciplines since 1990 shows that Europe and the other Western sports powers still hold a firm grip on the majority of the championships, even though the international power relations are gradually changing.

Only 61 countries have hosted or have been selected as hosts of a World Championship since 1990 (see map). Among these host countries, ten predominantly Western countries have been responsible for more than half (442 of the total 816 World Championship events).

Within the last three decades, however, there

1	Russia	14
2	Canada	13
3	France	12.5
4-5	Italy	12
4-5	Germany	12
6-7	Netherlands	11
6-7	USA	11
8-9	UK	10
8-9	China	10
10	Denmark	8.5

**Top-10 since 2010:** Russia now tops the top-10 of countries hosting or being awarded World Championships in Olympic sports from 2010 and onwards.

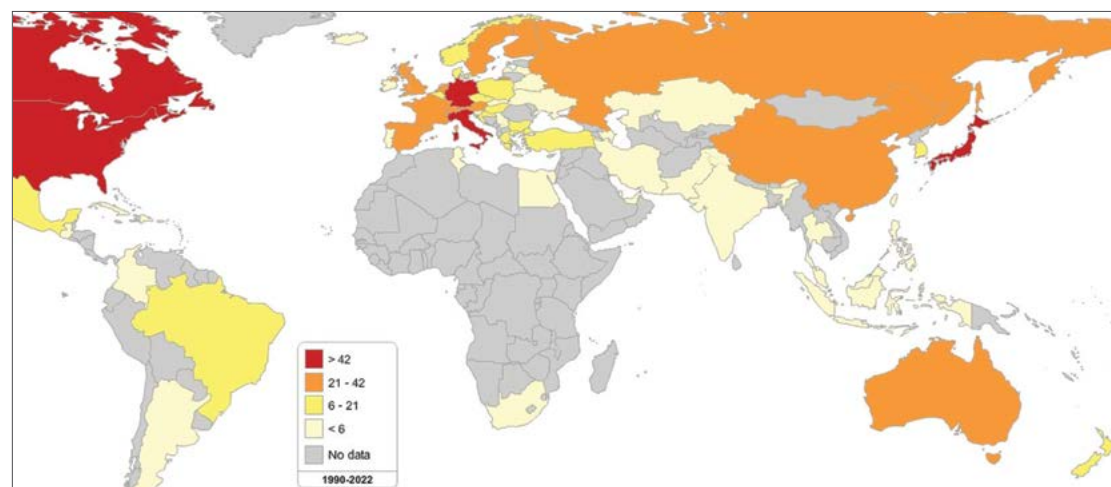
has been a shift in which strong events nations like Germany, Canada, USA, Japan, Switzerland and Australia have lost terrain. Meanwhile, Russia, a traditional sport superpower, has gained strength as an event organiser. Likewise, another great power, China, has truly entered the event scene (see table). Both countries have put a lot of political power into sports events with mega-events such as the football World Cup and the Olympic Games leading the way.

## The West is a little less dominant

Such shifts have meant that the Western countries' share of the total number of events has declined from 83 per cent in the 1990s to 70 per cent in the period from 2010 and onwards. But even though the West is a little less dominant, the world map of sports events has not been turned upside down. This conclusion is even more evident if you just focus on

Europe's placement and include Russia.

From this perspective, Europe is dominating the hosting of sport events to an extent which is neither justified by the continent's population size nor its economic weight. European countries are accountable for 65 per cent of all World Championship events after



A survey done by the Danish Institute for Sports Studies in October 2013 shows that Western countries plus Japan have been dominating the hosting of World Championships in Olympic sports since 1990 (Germany 73, Canada 62, USA 53, Italy 46, Japan 43.5, France 37.5). But countries like China and Russia have been gaining ground in recent years.



Most championships - here the handball World Championship in 2013 - are still held in Europe. Photo: Emilio Morenatti/Polfoto

2010 despite the fact that a mere 11 per cent of the world's population live in Europe and only 30 per cent of the world's BNP is produced on the continent.

## Sport is less global than we think

The overrepresentation of sports leaders from European countries plus the US and Australia could be one explanation as to why Europe and the Western countries also dominate as host nations. But first and foremost, the analyses of event placements since 1990 may tell us that Olympic sports are less universal than they claim to be.

The vast majority of Olympic sports have their roots in a European/Anglo-Saxon culture, and the hosting of World Championship events typically draws on sporting infrastructures and traditions which might take generations to build up. Only when there are clear national aims behind the hosting of sports events does the picture look significantly different.

In this sense, it is not surprising that the most prestigious and de facto politicised mega-events, such as the Olympics and the football World Cup, have undergone a major globalisation. After 2010, almost three out of four Olympic and World Championship events in athletics, swimming and football have taken or will take place in non-Western countries – including a number of countries where the democratic traditions are inversely proportional to the event budgets.

So, while the globalisation of most sports events is only moving slowly, maybe even too slow if sport wants

to live up to its own universal principles, one could ask whether the spread of the big mega-events is happening too fast amplifying the challenges of those events when it comes to well-known problems of corruption, lack of sporting or economical sustainability and problematic political agendas.

## about the analysis

The analysis by the Danish Institute for Sports Studies is based on a registration (host nation/city) of all official World Championship events in all Olympic disciplines from 1990 and onwards. The registration took place in October 2013 and also includes events taking place after 2013, which at that time had been awarded but not yet held.

For sports that have been added to the Olympic programme after 1990, the World Championship events have been included from the year when it was decided by the IOC to formally add the sport to the programme.

# Charting the shift in Olympic power and sport's future challenges

*International sport is facing new power structures, but also a huge task in making sport and physical activity more inclusive.*



Russia and its President Putin (right) - here in a cosy chat with IOC President Thomas Bach - are among the rising powers in global sport. Photo: Charlie Riedell/Polfoto

by Søren Bang and Marcus Hoy

The landscape of sport is changing rapidly with new powers like Russia and Qatar entering the stage. Numerous new challenges are also emerging at the grassroots level where sport's ability to attract and retain people is under threat

At the very last session of Play the Game 2013 four speakers offered a global outlook, discussing who holds the keys to the future of sport.

