

CHARLES UNIVERSITY

FACULTY OF SOCIAL SCIENCES

Institute of Political Studies

Master's Thesis

2018

Bc. Kristýna Králová

CHARLES UNIVERSITY

FACULTY OF SOCIAL SCIENCES

Institute of Political Studies

**Sport as a tool of international politics: International
Olympic Committee and mechanism of host city election**

Master's thesis

Author: Bc. Kristýna Králová

Study programme: International Relations

Supervisor: Michal Parížek, Ph.D.

Year of the defence: 2018

Declaration

1. I hereby declare that I have compiled this thesis using the listed literature and resources only.
2. I hereby declare that my thesis has not been used to gain any other academic title.
3. I fully agree to my work being used for study and scientific purposes.

Prague May 11, 2018

Kristýna Králová

References

KRÁLOVÁ, Kristýna. Sport as a tool of international politics: International Olympic Committee and mechanism of host city election. Praha, 2018. 59 pages. Master's thesis (Mgr.). Charles University, Faculty of Social Sciences, Institute of Political Science. Department of International Relations. Supervisor Michal Parížek, Ph.D.

Length of the thesis: 109 062

Abstract

This thesis is focused on one of our sport diplomacy institutions, namely the International Olympic Committee. It aspires to primarily introduce the International Olympic Committee as an influential institution in international relations, whereas, also attempting to examine whether it behaves normatively and with certain political responsibility. The International Olympic Committee is introduced, based on content analysis method, in the introductory part of the thesis, whereas attention is focused on its structure, decision making process, the idea of Olympism and primarily the mechanism of host city election. Furthermore, logistic regression analysis is conducted. The analysis aspires to answer, whether the International Olympic Committee elects host cities in accordance with the principles of the ide of Olympism, or whether other factors prevail. The analysis is then supplemented with a case study, which deals with the issue of the Beijing Games. The Case study stems from the Rising Powers theory and the regression analysis results and attempts to elucidate the Beijing second success in winning the bid for the 2022 Games despite the controversy which followed the 2008 Beijing Summer Olympic Games. The Thesis comes to several conclusions. Firstly, it negates the idea of the normative function of the International Olympic Committee, as far as it states that depending on the data acquired from the regression analysis, the International Olympic Committee elects host cities in accordance with some, but not all, Olympic Charter principles, while candidate's GDP value, referring to its economic power, is the most decisive factor. It further argues that Beijing's second success corresponds with the International Olympic Committee's latest trend to prioritise candidates with strong security index, significant economic growth and poor compliance with human rights. Ultimately it aspires to prove an explanation in reference to the Rising Powers theory.

Keywords

International Olympic Committee, Olympic Games host city election, Olympic Games, sport diplomacy, rising powers theory

Title

Sport as a tool of international politics: International Olympic Committee and mechanism of host city election

Abstrakt

Tématem této diplomové práce je jedna z institucí sportovní diplomacie, konkrétně Mezinárodní olympijský výbor. Cílem práce je primárně představit Mezinárodní olympijský výbor jako vlivnou instituci v oblasti mezinárodních vztahů a zároveň prozkoumat, zda se jako mezinárodní instituce s politickou odpovědností chová normativně. V úvodní části práce je na základě obsahové analýzy představen Mezinárodní olympijský výbor, jeho struktura, rozhodovací procesy, olympijská myšlenka a především průběh volby hostitelského města pro olympijské hry. Následně je pozornost věnována logistické regresní analýze, na jejímž základě se práce snaží zodpovědět, zda Mezinárodní olympijský výbor vybírá hostitelská města v souladu s principy olympijské myšlenky, jež jsou zároveň principy Olympijské charty. Regresní analýza je následně doplněna o případovou studii, která se zabývá olympijskými hrami v Pekingu. Případová studie vychází z teorie „*rising powers*“ a z výsledků regresní analýzy, na jejichž základě se snaží vysvětlit, jak je možné, že po kontroverzních Letních olympijských hrách v r. 2008, získal Peking znovu statut hostitelského města pro Zimní olympijské hry v roce 2022. Práce dochází k několika závěrům. Nejprve neguje myšlenku o normativní funkci Mezinárodního olympijského výboru, když na základě výsledků regresní analýzy tvrdí, že statut hostitelského města je udělován pouze v souladu s některými principy Olympijské charty, přičemž mnohem vlivnější je faktor HDP, vypovídající o ekonomické síle státu. Následně tvrdí, že opakované vítězství Pekingu ve volbě o hostitelské město pro Zimní olympijské hry v r. 2022, odpovídá současnému trendu, kdy ve volbách vítězí země s vysokým bezpečnostním indexem, vysokým ekonomickým růstem a nízkým respektem vůči lidským právům. S odkazem na teorii „*rising powers*“ se snaží tento jev vysvětlit.

Klíčová slova

Mezinárodní olympijský výbor, Volba kandidátské země pro pořádání olympijských her, olympijské hry, sportovní diplomacie, teorie „*rising powers*“

Název práce

Sport jako nástroj mezinárodní politiky: Mezinárodní olympijský výbor a mechanismus volby hostitelské země pro olympijské hry

Acknowledgement

I would like to express my sincere gratitude to my supervisor Michal Parížek, Ph.D. for his expert advice, encouragement and continuous support. This thesis would not have been possible without his guidance.

Table of Contents

INTRODUCTION	1
1. LITERATURE REVIEW	6
1.1. Existing researches	6
1.2. Academic literature related to International Olympic Committee	7
1.3. Academic literature related to Beijing Games	8
1.4. Formulation of Hypotheses	10
2. METHODOLOGY	12
2.1. Research questions	12
2.2. Methodology: Quantitative Research	13
2.3. Methodology: Qualitative Research	14
3. INTERNATIONAL OLYMPIC COMMITTEE	16
3.1. International Olympic Committee as international organization	16
3.1.1. Historical establishment and development	16
3.1.2. Organizational Structure	17
3.1.2.1. IOC Executive Board	17
3.1.2.2. IOC Commissions	18
3.2. The Olympic movement	19
3.3. Mechanism of host city election	20
3.3.1. The candidature process step by step	20
3.3.2. Financing of the Committee	22
4. LOGISTIC REGRESSION ANALYSIS	23
4.1. Dataset	23
4.1.1. Variable Analysis	25
4.1.2. Correlation Coefficient	26
4.2. Logistic Regression Model	26
4.3. Analysis and Discussion	27
4.3.1. 1992-2022	27
4.3.2. Sub-data sets 1992-2006 and 2008-2022	30

4.3.2.1. Subset: Olympic Games 1992-2006	31
4.3.2.2. Subset: Olympic Games 2008-2022	34
4.3.3. Summary	36
5. CASE STUDY: BEIJING GAMES	37
5.1. Rising Powers: theoretical background	38
5.2. Summer Olympic Games Beijing 2008	41
5.2.1. Candidate selection procedure	42
5.2.2. Factors of analysis	43
5.2.2.1. Conflict	43
5.2.2.2. Human Rights	44
5.2.2.3. Gender (in)equality	45
5.2.2.4. GDP	45
5.2.2.5. Security	46
5.2.2.6. Nuclear Power	47
5.2.2.7. GDP growth	48
5.3. Winter Olympic Games Beijing 2022	49
5.3.1. Candidate selection procedure	49
5.3.2. Factors of analysis	50
5.3.2.1. Conflict	50
5.3.2.2. Human Rights	51
5.3.2.3. Gender (in)equality	52
5.3.2.4. GDP	52
5.3.2.5. Security	54
5.3.2.6. Nuclear Power	55
5.3.2.7. GDP growth	55
CONCLUSION	57
SUMMARY	60
LIST OF REFERENCES	61
LIST OF APPENDICES	70
APPENDICES	71

List of Figures

Figure 1 – 1992-2022: variables	30
Figure 2- 1992-2006: variables	33
Figure 3 – 2008 – 2022: variables	35
Figure 4 - Dimensions comprising the concept of the emerging power in International Relations	39
Figure 5 - Poverty population and the poverty rate of the world	46
Figure 6 – China’s Share of World GDP Growth	48
Figure 7 – China’s GDP during 2001-2010	53
Figure 8 – China’s GDP (US \$)	54
Figure 9 – Forecast growth rates of GDP	56

List of Abbreviations

IOC – International Olympic Committee

UN – United Nations

UNSC – United Nations Security Council

IF – International Federation

NOC – National Olympic Committee

OCOG – Organizing Committee for the Olympic Games

TOP – the Olympic Programme

WTO – World Trade Organization

BRICS – acronym for a group of emerging powers Brazil, Russian Federation, India, China and South Africa

Introduction

Professional sport and sport mega events have become a significant tool within international politics. Many academics have noticed the eminent role of sport and Riordan and Krügel even argue that professional sport and, in particular the birth of the modern Olympic Games, in the 20th century, have heavily contributed to large social changes and therefore helped to solve various global issues concerning e.g. gender or race inequality. Riordan and Krügel find it interesting that in this new age of modern sport, states did not participate in the organizing of mega events as much as possible, and therefore not recognizing the political potential hidden behind them and so not able to envisage the political influence these events were about to bring. They see the change coming after the World War I when more sport federations were being established, more international tournaments were held and ,what is more important, the upcoming authoritarian regimes found it very useful to put sport goals near to the top of the goals of their political agenda.¹

One of the greatest examples to support Riordan and Krügel's argument is the 1936 Summer Olympic Games which were held in Nazi Berlin. Not only did the winning of the candidate procedure mean that Germany (or the Weimar Republic at that time) had become internationally recognized as a trustworthy partner, but the impact of these Games was much larger. On the one hand, the Berlin Games were held to increase german popularity and present a "New Germany" worldwide but, on the other hand, it was supposed to serve to increase the popularity of the Nazi Party within Germany. This was marked after January 1933, when the Nazis found out the political and propaganda potential of the Games. It seemed that the potential may have been limited by the IOC when the IOC President, Henri de Baillet-Latour, announced that the Summer Olympic Games might be replaced if Germany sustained the refusal to allow Jewish or Afro-American athletes to participate, which he found to be against the principles of the Olympic Charter. However, no IOC decision and no boycott lead to the replacement of the Games.²

¹ RIORDAN, James a Arnd. KRÜGER, 1999. *The international politics of sport in the 20th century*. 1. New York: Routledge. ISBN 978-0419211600.

² KESSLER, Mario, 2011. Only Nazi Games? Berlin 1936: The Olympic Games between Sports and Politics. *Socialism and Democracy* [online]. 25(2), 125-143 [cit. 2017-08-24]. DOI: 10.1080/08854300.2011.579476. ISSN 0885-4300. Available at: <http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/08854300.2011.579476>

The 1936 “Nazi Games” are often marked as that which began the era of politicisation of the Games and are followed by many other politicised Games, e.g. 1972 Summer Olympic Games in Munich, 1980 Summer Olympic Games in Moscow or 1984 Summer Olympic Games in Los Angeles.