Following the election of new IOC President Thomas Bach, German freelance journalist Jens Weinreich pinpointed where the power now lies in international sport. While the faces may have changed, he said, the IOC continues to operate "almost without transparency and almost without control".

Weinreich, a former Play the Game Award winner, charted the behind-the-scenes wheeling and dealing that had led to Bach's succession of former President Jacques Rogge and named the influential players who can garner votes and create powerful alliances behind the scenes. Prominent among them, he said, was John Coates, IOC vice president and head of the 2020 Tokyo Coordination Commission, the Kuwaiti IOC member Sheikh Ahmad Al-Sabah, who is also President of the Olympic Council of Asia, and the SportAccord President Marius

Vizer, who enjoyed Vladimir Putin's support in his successful campaign to be elected as president of the International Judo Federation.

The rising powers in international sport are Qatar and Russia, Weinreich said. Both have control over huge amounts of money; both have visions, projects and ideas for the future of sport.

**"The rising powers in international sport are Qatar and Russia. Both have control over huge amounts of money; both have future visions, projects and ideas."**  
Jens Weinreich

## Football as a 'soft power'

James Dorsey, senior fellow at Singapore's S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies, took a closer look at Qatar's rise as a sporting power which culminated in it being awarded the 2022 FIFA World Cup.

The main reason for Qatar choosing to bid, he said, had little to do with country branding or leveraging business opportunities. "[These things] are not worth the money Qatar is putting on the table for this," he said.

Instead, he said, Qatar had carried out a very simple cost-benefit analysis of what it could gain from hosting the World Cup. In 1990, when Iraq invaded Kuwait, the Saudi defence umbrella was "not worth the ink it was written on". Recognising this, Qatar made a key decision based on defence and security concerns. Hosting football's greatest event gave the nation 'soft power', Dorsey said. Qatar's decision to bid was based on a "very different calculation" than any

other bidder had made. "Who would invade a World Cup host?" he asked.

## Sport should adapt to people

Looking at sport from a grassroots perspective, Margaret Talbot, president of the International Council of Sport Science and Physical Education (ICSSPE), broadened the discussion by calling for more inclusion in sport and the rejection of non-inclusive norms, rules and practices. Sport should adapt to people rather than the opposite, she said.

A cultural change is needed, she said, to prevent over-exposure to competition and maximise participation. The conflict between physical education and a professional sport with problematic ethical standards is another challenge, she stated.

According to Talbot, science should help out by challenging some of the paradigms and stereotypes of sport.



The biggest problem is the lack of vertical accountability, ICSSPE president Margaret Talbot said.

"Sport is full of myths based on stereotypes. Women do not like sport. Men do not like to dance. All sorts of silly stereotypes based on normative assumptions – and some of those become rules in sports," she said, naming as examples some federations' double standards when it comes to forcing female athletes to wear non-functional feminine sports uniforms – as well as men not being allowed to take part in synchronised swimming.

## Global influence in the long run

Representing organised sport, the President of the Danish NOC and Sports Confederation, Niels Nygaard, recognised that parts of international sport are challenged by problems like corruption, lack of transparency, doping and match-fixing. But he challenged the perception that sport in general is facing a crisis. Sport on a daily basis has a lot of positive qualities, he noted, and a less confrontational attitude towards international sport organisations is needed.

According to Nygaard, the Danish NOC tries to influence international sport by being present in as many organisations as possible and promoting the values of democracy, transparency and good governance.

"The only realistic way to make changes (...) is by trying to convince our colleagues," he said. "Of course it is important to have conferences like Play the Game and critical journalists to make all of us aware of the

problems, but the only ones who can really make some changes are the international organisations. We don't believe we can do it by making a lot of criticism all the time. (...) But we believe that in the long run we will be able to make changes come true."

## How to handle the autocrats of sport?

The question of how to handle the challenge of people and countries with weak or no democratic traditions apparently gaining more power in international sport dominated the conference's final debate.

In many countries, the conference heard, sport is more a tool for governmental politics than an independent movement. Countries like Belarus and Azerbaijan have even appointed their incumbent presidents as their local NOC presidents. "Should international sports organisations be pillars of autocratic regimes?" James Dorsey asked.

When asked if the sports movement would call for the intervention of governments in the future, Niels Nygaard refuted the idea.

"We can smile at Azerbaijan and Belarus where the president is also president of the NOC," he said. "In those instances, where they had a general assembly electing the NOC president, they are formally complying with the IOC rules... whether they are in practice, I am not quite sure."

Nygaard's statements provoked a reply from Jens Weinreich, who warned that some of the people that are having an increasing influence in international sport, from the IOC downwards, are anything but harmless. According to the former Play the Game Award winner, some are outright criminals.

But as Margaret Talbot also noted, the international sports organisations will not take over the whole sports system, including local sport. She addressed what she believes is a broader democratic issue in sport:

"I think the biggest problem is the lack of vertical accountability," she said. "International and national federations should be accountable to their members, and members should be asking questions. But there is such a disconnection between grassroots members and the people who run specific sports."



The only realistic way to make changes is to convince our colleagues, Danish NOC head Niels Nygaard argued.

Thanks for putting together a very interesting conference. I am not really sure how this edition ranks compared to the previous ones, but if the other ones were anything close to his one, then they were evidently a success."

Koen Breedveld, director, Mulier Instituut, the Netherlands

# Democracies hold the power in international sport – but there is little democracy in sports

*A new Global Sports Political Power Index from the NOC and Sports Confederation of Denmark shows that democratic nations dominate international sports organisations, but a session at Play the Game 2013 questioned whether that democracy rubs off on sports organisations.*

by Kirsten Sparre

Which nations have most influence in international sport? According to an index compiled by the Danish NOC and released at Play the Game 2013, sports leaders and officials from well-established democracies are dominating international sports organisations.

The index maps the nationalities of members of the boards of 31 international Olympic federations, 45 international non-Olympic federations, 25 European Olympic federations, 15 non-Olympic federations, and the members of the IOC, the IOC executive board, the European Olympic Committees and Association of National Olympic Committees.