The 21st century came up with several controversial Games in which the candidate procedure of Sochi has, probably, been one of the most controversial so far. It was, to some extent, unique as far as the Russian president, Vladimir Putin, was present at one of the IOC meetings in Guatemala. This is not common but it was later commented upon as being the best move the Russian Federation could have made to win the procedure. In spite of broad criticism reflecting Russian political system, the Sochi Games received a lot of criticism due to the dissolution of the Sochi Olympic Committee, established by the IOC. Such an act was labelled to be the IOC Charter violation. The Winter Olympic Games in Sochi represent an important milestone and highlight the Kremlin political strategy. The age of Putinism was on the verge of decline and therefore a new need for a symbol or a tool that would strengthen Russian nationalism was necessary. The Olympic Games have proven to be a useful and very successful choice.³

It is argued, that the success of these countries that hosted the controversial Olympic events and the willingness of the IOC to elect them to host such mega event is embedded in soft power strategy. Soft, non-coercive, power “*has the ability to shape the preferences of others through appeal and attraction*”, therefore the means of persuasion are not the use of force, however, attractive cultural or sport mega events, instead.⁴

The past decade of the Olympic Games has had a series of controversial Olympic Games including the 2008 Summer Olympic Games in Beijing, the 2014 Winter Olympic Games in Sochi or the 2016 Summer Olympic Games in Rio de Janeiro. These examples have a lot in common as far as all the host cities lie within the emerging economic countries and they are

³ President Vladimir Putin took part in the presentation of Sochi at the 119th session of the International Olympic Committee, which will choose the venue for the 2014 Winter Olympics, 2007. *Kremlin: Events* [online]. Guatemala City [cit. 2017-08-24]. Available at: <http://en.kremlin.ru/events/president/news/41136>

⁴ NYE, Joseph S., 2004. *Soft power the means to success in world politics*. New York: Public Affairs. ISBN 978-078-6738-960.

all members of the group called BRICS.⁵ This fact contributes to the idea of establishment, development and the importance of sport diplomacy within international relations.

Based on recent trends in the establishment of sport diplomacy, the thesis aspires thus to introduce the IOC as influential organization and to address its normative function by answering following research questions:

RQ1: Does the IOC elect Olympic Games host cities in accordance with Olympic Charter principles?

RQ2: If not, what are other, more influential factors, which play decisive role within host city election procedure?

In RQ1, Olympic Charter principles are understood as principles of the idea of Olympism which are defined in Olympic Charter: " *The enjoyment of the rights and freedoms set forth in this Olympic Charter shall be secured without discrimination of any kind, such as race, colour, sex, sexual orientation, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status* "⁶ According to these principles and based on the Olympic Charter, hypotheses for RQ1 were formulated, stating that *If the country is not taking part in an armed conflict, the chance to win the elections is bigger (H₁), If the country protects human rights, the chance to win the elections is bigger (H₂), If the country tries to ban discrimination and to promote equality, the chance to win the elections is bigger (H₃).*

As for RQ2, six hypotheses were formulated. Firstly, three hypotheses defined as functional, as far as they are assumed to represent state's ability to host the Games. These requirements are defined within Host City Contract document⁷. Based on this, the hypotheses state that *The bigger the city's area is, the bigger is the chance to win the elections (H₄), the higher country's GDP growth is, the bigger is the chance to win the elections (H₅), the better the country's security is, the bigger is the chance to win the elections (H₆).* Ultimately, what is called power stressing group of hypotheses was formulated. These hypotheses *The larger country's nuclear energy resources reserve is, the bigger the chance to win the elections (H₇),*

⁵ BRICS is an acronym for a group of states with emerging economies: Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa.

⁶ IOC., 2016. *Olympic Charter*, Lausanne. Available at: https://stillmed.olympic.org/media/Document%20Library/OlympicOrg/General/EN-Olympic-Charter.pdf#_ga=2.6366002.1663279215.1498577427-671679150.1496079020.

⁷ Host City Contract: Operational Requirements, 2016. *International Olympic Committee* [online]. Lausanne [cit. 2017-08-24]. Available at: <https://stillmed.olympic.org/media/Document%20Library/OlympicOrg/Documents/Host-City-Elections/XXXIII-Olympiad-2024/Host-City-Contract-2024-Operational-Requirements.pdf>

the larger country's economy (GDP) is, the bigger is the chance to win the elections (H₈), if the country is UN Security Council member, the chance to win the elections is bigger (H₉) characterize state's power dominance.

The thesis is divided in two parts. The first part focuses its attention on the establishment of the IOC, the historical birth of the idea of Olympism and also illustrates the structural body of the organization. The IOC was established and is still presented as a not-for-profit, independent, international organization constituted of volunteers and guided by the following motto: *The goal of the Olympic Movement is to contribute to building a peaceful and better world by educating youth through sport practised without discrimination of any kind, in a spirit of friendship, solidarity and fair play.*⁸

The IOC's recent cooperation with the UN⁹ and other international organizations leads to the claim that it has become an influential actor within international relations, therefore it should act with a certain responsibility.

Based on such an argument, the thesis aspires to examine, in the second part, the level of political responsibility by turning to the subject of the Olympic Games host cities election. It focuses attention on the Olympic Games host city election bids and processes to examine whether successful bids gained the host city status in accordance with the Olympic Charter principles or whether there were other decisive, more influential factors. The thesis aspires to do so by conducting a mixed-method research. First, statistical evidence is provided by running a logistic regression analysis. This analysis is then supplemented with a case study examining the Beijing Olympic Games 2008 and 2022.

The regression analysis tests 9 variables and 72 observations. The observations depict 72 candidate cities, which bided for the Games hosted from 1986 to 2022. Whereas the variables symbolize normative, functional and power-stressing factors.

To be able to answer RQ1, the regression model coefficients are calculated for all variables and are then compared. The main attention is focused on normative variables to see whether the normative hypotheses are confirmed and whether the RQ1 is answered in terms, that the IOC does elect host cities in accordance with Olympic Charter principles. As for

⁸ International Olympic Committee: The Organisation, 2017. *Olympic* [online]. Lausanne [cit. 2017-08-24]. Available at: <https://www.olympic.org/about-ioc-institution>

⁹ Cooperation with the UN, 2017. *Olympic* [online]. Lausanne [cit. 2017-08-24]. Available at: <https://www.olympic.org/cooperation-with-the-un>

RQ2, coefficients are calculated to assess the validity of hypotheses for RQ2 and thus to answer, whether there are more influential factors than the normative ones.

Beijing Games were chosen as a most likely case, for the case study, since it has claimed victory in elections of 2022 Olympic Games host city, in spite of the controversy, which followed the 2008 Beijing Summer Olympic Games. It is alarming that a country which barely complies with human rights is elected to host the Olympic Games repeatedly in a short time. Beijing Games are one, but not only, example of controversial Games, which were held within past years, e.g. Sochi or Rio de Janeiro Games. All summed up, these controversial Olympic events were hosted by BRICS states, the rising powers.

The case study primarily aspires to introduce the Rising Power theory, a concept which is embedded in a soft power strategy as far as the means of exercising the influence of rising powers and achieving international recognition is projection of soft power.¹⁰ Secondly, it also attempts to complement the regression analysis data with a qualitative description of individual factors, aspiring to provide alternative measurements. As the thesis presupposes that the IOC prioritises other than normative factors, it desires to provide an explanation, based on the Rising Power theory, of a Beijing's success.

Stated later in the thesis, the results of the research show that the IOC fulfils its normative role only partially and tends to prioritise candidates with high GDP. Further, the outcomes of the regression analysis also indicate that since the beginning of the 21st century, certain changes within the IOC's discourse can be perceived. In particular, the IOC tends to prioritize countries with strong security index, significant economic growth and irrespective of human rights.

¹⁰ TANK, Pinar, 2012. The concept of "rising powers". *Norwegian Peacebuilding Resource Centre* [online]. Oslo [cit. 2017-08-24]. Available at: <https://www.files.ethz.ch/isn/146521/aa7c23bf5887ab060f1af737a39a000a.pdf>

1. Literature Review

This chapter puts forward the existing research investigating the same topic and also presents the academic literature on which the thesis and the case study primarily are based. Ultimately, based on the literature presented, the hypotheses have been formulated

1.1. Existing researches

The matter of sport diplomacy has appeared to become emerging issue within academic sphere of international relations, as far as it is encompassed among several academic publications. *“Professional sports today have truly become a global force, a common language that anyone, regardless of their nationality, can understand“*, Markovits and Rensmann state.¹¹ Markovits argues, that globalization is sneaking into world of sports, whereas it makes athletes and sport agents of globalization and also political actors.¹² Allison published a range of essays on political issues connected with sport, e.g. sport and globalization, sport and the nation or sport and prestige within international relations. He claims that sport is becoming more important actor of globalization, therefore sporting organizations, e.g. FIFA or the IOC, are becoming far more influential actors, than states.¹³

On the contrary to literature dealing with the issue of sport diplomacy, not many academics focus their attention to issue, which corresponds with the subject of the thesis. In spite of a lack of academic literature referencing the subject of the thesis, the scholars, Jean Loup Chappelet, Paul D. Poast and Maenning and Vierhaus conducted a great deal of research to attempt to illustrate the IOC’s tendencies in the Olympic Games host city election. Chappelet asserts that none of the Olympic Games in modern history have ever been so overpaid as the Summer Olympic Games of Beijing 2008 or London 2012. In his study, he focuses on examining in detail the factors - participating countries, sports programme, accreditations, participating teams, Olympic media, sponsors and licensees, and spectators - leading to winning the bid for all hosting cities from 1992 to 2012. Based on the data acquired

¹¹ MARKOVITS, Andrei S. a Lars RENSMANN, 2013. *Gaming the world: how sports are reshaping global politics and culture*. 2. S.l.: Princeton Univ Press. ISBN 978-069-1162-034.

¹² Ibid.

¹³ ALLISON, Lincoln., 2004. *The global politics of sport: the role of global institutions in sport*. 1. New York: Routledge. ISBN 978-041-5346-023.

from the analysis, he advances that the Olympic Games has become a soft arms race between powerful countries over the past decades and has been receding from the idea of Olympism.¹⁴

Paul D. Post analyzes the systematic tendencies of the IOC Olympic Games host city election procedure. He claims that many case studies have come up with several analyses and finally claims why the IOC selects particular host cities. However, he believes that only a large-n analysis could bring about a valuable explanation. He therefore examines the Olympic Games from 1959 to 2005 and states that there is a statistical tendency in the IOC to base its decision on economic factors.¹⁵

Wolfgang Maening and Christopher Vierhaus published an article examining 147 variables with potential to discriminate an unsuccessful from a successful host city bid for the Olympic Games. Based on the results acquired by running a rank-ordered logistic regression analysis, they argue that political liberalization, large markets, higher medium-term growth economies and population support are decisive factors for winning the bid.¹⁶

1.2. Academic literature related to International Olympic Committee

Not many academic researchers focus their attention on the subject of the thesis, therefore it primarily rests on the IOC official reports, which are our primary literature resources.¹⁷ The IOC reports refer, in particular, to the candidature procedure and the Olympic Charter principles.¹⁸ As far as the thesis sets out to provide an explanation for the decisive factors for winning the candidature procedure, it primarily works with official IOC reports considering the individual procedures from 1986-2015.