To make a more realistic evaluation of the importance of the individual members, all the different positions have been ranked and weighted giving the IOC President the highest 'importance factor' of all.

"In Europe, it turns out that it is the old European countries who have the most influence: United Kingdom, Italy, Germany, France and Spain, and from a purely national point of view, Denmark is more than satisfied to be number 12 in terms of international influence," Poul Broberg said.

Broberg, who is director of sports policy at the



Elite athletes are represented in a few organisations like the IOC, but in spite of the democratic structure of sport the ordinary athlete holds little influence Photo: Jens Dresling/Polfoto

Danish NOC, also pointed out that globally, the US is by far the most influential nation. But again Europe is well placed on the list with countries such as United Kingdom, Italy, France and Russia taking up the places from two through five.

"The first autocratic country on the list is China at number 10, which means that countries with

democratically advanced cultures have the biggest influence on sports politics," Broberg said.

He also explained that the NOC of Denmark has undertaken this analysis in part to better equip themselves to enter international discussions on democracy in sport and find likeminded countries with whom to build alliances and diminish the influence of less democratically inclined countries.

## Difficult to meet even low governance standards

The question is, however, whether you can make a direct link between a critical mass of individual national representatives from democratic countries in a sports organisation to improved governance in said organisation.

"Members are not representatives of their democracies, but of themselves and of their organisations. I think it is a little bit dangerous

to link leaders from democratic countries to better governance," said Gritt Hartmann, an investigative reporter from Germany in a comment to Broberg.

This critical view was indirectly supported by Michael Mrkonjic from the Swiss Graduate School of Public Administration who presented data from his research on 16 European sports federations with headquarters

in either Switzerland or Luxembourg.

The aim of the research was to determine the degree to which the European sports federations lived up to what Mrkonjic called "a parsimonious and minimalist approach to governance" – or the absolute minimum that should be required from an international sports federation.

Mrkonjic carefully phrased his conclusions as showing "a complex picture of governance processes and structures in European sports federations". But the reality was that even analysing on a limited number of indicators, the sports federations generally failed to meet them.

Only four out of 16 federations publish an externally audited financial report, and only two systematically publish an annual activity report. A third organisation, the European Tennis Federation, sells its annual activity report. Only two of the 16 federations have an athlete's commission, and only few organisations have an ethics code for members and staff with guidelines for receiving and giving gifts. Only two organisations have environmental and social responsibility policies and programmes in place.

On a final aspect of governance, term limits for members of the executive boards, the picture was more complex.

"We saw substantial differences between the years (from two to four), the terms (from two to four) and the term limits

(unspecified, none, fixed and flexible)," Mrkonjic explained.

**"Athletes are not able to determine the form and circumstances of their participation, and professional athletes in particular have become a commodity."**  
Peter Donnelly

## "Athletes are enslaved"

by Kirsten Sparre

The democratic shortfall when athletes are not represented on the boards of sports organisations was addressed by Peter Donnelly, who is director of Centre for Sports Policy Studies at Toronto University in Canada.

He pointed out that some of the consequences of bad governance in sports organisations are problems with athlete health and safety; problems with labour relations, team selection and other aspects of due process for athletes; and problems of athlete maltreatment and child protection in sport.

"Athletes are not able to determine the form and circumstances of their participation, and professional athletes in particular have become a commodity. They are bought, sold, traded, drafted. They might be very well paid slaves, but they are still enslaved," Donnelly said.

Donnelly explained how a top athlete in Canada did not enjoy the right to free speech and expression, the right to privacy, the right to keep health information private, the right to determine how her image is used, the right to make a living, as well the right to clarity of contractual obligations because as an athlete she is not protected by employee rights.

Donnelly called for help in finding ways to help athletes achieve solidarity.

"Competitiveness is used to break up solidarity. We should attempt some really creative thinking to achieve that solidarity. It is not a privilege to play if other people are making money from your activities. It is crucial for athletes to be involved in determining the form and circumstances of their own participation," Donnelly said.

Ranking	Country	Points	International positions	International points/ 1m inhabitants
1	USA	270	71	0.84
2	UK	203	47	3.2
3	Italy	197	45	3.2
4	France	187	45	2.9
5	Russia	178	35	1.2
6	Spain	177	38	3.8
7	Switzerland	177	36	21.9
8	Australia	169	44	7.2
9	Germany	153	37	1.8
10	China	140	32	0.1

Table: International representation in international sports organisations, country ranking. Source: Broberg/Lyck, DIF 2013.

# Football scammers on social media

Fake agents use Facebook to scam money out of hopeful footballers, UK journalist Steve Menary told conference delegates at Play the Game 2013 in a session about social media and sport. The following article is an adapted version of his conference presentation.



Criminals steal the identities of real football agents to lure hopeful footballers to pay them money, Menary told.

by Steve Menary

On the surface, Vurlon Mills and Peter Conning would not seem to have a lot in common. Mills is the striker for the Guyana national team. Conning is from Liverpool in northern England. Long since retired, he works as a licensed football agent.

Both Mills and Conning have been the victims of a cruel identity scam that is using social media and the dreams of ambitious young footballers from developing countries to steal money.

Ambitious to play professionally overseas, Mills was contacted by an agent on Facebook. The agent, Navarro Aparicio Jose, claimed to work for an agency called Cadmens (IFA) Ltd and was listed as being licensed by the Spanish FA, the RFEF, on the agents' directory at fifa.com.

## Repeated requests for advance payments

Aparicio Jose promised to arrange a trial with an English championship club, Mills only had to pay £500 towards the insurance.

Initially unsure, Mills' uncle loaned him the money, which is equal to three months wages in Guyana. An official looking letter promptly appeared inviting Mills to a trial with Bristol City; only for another request for money to arrive, this time for £1,200.

But Mills became suspicious. He says: "I told [Navarro] I no longer wanted to come on trial and to please send back my money. He still tried to convince me, saying he had already paid a part of it and could I pay the rest. Eventually, he stopped contacting me when he realised I was serious."