¹⁴CHAPPELET, Jean-Loup, 2013. Managing the size of the Olympic Games. *Sport in Society* [online]. **17**(5), 581-592 [cit. 2017-08-23]. DOI: 10.1080/17430437.2013.834621. ISSN 1743-0437. Available at: <http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/17430437.2013.834621>

¹⁵ POAST, Paul D., 2007. Winning the Bid: Analyzing the International Olympic Committee's Host City Selections. *International Interactions* [online]. **33**(1), 75-95 [cit. 2017-08-23]. DOI: 10.1080/03050620601157470. ISSN 0305-0629. Available at: <http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/03050620601157470>

¹⁶ MAENNIG, Wolfgang a Christopher VIERHAUS, 2017. Winning the Olympic host city election: key success factors. *Applied Economics* [online]. **49**(31), 3086-3099 [cit. 2017-08-23]. DOI: 10.1080/00036846.2016.1254339. ISSN 0003-6846. Available at: <https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/00036846.2016.1254339>

¹⁷ IOC., 2016. *Olympic Charter*, Lausanne. Available at: https://stillmed.olympic.org/media/Document%20Library/OlympicOrg/General/EN-Olympic-Charter.pdf#_ga=2.6366002.1663279215.1498577427-671679150.1496079020.

¹⁸ IOC., 2015. *Report of the 2022 Evaluation Commission* 1st ed., Lausanne. Available at: https://stillmed.olympic.org/media/Document%20Library/OlympicOrg/Documents/Host-City-Elections/XXIV-OWG-2022/Report-of-the-IOC-Evaluation-Commission-for-the-XXIV-Olympic-Winter-Games-2022.pdf#_ga=2.94922524.1663279215.1498577427-671679150.1496079020.

The secondary literature resources also point out the issue of candidature procedure, however, they also focus on international institutions theoretical background on the one hand and the status of the IOC within the international institutions on the other hand.¹⁹

Bousfield and Montsion deal with the issue of identifying the IOC's international position within their article and they both argue that the prestige of the IOC has risen so far that we need to treat the IOC as other international institutions, as, for example, the UN. Therefore they claim that the IOC should create normative pressures as far as sport has become a significant tool of international diplomacy.²⁰ Levermore and Budd also claim that sport diplomacy and sport in general go hand in hand with international relations. They stress that professional sport contributes to nation building and is therefore a significant facet of international diplomacy.²¹

1.3. Academic literature related to Beijing Games

The second part of the research is arranged as a case study investigating the Winter Olympic Games 2022, with a focus on the candidature procedure. Therefore, academic writings that focus on the host city (Beijing) election are used as primary literature resources. The thesis also maps Beijing's candidature for the Summer Olympic Games of 2008 and underlines the period between these two mega events, turning to the subject of advancement or the decline of several factors to support or challenge the hypothesis. The secondary literature resources, on the whole, focus attention on the fundamental character of the IOC's arguments, explaining the reasons for Beijing's victory for both the 2008 and the 2022 Games. For example, Heidi Haugen's article investigates Beijing's candidature of 2008, concerning the position of the IOC and the idea of Olympism. Haugen stresses that the principle cause of the IOC's support for Beijing's bid is the IOC's attempt to present Olympism as a driving force behind modernity.²²

¹⁹ BOUSFIELD, Dan a Jean Michel MONTSION, 2012. Transforming an international organization: norm confusion and the International Olympic Committee. *Sport in Society* [online]. **15**(6), 823-838 [cit. 2017-08-23]. DOI: 10.1080/17430437.2012.708284. ISSN 1743-0437. Available at: <http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/17430437.2012.708284>

²⁰ Ibid.

²¹ LEVERMORE, Roger a Adrian BUDD, 2004. *Sport and international relations: an emerging relationship*. 1. New York: Routledge. ISBN 978-0714682839.

²² HAUGEN, Heidi Østbø, 2011. Time and space in Beijing's Olympic bid. *Norsk Geografisk Tidsskrift - Norwegian Journal of Geography* [online]. **59**(3), 217-227 [cit. 2017-08-23]. DOI: 10.1080/00291950500228238. ISSN 0029-1951. Available at: <http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/00291950500228238>

The issue regarding use of non-coercive power within international relations, e.g. cultural or sports mega event, emerged in researches of Joseph Nye. One of Nye's greatest contributions to the academic field was the introduction of soft power theory. Nye defines soft power as the ability of state to persuade other actors to do what the state wants them to do, without the use of military power. Whereas state's ability and attractiveness is embedded in its economic and cultural potential. According to Nye's definition, hosting of the Olympic event or the number of Olympic medals a country had achieved, symbolise state's soft power.²³ In 2010, The Institute for Government in cooperation with Monocle, the media company, introduced index, which measures the soft power among states.²⁴ Their research was then followed by introduction of other soft power factors and their ranking.²⁵

The soft power theory presents broad perspective, which encompasses a range of concepts and theories, which are connected with and embedded in it. Rising powers theory is one of them. The theory states, that rising powers aspire to gain more influential position within international politics. One of the means by which rising powers can achieve international recognition, is projection of their own soft power strategy.²⁶ Rising powers theory is connected with the BRICS states, emerging economies of the post-Cold War world, particularly with China or India.²⁷

Marcus P. Chu maps out former unsuccessful candidature procedures of Chinese cities to host the Winter Olympic Games and attempts to explain why Beijing's candidature for the 2022 Winter Olympic Games was ultimately a successful one. Chinese local governments lack the competences to make successful bids and that the lack of the Chinese governments support was the reason for previous failures. Chu stresses that the principal cause for Beijing's success is that since China has figured out that the Olympic Games successfully

²³ NYE, Joseph S., 2004. *Soft power the means to success in world politics*. New York: Public Affairs. ISBN 978-078-6738-960.

²⁴ MCCLORY, Jonathan, 2010. The new persuaders: an international ranking of soft power". *Institute for government* [online]. [cit. 2017-08-23]. Available at: https://www.instituteforgovernment.org.uk/publications_download.php?id=20

²⁵ *The Soft Power 30 - A Global Ranking of Soft Power* [online], 2015. Portland [cit. 2017-08-23]. Dostupné z: https://softpower30.com/pdfs/the_soft_power_30.pdf

²⁶ TANK, Pinar, 2012. The concept of "rising powers". *Norwegian Peacebuilding Resource Centre* [online]. Oslo [cit. 2017-08-24]. Available at: <https://www.files.ethz.ch/isn/146521/aa7c23bf5887ab060f1af737a39a000a.pdf>

²⁷ CALLAHAN, William, 2005. How to understand china: the dangers and opportunities of being a rising power. *Review of International Studies* [online]. Cambridge, 31(4), 701-714 [cit. 2017-08-24]. Available at: <https://www.cambridge.org/core/journals/review-of-international-studies/article/div-classtitlehow-to-understand-china-the-dangers-and-opportunities-of-being-a-rising->

serves as a political (and international) tool, the governments have expressed significant support for the candidature bids.²⁸

1.4. Formulation of hypotheses

Based on a literature review I have formulated nine hypotheses, which are then divided into three various groups, depending on the factors they represent.

The first group of hypotheses, called the normative group, is based on the Olympic Charter and its principles. It is based on the presumption that the IOC electing an Olympic Games host city is in accordance with the Charter principles and therefore maintains a united front with the idea of Olympism. *“Healthy democracy, wise and peaceful internationalism, will penetrate the new stadium and preserve within it the cult of honour and disinterestedness which will enable athletics to help in the tasks of moral education and social peace as well as of muscular development.”*²⁹ Based on Coubertin’s statement, the IOC has formulated a list of rules which make up the introductory part of the Olympic Charter. Based on these rules, I formulated the following hypotheses.

- If the country is not taking part in an armed conflict, the chance to win the elections is bigger (H₁)
- If the country protects human rights, the chance to win the elections is bigger (H₂)
- If the country tries to ban discrimination and to promote equality, the chance to win the elections is bigger (H₃)

On the whole, these hypotheses illustrate the normative objective of the IOC. Therefore, if the regression analysis provides statistical evidence arguing that these three hypotheses play decisive role within the host city election, it will lead to the claim that the IOC host city election process is done in accordance with the Charter principles.

The second group of hypothesis, called the functional group, consists of the factors demonstrating the country’s ability to host the Games.

- The bigger the city’s area the bigger the chance to win the elections (H₄)

²⁸ CHU, Marcus P., 2016. Chinese cities bid for the Winter Olympics: from Harbin’s failure to Beijing and Zhangjiakou’s success. *Asia Pacific Journal of Sport and Social Science* [online]. 5(2), 120-131 [cit. 2017-08-23]. DOI: 10.1080/21640599.2016.1193302. ISSN 2164-0599. Available at: <http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/21640599.2016.1193302>

²⁹ LOLAND, Sigmund, 1995. *Coubertin’s Ideology of Olympism from the Perspective of the History of Ideas*. Oslo

- The higher the country's GDP growth is, the bigger the chance to win the elections (H₅)
- The better the country's security the bigger the chance to win the elections (H₆)

These hypotheses are formulated on the basis of the host cities election principles defined in the Olympic Charter, e.g. *“All candidate cities shall provide financial guarantees as required by the IOC Executive Board, which will determine whether such guarantees shall be issued by the city itself, or by any other competent local, regional or national public authorities, or by any third parties.”*³⁰ Functional hypotheses demonstrate candidate's ability to host the Olympic event, and are thus considered to be important condition. The IOC must guarantee that the candidate city is able to host the Games and therefore not pose a threat to the Olympic Games and their hosting. Validation of these hypotheses within the regression analysis demonstrates that the Olympic host city election does not correspond with the Olympic Charter principles, whereas it is also not identified with the power-stressing factors.

Ultimately, the third group of hypotheses consists of power-stressing factors.

- The larger the country's nuclear energy resources reserve is, the bigger the chance to win the elections (H₇)
- The larger the country's economy (GDP) is, the bigger the chance to win the elections (H₈)
- If the country is a UN Security Council member, the chance to win the elections is bigger (H₉)

As far as these hypotheses should represent country's dominance in power-relations, their validation leads to the claim that the neither normative factors, nor functional factors play a decisive role. Rather that the election is influenced by other factors, e.g. country's GDP demonstrating candidate's economic power or UNSC membership, which illustrates candidate's political power.