## A subtle name switch

What Mills had not realised was that although there is a Jose Navarro Aparicio licensed by the RFEF, the scammer on Facebook is called Navarro Aparicio Jose.

The scammers, almost certainly Nigerians, had switched the surnames and Christian names.

The scammers were able to pretend to steal this identity because the contact details on fifa.com for the real Jose Navarro Aparicio only include his postal address in Madrid. There is no telephone number or email address. So the real Jose Navarro Aparicio became the bogus Navarro Aparicio Jose. Mills, unfortunately, did not notice.

Since 2001, agents such as Aparicio have been licensed not by FIFA

but by the national association in the country where they operate.

When I first exposed this scam in World Soccer in 2013, 42 of the 150 FIFA members who had licensed agents failed to provide telephone or email contacts for one or more of those agents. A total of 179 agents were only contactable by postal address.

The real Navarro Aparicio did not reply to letters, the RFEF would not respond to requests for a comment and the European Association of Football Agents incredibly claimed to be unaware of any such scams.

Peter Conning certainly was unaware that his identity had been hijacked to create a fake agent on social media called Conning Peter. A frustrated Conning says: "Even though numerous links were primarily to websites that were not household names there was Facebook, Twitter and LinkedIn accounts using my name and an old photo."

## England FA circular change

After the first story in World Soccer, the Football Association of England sent out a circular to all licensed agents including Conning.

In a message entitled 'Reminder regarding contact details on FIFA website list of agents', the FA went on to say: "For those of you appearing on the FIFA's Players' Agents List, you are advised to ensure that an email address and/or a phone number appear under your name as it reduces the chances of your name being used in a scam."

Some associations subsequently did make attempts to improve the information provided to FIFA, but by the time of Play the Game 2013 there had not been much improvement.

By this time, there were 227 agents from 38 different associations listed in FIFA's directory with no email or telephone contact details. Some of these individual agents work for larger agencies or other bodies and

tracking them down and confirming their identity can be done relatively easily. Many do not. The only way to contact these representatives is to write a letter or visit.

## A laissez faire approach

The response from Facebook typifies the laissez faire approach of social media companies to the scam. Facebook says: "On Facebook people connect using their real names and identities. We ask that you refrain from publishing the personal information of others without their consent. Claiming to be another person, creating a false presence for an organization, or creating multiple accounts undermines community and violates Facebook's terms."

Many social media companies wanted me to personally highlight all of these bogus profiles for them, but surely that is the job of these platforms or those running football?

Marie-Christine Bouchier is a licensed agent and works for the Professional Footballers Association, who only found out that her identity had been stolen after being contacted for the World Soccer articles. In Ms

Boucher's case, the scam was particularly crude as the Facebook profile used pictures of men. After being sent the links, she says: "I have searched and seen all those profiles and yes quite ridiculous being photos of men. They are obviously stupid and sexist."

Despite the problem being exposed twice, there is little appetite to beat the scammers. The website for the bogus agency Cadmens is still on blogspot, while the profile for the real Jose Navarro Aparicio still lacks a phone number or email address on fifa.com, as do those for dozens of licensed agents.

There is a poignant end to this whole sorry saga, which illustrates the total absence of responsibility from all concerned. After Vurlon Mills' travails were exposed, the ambitious Guyana striker finally succeeded in landing a professional contract abroad.

Not long after Mills began playing in Trinidad & Tobago's TT Pro League, one of his new team-mates, Travis Joseph, mentioned that he had been contacted about a potential trial in Europe. That contact came via Facebook and was from a licenced Spanish agent called ... Navarro Aparicio Jose.

## Sochi: Focus on press freedom

by Marcus Hoy

100 days before the 2014 Winter Olympics in Sochi opened, threats against press freedom dominated the debate at Play the Game. Some expressed fears that that the right of journalists to report freely from Sochi would be curtailed by a security clampdown.

Jean-Paul Marthoz, a Senior Adviser at the Committee to Protect Journalists (CPJ), said that Sochi 2014 would be a "major test of journalists' integrity" in a globalised world which relies on international media to "lead and break the stories that local journalists and activists are shackled to cover".

Marthoz said that traditional news gathering practices were increasingly being hampered at mega-events through such measures as the "privatisation of public spaces." Journalists should not accept the establishment of "draconian media and social media guidelines designed to leave coverage of the event totally in the hands of the PR people," he said.

Dmitry Tugarin, Executive Director at the media co-host RIA Novosti, agreed that many restrictions would apply to international journalists in Sochi, but added that most would be ordinary restrictions dictated by the IOC. "Many things will be strictly prohibited, but [journalists] will be able to walk the streets of Sochi and meet the people they want to meet," he said.

Some estimates have put the total cost of Sochi at up to USD 50 billion – the most expensive Olympics ever. However, Tugarin told Play the Game that the figure



Dmitry Tugarin, executive director at the media co-host RIA Novosti.

was different "depending on how you count". A lot of funds take the form of the private sector investment, he pointed out, and the games were at the centre of a wider project to develop the entire region's infrastructure.

Questions about how much corruption had taken place were being "discussed by Russian media very openly", which he said was a "positive thing".

Alexy Konov, Head of Division at Russia's G20 Expert Council's Anti Corruption Division, pointed out that Russia's G20 presidency had launched a number of anti-corruption initiatives during its term in office, including a proposal for a new Global Alliance for Integrity in Sports. "It's quite natural for G20 nations to play a role because they are the organisers of these events," he said.

# The truth cannot be concealed

*Investigative journalism into sport is under pressure, as the journalistic workshops held at Play the Game 2013 showed. Still, a few lone wolves insist on challenging sport's polished surface despite considerable personal consequences. Freelance writer Lars Andersson portrays three of the most well-known investigative journalists working with sport.*

by Lars Andersson

They are few and far between, but they are there nevertheless...

The tradition of investigative journalism is largely absent from the sports world. But over the last 20 years we have seen the occasional ground-breaking news story emerge that has shaken sport's otherwise mythical and captivating world – often written with significant personal and economic costs and under harsh conditions.