³⁰ IOC., 2016. *Olympic Charter*, Lausanne. Available at: https://stillmed.olympic.org/media/Document%20Library/OlympicOrg/General/EN-Olympic-Charter.pdf#_ga=2.6366002.1663279215.1498577427-671679150.1496079020.

2. Methodology

This thesis is inspired by Paul D. Post's large-n analysis which attempts to explain which indicators influence the Olympic Games host city elections³¹. However, the thesis differs from Post's research in a range of ways. First, on the contrary to Post's research, the thesis encompasses different time period, including the controversial Olympic events, which are missed out by Post. Second, the thesis focuses attention to normative role of the IOC by examining which group of factors prevails, however, Post's large-n analysis does not take any normative role in consideration. Third, opposed to Post's analysis based only on quantitative research methods, the thesis itself rests on mixed-methods research³² with quantitative research in its first phase and then supplemented with a case study based on qualitative research methods. Each of these methods is described in detail within the following subchapters. Research questions are also defined.

2.1. Research Questions

The thesis sets out to examine whether the Olympic Games host city election is determined by the Olympic Charter principles or by some other power-stressing factors. By running a logistic regression analysis, the thesis attempts to test hypotheses to determine the most influential factors that contribute to winning the candidature procedure. Nine various hypotheses introducing nine various and possible influential factors are tested within the thesis, of which the first third covers normative hypotheses corresponding to Olympic principles, stating that the absence of conflict, protection of human rights and gender equality are the most influential factors (H₁-H₃). The second third encompasses functional hypotheses, which determine the state's ability to host the Games and states that the country's area, GDP and security are the most decisive factors (H₄-H₆). The ultimate third embodies the power-stressing hypothesis, which demonstrate the state's power and influence and which state that country's nuclear power, GDP growth and membership in the UN Security Council ensures a successful bid (H₇-H₉).

³¹ POAST, Paul D., 2007. Winning the Bid: Analyzing the International Olympic Committee's Host City Selections. *International Interactions* [online]. **33**(1), 75-95 [cit. 2017-08-23]. DOI: 10.1080/03050620601157470. ISSN 0305-0629. Available at: <http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/03050620601157470>

³² CRESWELL, John W., c2003. *Research design: qualitative, quantitative, and mixed methods approaches*. 2nd ed. Thousand Oaks, Calif.: Sage Publications. ISBN 07-619-2442-6

By running logistic regression analysis and testing the hypotheses, the thesis attempts to answer research questions, which ask whether the IOC does elect Olympic Games host cities in accordance with Olympic Charter principles? If not, what are the other, more influential factors, which play decisive roles within host city election procedure?

2.2. Methodology: Quantitative Research

The quantitative research draft rests on a logistic regression analysis. Regression analysis is marked as the most widely used statistical method, defined as a set of processes to estimate the relationship among variables. On the whole, regression analysis can be conducted in its many various forms, e.g. ordinal regression, linear regression, nonlinear or multiple regression.³³

The thesis depends on a logistic regression model³⁴ as far as it attempts to explain the relationship between multiple independent variables and binary dependent variables. To be more concrete, it attempts to provide an explanation between the relationship between multiple independent variables and binary dependent variables, which is defined as winning the Olympic Games candidature procedure.

Logistic regression analysis is characterized as a powerful technique when the condition of the existing dichotomous variable is fulfilled. The natural logarithm of an odds ratio, the logit, is an essential mathematical concept of logistic regression. The effectiveness of logistic regression analysis is generally supported by significance tests for each predictor, the model against a null model, predicted probabilities and inferential goodness of fit indices. The use of a logistic regression analysis model has increased in social sciences as far as the need for analysis and the prediction of dichotomous outcome was urgent. Traditionally, ordinary least squares regression or linear discriminant function analysis was run to conduct an analysis for the dichotomous outcome. However, both of them were found to not be ideal because of their strict statistical assumptions.³⁵

³³ KAHANE, Leo H., c2008. *Regression basics*. 2nd ed. Los Angeles: Sage Publications. ISBN 978-1-4129-5126-5.

³⁴ MENARD, Scott W., c2002. *Applied logistic regression analysis*. 2nd ed. Thousand Oaks, Calif.: Sage Publications. Sage university papers series, no. 07-106. ISBN 978-076-1922-087

³⁵ PENG, Chao-Ying Joanne, Kuk Lida LEE a Gary M. INGERSOLL, 2010. An Introduction to Logistic Regression Analysis and Reporting. *The Journal of Educational Research* [online]. **96**(1), 3-14 [cit. 2017-08-26]. DOI: 10.1080/00220670209598786. ISSN 0022-0671. Available at: <http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/00220670209598786>

2.3. Methodology: Qualitative Research

The qualitative research method used within the second part of the thesis is a case study. The case study is described as a qualitative research method which examines in depth and in detail one case (single-case study) or more cases (multiple-case study).³⁶

The case study is carried out as a content analysis. The content analysis is one of the most frequently used and one of the most important methods of social science research. Klaus Krippendorff understands and defines content analysis as a broad family of techniques whereas each researcher chooses his technique which contributes to the answering research and substantive questions. Krippendorff defines the substantive questions as follows: *What is to be measured? What are the boundaries of the analysis? What is the relevant context? Which data should be analysed? How is the data defined? And from which population is the data drawn?* The content analysis, according to Krippendorff, commonly contains six steps - design, unitizing, sampling, coding, drawing inferences and validation. Design is a conceptual phase within which the context, empirical procedures and aim of observation are defined. Unitizing is based on the identifying units of analysis and is then completed with sampling, a process of drawing the statistically representative samples. The process of describing and classifying units is characterized as coding. Drawing inferences are fundamental and the most important phase of content analysis as far as it applies to knowledge of how the variable accounts of data are related to the theme or phenomenon. Ultimately, validation is an essential phase of any research inferring to what cannot be observed directly.³⁷