"The common trait that has characterised these ground-breaking journalists and whistle-blowers is that they have all been lone wolves," says Jens Sejer Andersen, international director at Play the Game, who called for better support for investigative journalists and whistle-blowers at Play the Game 2013 (see page 8-9).

One of these journalists is Canadian journalist Laura Robinson, who is currently involved in a gruelling defamation suit with John Furlong, the former CEO of the Vancouver Organising Committee for the 2010 Olympic and Paralympic Winter Games (VANOC), because of an article about his past as a teacher of – and allegations of violent and aggressive conduct against – First Nation children.

"My partner and I have paid 160,000 Canadian dollars so far. My lawyer has advised me we will probably spend another 160,000 by the end of the trial. But this is the only way I can prove that my story is based on truth and responsible journalism," says Robinson who has established a defence fund to co-finance the legal costs.

## The personal costs

It is not the first time that Laura Robinson has been the instigator of strong, controversial articles. Her work in uncovering sexual abuse in Canada's national sport, ice hockey, brought not only accolades, such as the first Play the Game award in 2002, but also several enemies.

"Of course I feel at risk. I am very careful about where I live because ever since I starting writing about sexual abuse in hockey, there have been men who have been extremely angry at me. I read similar things about myself in certain blogs about the Furlong story. So of course I feel at risk," she says.

German journalist Jens Weinreich also knows about

the personal costs of investigative journalism. For decades he has followed and written about international sports organisations' conduct in a market that has gradually evolved into 'big business'. He, too, has been subject to legal attacks.

"But it is a duty; an obligation. In democratic countries journalists must fight without any excuses. But human pressure is always there. You must learn to live with it. Sometimes it's difficult; other times it's easier. Legal attacks always cause agitation."

In Singapore, James M. Dorsey, who has primarily worked with football's political landscape in Asia and the Middle East, has also gone through tough litigation cases. The most recent of which has been with the Asian Football Confederation (AFC), when he revealed "severe irregularity in AFC management and financial dealings" under Mohamed Bin Hammam's leadership.

"The stress factor differs from case to case and jurisdiction to jurisdiction. In Singapore (his latest case, ed.), that meant for a period of time the threat

that my computer and files could be confiscated and one needed to take precautionary measures," he says, continuing:

"But to be fair, my last case that I won in a landmark decision in Singapore earlier this year was the first case where I was not backed by a media organisation and therefore had to manage my lawyers and fund the case without support."

## Financial 'brakes' bring journalists to a halt

Robinson, Weinreich and Dorsey all identify the enormous financial risks involved in their work as the independent investigative journalist's worst enemy:

"Financial risk is the biggest problem. As a freelance journalist in Germany, I have no financial safety net when it comes to legal clashes. So opponents always know how they can threaten and silence freelance journalists – even if the journalists make no or only minor errors," Weinreich explains.

But he carries on regardless of the threats: "From my point of view, investigating, revealing, publishing scandals, etc., are the main tasks of journalism," Weinreich says and is backed up by Robinson:

"I realised early on in my journalism career that writing about the dark side of hockey wasn't going to

win me powerful friends in a country where it is the national religion. There is a blind spot here. No matter how many cases come forward about sexual assault in hockey, the arena is still a shrine," she says.

Dorsey echoes the others' motivation to keep pursuing the profession they love:

"I deal with issues that fundamentally interest me and have the luxury of occupying a front seat as history unfolds. I would like to think that I am able to give my readers the tools and insight they need to understand situations and put events in a context," he says.

## An uncertain future

However, despite their drive to defy the risks associated with their work, all of them are experiencing that the conditions are generally getting more and more difficult in a changing media landscape with fewer traditional media outlets.

"I am very worried about sports journalism and journalism in general. Sports journalism is nearly entirely an oxymoron. There is little separating 'journalism' from PR now. I hope out of Play the Game comes an organisation of investigative sports journalists. We really do have to work together," Robinson says. Jens Weinreich is also concerned:

"The decisive question, again, is: How do we finance our work? It costs money. The old media don't do that with necessary concentration, professionalism and radicalism."

At the moment, Weinreich only sees two ways to secure investigative journalism: 'crowd funding' on a regular basis or patronages like Iranian-American businessman and philanthropist Pierre Omidyar, who has actively chosen to support independent investigative journalism through First Look Media.

So there still appears to be some hope, but Dorsey is not convinced:

"We live in a period in which the role of the fourth estate is being undermined and journalists are targets. On the other hand, the responses I get to my coverage are encouraging.

They tell me that there is widespread interest, that others are picking up the ball and that policy and decision makers are unable to ignore solid reporting. The impact of The Guardian on the plight of foreign workers in Qatar is an obvious example," he says.

Lars Andersson is co-editor of the Danish sports political magazine *Sport Executive*, [www.sportexecutive.dk](http://www.sportexecutive.dk)

This article is a shortened version of a+ story written for [playthegame.org](http://playthegame.org).

## 3 x fighters

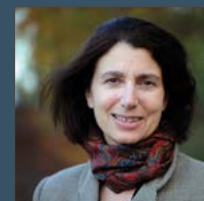
### LAURA ROBINSON

A Canadian journalist and winner of a number of journalism awards including the Play the Game Award in 2002.

Robinson has primarily written on 'violence and sexual assault in ice hockey', 'women, sport and sexuality' and 'the treatment of First Nation people in Canada'.

During the 2013 conference the lawyers of above-mentioned John Furlong warned Play the Game against letting Laura Robinson speak at the conference. The request was not followed.

Laura Robinson's defence fund:  
[www.laurarobinsondefencefund.org](http://www.laurarobinsondefencefund.org)



### JENS WEINREICH

A German journalist, who first worked as a journalist for leading German media and later began to work freelance. Winner of a number of journalism

awards, including the Play the Game Award in 2011 and Sports Journalist of the Year in Germany in 2009 and 2013.

Weinreich has written about corruption, lack of democratic transparency and nepotism in international sports organisations.

You can follow Jens Weinreich here:  
[www.jensweinreich.de](http://www.jensweinreich.de)



### JAMES M. DORSEY

Dorsey is a Singapore-based journalist and academic who has won a number of international awards. For decades he has focused on ethnic and religious conflicts in several parts of the world, including the Middle East, Africa and Asia. In his blog, 'The Turbulent World of Middle East Soccer' he writes about the political implications of football in the Middle East.

You can follow James M. Dorsey here:  
[www.mideastsoccer.blogspot.com](http://www.mideastsoccer.blogspot.com)



# The Armstrong Case – lessons from the fall of a sporting icon

*Seven-time Tour de France winner Lance Armstrong was one of the world's greatest sporting icons – until his confessions exposed the loopholes of the anti-doping system. But huge challenges still exist in the fight against drug cheats.*

by Marcus Hoy

William Bock, the US Anti-Doping Agency (USADA) legal enforcer who headed his organisation's legal action against Armstrong, told Play the Game 2013 that the Armstrong case served as a "massive counterweight to the myth that the public does not care about doping".

Despite the US rider's previous popularity across the world, Bock said, the public's judgment following his January 2013 doping admission had been a rejection of his performances. Sponsors had fled and apparel sales had plummeted. "What gives sporting performances value is the belief that they are not chemistry experiments," he said.

Bock, the USADA General Counsel, told the Play the Game conference that most athletes "don't want to dope". However, he pointed out that tremendous pressure to use drugs exists in sports such as cycling, where many riders see no other way of becoming competitive. Often they are told – as Armstrong famously told his US Postal team colleagues – "dope or you are off the team".

But the US rider's decision to dope should not be taken in isolation, Bock said. Cycling's recent history should not be seen as the Armstrong era – it should be seen as the "era of blood doping and EPO".

## Critical time for sport

Armstrong's economic means and public persona meant that he was able to manipulate the sport's decision makers, and make cyclist's ruling body UCI (Union Cycliste Internationale) a de facto accomplice in his attempts to counter doping allegations, Bock said.

UCI "fought tooth and nail" against the US Anti-Doping Agency's legal action against Armstrong, Bock pointed out, disputing the US body's legal jurisdiction and refusing to provide samples. The UCI only recognised Armstrong's transgressions when it had no other options available, Bock said.

Though progress has been made, Bock concluded,



"Those who look the other way have blood on their hands," said William Bock, general counsel for USADA.

the doping era is not over. "This is a critical time for elite sport," he said. "Those who look the other way have blood on their hands."

## More flexibility needed in drug testing

According to some conference speakers, the Armstrong case has exposed more fundamental flaws in the anti-doping system.

Herman Ram of the Netherlands' Anti-Doping Authority said that existing drug testing models needed to be made more flexible and adaptable to individual circumstances.

Cases like Armstrong's, which were "corrupting the sport to its roots", should always be prioritised, he said, and resources should be better targeted and used more effectively. "We should not be forced to do the same thing in every case," he said.

More sociological research was needed into doped athletes' motivations, Ram said. Doping investigators know too little about where athletes' "weak spots" lie, he said.

## Complete nonsense

Professor Perikles Simon of the Johannes Gutenberg University in Mainz went even further in his criticism:

|| No-one else offers the kind of honest debate you get at Play the Game. It is important for me to be reminded why I got interested in the area of sport governance in the first place when I am buried under some of the more bureaucratic aspects of the university education process - Play the Game does that! Plus it is always fun!

Sean Hamil, director, Birkbeck Sport Business Centre, Birkbeck College, University of London, UK

"You can deliver the best test on earth and the system will turn it into complete nonsense in three years," the German doping expert told, adding that human factors had a major bearing on the ineffectiveness of drug testing programs.

Data was now available that correlated the average times of the world's top twenty 5000 metre runners with the introduction of new EPO tests, he said, which appeared to show that new tests temporarily reduced doping use. The average times achieved by the athletes fell markedly when new tests were introduced, he pointed out, but ultimately rose again. Recent data also showed that in-competition testing is much more efficient than out-of-competition testing, Simon added.

While nothing could be proven, he said, such data could imply that national sports agencies were not as enthusiastic about pursuing home-grown dopers as their international counterparts.

Simon, an expert in gene doping and an adviser to the German parliament, also pointed out that athletes seeking to gain an unfair advantage could still utilise a number of loopholes. Insulin and glucose injections, blood transfusions, designer steroids, testosterone and gene doping were all undetectable in standard doping test procedures, he said.

With limited funds available, he said, the anti-doping community should question whether it is spending too much money on older tests and not enough on new procedures. The current drug testing model is an "inefficient system that needs to be repaired", he added.

## Clean athletes "need to know that tests work"

Giving an athlete's perspective, Walter Palmer, a former professional basketball player and current Head of Department at the global platform for athlete associations UNI Sport PRO, told the Play the Game 2013 delegates that clean athletes "really want a system that works".

However, he added that they need to know that the sacrifices they make in agreeing to testing programs – including home testing and liability for everything they ingest – are worthwhile. "You really want to know that the people you are competing against are clean," he said. The fact that Lance Armstrong was allowed to use illegal drugs for so long demonstrated to athletes how ineffective the testing process could be, he said.

Of concern was the fact that statistics released by the World Anti-Doping Agency (WADA) related to



The International Cycling Union under its former president McQuaid allegedly fought "tooth and nail" to defend cycling icon Lance Armstrong (picture) against doping investigations from the USA. Photo: Alessandro Trovati/Polfoto

all positive drug tests, he pointed out, not just those tests that resulted in doping cheats being uncovered. Violations for cannabis use were included in WADA figures, he said, as well as therapeutic use exemptions.

He added that the number of genuine drug cheats uncovered by tests could be as low as 0.07 per cent of those tested, not between one and two per cent as the WADA data might imply.

Palmer concluded that he was unconvinced that new revisions to the WADA code would reduce doping.

"Does compliance with the WADA code reduce prevalence of cheating? We cannot know as there are some serious problems with the approach," he concluded.



# Pound points to lack of incentives to catch drug cheats

*The fight against drugs in sport is being severely hampered by a lack of willpower on the part of sport organisations and national governments, veteran IOC anti-doping enforcer and Play the Game Award winner Richard W. Pound told the Play the Game 2013 conference.*

by Marcus Hoy

Richard W. Pound, former president of the World Anti-Doping Agency (WADA) and former vice-president of the International Olympic Committee (IOC), painted a bleak picture of the present fight against doping in his speech at the conference. Referring to a WADA working group's conclusions he claimed that the vast majority of drug cheats remain undetected. The percentage of doped athletes avoiding detection is likely to be in "double digits", he said, while positive tests account for between one and two per cent of total results.

So how could it be possible that so many athletes were still beating the system? One reason, Pound said, was that sports organisations and national sports bodies have little interest in seeing their athletes test positive.

"There is virtually no incentive out there to catch anyone," he said. "It makes sports leaders look bad and it makes national leaders look bad. Stakeholders want to demonstrate numerical compliance with test requirements. But there is no incentive to identify dopers."

Many sportsmen and women remain "strangely silent" on the issue, he said, and those who do speak out are often ostracised by the sporting community. As examples, he cited cyclists Floyd Landis and Tyler Hamilton, who were famously referred to as 'scumbags' by former UCI (Union Cycliste Internationale) president Pat McQuaid after speaking out against fallen Tour de France icon Lance Armstrong.

Many sports leaders persist in denying that a problem exists in their sport, Pound added, and as a result they are refusing to contribute towards the cost of testing. Testing programs carried out by national bodies are often ineffective, he said, and positive tests are written off as aberrations. Almost every WADA code change requested by national sports organisations would serve to weaken the code, he added.

## Quality testing "more important than quantity"

Instead, anti-doping authorities should recognise that in some cases, tests do not work, Pound said. The number of tests that are carried out is "far less important" than their quality, and according to Pound greater efforts should be made to target tests "at the right people at the right time". While recognising that banning a nation's athletes from competition was a harsh sanction, he added, such a measure was often the only way to force

governments into compliance with the WADA code.

Pound's proposals included giving WADA the power to impose interim suspensions for noncompliance, as well as reducing the time between code revisions and when they take effect. He also called for increased funding of WADA by governments and the IOC, and a greater focus on team sports that, he warned, were currently getting "virtually a free ride".

## New anti-doping partnerships

Frédéric Donzé, director of European Office and IF Relations, WADA, Switzerland, gave a more optimistic view, saying that new strategies adopted by his association were now starting to demonstrate their effectiveness.

For years, he said, pharmaceutical companies had not wished to be associated with the 'negative image' of anti-doping. Now, however, some of them were agreeing to share the composition of new substances with anti-doping agencies before they entered the market, thus allowing effective tests to be formulated ahead of their availability.

Interpol had indicated that many of the people behind match-fixing were also behind doping, he said, which was leading to increased co-operation with the European law enforcement body. Partnerships with educational institutions were also on the rise, he said, while the use of so-called 'biological passports' mapping abnormal biological patterns over a period of time was also increasing.



*His readiness to engage in debate with adversaries and his outspoken way of addressing challenges in sport were the decisive reasons for giving the Play the Game Award to Richard W. Pound.*

## Play the Game Award 2013 the outspoken insider

Canadian IOC member and former WADA President, Richard W. Pound, received the Play the Game Award 2013 for his uncompromising efforts in the fight for a cleaner and more democratic sports movement.

The award has been handed out at each Play the Game conference since 2002 and previous winners mostly have actively criticised the established sports organisations from the outside. This year, however, the award went to 'an insider.'

Pound is a former Olympic swimmer and has been a member of the IOC since 1978. He played an important part in the IOC's clean-up process in the wake of the Salt-Lake City scandal. In his time as WADA president, from its beginning and until 2008, he was one of the main forces in shaping the World Anti-Doping Agency.

"He might not be a person you will always agree with, or like to disagree with, and he might be a person that also from time to time opted to choose his internal fights with care. But he [...] has certainly added enormous value to the world of sport during his many years as a top level international sports leader," said Søren Riiskjær, vice chairman of the board of Play the Game/Danish Institute for Sports Studies, when presenting the award.

Pound was also applauded for his willingness to engage with the outside world in debates about the inside of sports organisations.

## We need guiding values

In his acceptance speech, Pound warned against a passive approach to the many challenges that confront the sports movement.

"I do believe, as many have said here, that sport has become so important that we in fact do face a crisis and that we should not wait until we hit the wall before we do something about it. Because once you hit the

wall, you have no idea what sort of chaos will result and how long it takes to earn back a reputation that you've built up for many years," he continued, calling on the IOC to take a more active role in future Play the Game conferences.

"I think we should be here, not only to speak about what we think is important, but to hear what other people believe is important. The combination, I think, will make for a better, more morally-based, ethically-based sports system in the world and we do need some guiding values these days," Pound concluded.

## facts

The Play the Game Award pays tribute to an individual or a group of persons who in their professional careers or as volunteers in sport have made an outstanding effort to strengthen the basic ethical values of sport and to realise one or more of the following aims:

- to encourage democracy, transparency and freedom of expression in sport
- to create awareness of the role of sport in society at a local, national or international level
- to draw a many-sided picture of sport
- to support the right of the individual to choose and influence his or her daily sporting activities

Learn more about Richard W. Pound at:  
<http://www.playthegame.org/knowledge-bank/articles/play-the-game-award-5675.html>

The conference would not have been possible without contributions from public and private sponsors:

## Co-founder



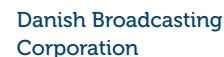
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## Conference partners



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## Programme partners



## Also thanks to the conference suppliers



## Facts about Play the Game/Idan

**Play the Game is an international conference and communication initiative aiming to strengthen the ethical foundation of sport and promote democracy, transparency and freedom of expression in sport. It is run by the Danish Institute for Sports Studies (Idan), an independent institution set up by the Danish Ministry of Culture. The task of Idan is to create overview over and insight into the field of sport nationally and internationally.**

Idan's objectives are:

- to establish a general overview of and insight into academic and other forms of research within the field of sports nationally as well as internationally
- to analyse the implications and perspectives of policy initiatives within the field of sports
- to initiate public debate on key issues in Danish and international sports politics
- to organise the international Play the Game conference at suitable intervals for a target group of Danish and international journalists, academic researchers and sports officials to address current issues in sports politics
- to strengthen the ethical foundations of sport and work to improve democracy, transparency and freedom of speech in international sports through the Play the Game conference and other activities

### Conference facts

The eighth world communication conference on sport and society, Play the Game 2013, took place at Helnan Marselis Hotel in Aarhus, Denmark, from 28-31 October 2013.

### Some key figures:

- 346 participants plus more than 50 day guests from 40 different countries and six continents participated in the 34 different sessions and workshops covering essential issues in sport such as match-fixing, doping, mega-events, participation, facilities, sports governance and journalism.
- 148 speakers gave a total of 164 presentations.

### Programme Committee

In planning the conference programme, Play the Game/Idan received advice and assistance from the Programme Committee:

- **Andreas Selliaas**, communication adviser at Norsk Tipping, Norway
- **Christer Ahl**, MBA, former chairman of the IHF Playing Rules and Referees Commission, web journalist at [www.teamhandballnews.com](http://www.teamhandballnews.com), USA/Sweden
- **Hanne Marie Brevik**, head of sports reporting, Norwegian Broadcasting Corporation (NRK), Norway

- **Ian Nuttall**, founder, Xperiology/TheStadiumBusiness.com, Italy/UK
- **Jens Ewald**, professor of law, former chairman of Anti Doping Danmark, Aarhus University, Denmark
- **Jens Weinreich**, journalist and blogger, [www.jensweinreich.de](http://www.jensweinreich.de), Germany
- **Katia Rubio**, professor of sports psychology, Universidade de São Paulo, Brazil
- **Kimberly S. Schimmel**, PhD, associate professor, Kent State University, US
- **Koen Breedveld**, director, Mulier Institute, Utrecht University, the Netherlands
- **Michael Groll**, dr, lecturer, Institute of European Sport Development and Leisure Studies, German Sport University Cologne, Germany
- **Mogens Kirkeby**, president, International Sport and Culture Association, Denmark
- **Niels Christian Jung**, reporter, National Broadcasting Cooperation of Denmark (DR), Denmark
- **Osasu Obayiuwana**, associate editor, NewAfrican Magazine, London, UK/Nigeria
- **Tine Rindum Teilmann**, board member, National Olympic Committee and Sports Confederation of Denmark (DIF), and member of the IOC Women's Commission, Denmark
- **Tolga Senel**, sports consultant, Turkey
- **Verner Møller**, professor, Section for Sport Science, Aarhus University, Denmark

### Board

As a part of Idan the overall responsibility of Play the Game rests with Idan's board appointed by the Danish Minister of Culture:

**Johs Poulsen**, chairman of the board, chairman of culture and leisure in the Municipality of Herning and former Member of Parliament (R), **Søren Riiskjær**, vice chairman of the board, head of sports politics at Danish Gymnastics and Sports Associations (DGI), **Anne-Marie Dohm**, director at the Danish Broadcasting Corporation (DR), **Gurli Martinussen**, director at Trygfonden, **Mette Lykke**, co-founder and CEO of Endomondo, **Mikkel Mølgaard Frandsen Rugaard**, director of Street Movement, cand.arch.mDD - Partner/Architecture & design, **Sigmund Loland**, professor at the Norwegian School of Sport Sciences, **Hans Stavsager**, external consultant at the National Volunteer Centre in Denmark and owner of HAST Kommunikation Aps.

### Contact

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“... the conference was interesting and engaging, and thus begins what I hope will be a defining moment when sports and human rights converge to make the world a better place.”

*Elizabeth Martin, president and founder, Brazil Police Watch, [www.dontkill4me.org](http://www.dontkill4me.org), USA*



## Should your sports organisation become more honest and efficient?

### sports governance observer

The Sports Governance Observer is a new benchmarking tool that enables national and international sports leaders to improve the governance of their federation.

It is developed in cooperation with leading experts from six European universities and aimed at bringing practical change in the everyday running of sport's organisations. The Sports Governance Observer focuses on four key areas of governance: Transparency & public communication, Democratic Processes, Checks & Balances and Solidarity.

Better governance is a way to wipe out corruption and backroom dealings, but it is more than that: It is a way to make your organisation more efficient and add to its public prestige.

Does your organisation need a governance check? Contact [info@playthegame.org](mailto:info@playthegame.org) to get more information about the Sports Governance Observer and how to use it.

The Sports Governance Observer is developed by Play the Game/the Danish Institute for Sports Studies in cooperation with KU Leuven, the University of Utrecht, IDHEAP Lausanne, Loughborough University, University of Ljubljana, the German Sport University Cologne and the European Journalism Centre. They joined forces in the Action for Good Governance in International Sports Organisations (AGGIS) which received support from the European Union. You can read more about its making and study surveys and texts about sports governance at: [www.aggis.eu](http://www.aggis.eu)



### Find photos, videos, slides and texts from the conference at our homepage

A magazine can only give a small picture of a very content-rich conference.

Go to our website [www.playthegame.org/2013](http://www.playthegame.org/2013) to find more information about the conference and discover other interesting stories from the presentations that could not fit into this magazine.

Find presentations as slides and texts at:

[www.playthegame.org/conferences/play-the-game-2013/presentations](http://www.playthegame.org/conferences/play-the-game-2013/presentations)

See on-demand streaming at:

[www.playthegame.org/conferences/play-the-game-2013/on-demand-streaming](http://www.playthegame.org/conferences/play-the-game-2013/on-demand-streaming)

See Thomas Søndergaard's conference photos at: [www.flickr.com/photos/play\\_the\\_game](http://www.flickr.com/photos/play_the_game)