Robert K. Yin defines four types of case study. The first of them is an exploratory case study which attempts to provide an explanation to the question or the whole phenomenon prior to the main investigation. Secondly is an illustrative (descriptive) case study which sets out to carry an explanation of the case in detail and also the most extensive. Third is a cumulative case study which attempts to aggregate the information from several sources at different times, e.g. the collection of past academic studies written on a concrete topic which then leads to a generalization without additional costs. And the fourth is a critical instance

³⁶ *Case study research: design and methods*, c1994. 2nd ed. Thousand Oaks: SAGE Publications. Applied social research methods series, Volume 5. ISBN 08-039-5663-0.

³⁷ KRIPPENDORFF, Klaus., 2013. *Content analysis: an introduction to its methodology*. 3rd ed. London: SAGE. ISBN 978-141-2983-150.

case study which is characteristic for not generalizing, but only trying to explain and answer questions.³⁸

The case study chosen within the thesis is a study of the Olympic Games in Beijing 2008 and 2022. It is an illustrative (descriptive) case study which examines in detail the candidature procedure for both the 2008 and the 2022 Olympic Games. It is run as a content analysis which primarily rests on official IOC reports on the Beijing Candidature³⁹ and the Chinese official documents and reports concerning candidature. It uses also secondary literature resources, non-official documents, primarily journalist articles therewith are originated both in China and in the West to keep the thesis more objective.

³⁸ *Case study research: design and methods*, c1994. 2nd ed. Thousand Oaks: SAGE Publications. Applied social research methods series, Volume 5. ISBN 08-039-5663-0.

³⁹ IOC, 2001. *Report of the IOC Evaluation Commission for the Games of the XXIX Olympiad in 2008* [online]. In: . Lausanne, s. 1-103 Available at: https://stillmed.olympic.org/media/Document%20Library/OlympicOrg/Documents/Host-City-Elections/XXIX-Olympiad-2008/Report-of-the-IOC-Evaluation-Commission-for-the-Games-of-the-XXIX-Olympiad-2008.pdf#_ga=2.219323099.355536577.1510137853-1552203786.1510137853y

3. International Olympic Committee

The International Olympic Committee is the governing body of a complex of events, individuals, institutions and organizations. It is based in Lausanne, Switzerland, and the number of its members (206) widely outclasses the number of UN members (193). It was established in Paris on 23rd June 1894 by Pierre de Coubertin, Demetrius Vikelas and Jiří Guth-Jarkovský. It's main purpose was to establish and also advance the principles set in the Olympic Charter and to follow the ideology of Olympism. The global influence of the IOC is wide as far as it is composed of 205 National Olympic Committees, 33 International federations for summer and winter sports, Organising Committees for the Olympic Games and also national associations, clubs or individuals.⁴⁰

3.1. International Olympic Committee as international organization

The IOC is seen to be an international organization which garners support for some kind of form of international cooperation resting on the idea of Olympism. It attempts to help oppressed groups to overcome issues and to bring injustices to public attention, e.g. 1968 Mexico City black power salutes.⁴¹ By doing so, the IOC attempts to achieve and sustain global peace.⁴²

3.1.1. Historical establishment and development

The International Olympic Committee was established in 1894, as a milestone in the pacifist movement, in Paris, represented by a political journalist, Pierre de Coubertin. Coubertin studied politics in Paris and became a pacifist activist, but only within the circle of his Parisian friends. The Paris Universal Exhibition was supposed to be held in Paris in 1889 and Coubertin was involved in the preparations of a congress on the theme of physical education. No matter that his field of study was significantly different, he was experienced at

⁴⁰ GRAINGER, Andrew F. a David L. ANDREWS, 2012. International Olympic Committee. *The Wiley-Blackwell Encyclopedia of Globalization* [online]. Chichester, UK: John Wiley [cit. 2017-08-27]. DOI: 10.1002/9780470670590.wbeog321. ISBN 9780470670590. Available at: <http://doi.wiley.com/10.1002/9780470670590.wbeog321>

⁴¹ Black power salute was a form of political protest organized by African-American athletes Tommie Smith and John Carlos during the medal ceremony at 1968 Olympic Games in Mexico.

⁴² CHAPPELET, J.-L. a Brenda. KÜBLER-MABBOTT, 2008. *The International Olympic Committee and the Olympic system: the governance of world sport*. 1. New York: Routledge. Global institutions series. ISBN 978-0-415-43167-5.

organizing or co-organizing conferences, therefore it was put into his trust, the organization of the committee and then he was also given the opportunity to expand his vision.⁴³

This vision has been utilised in Coubertin's sport projects, which were set out in physical education in schools. He tried to reform the French educational system through "*la pédagogie sportive*", which was supposed to foster an aristocratic ideal of physical fitness. He was actually not very successful on a domestic level, however, he succeeded on an international level. He devoted most of his life to writing books, travelling abroad to recognize the level of sport in other countries and to working on establishing national and international committees.⁴⁴

As a secretary general of the Union of French Sports Association, Pierre de Coubertin organized congress on the revival of the modern Olympic Games, which took place on the 16th June 1894 in Paris. The resolution of the official revival of the Games was adopted on 23rd June 1894 and resulted in the first modern Olympic Games in Athens in 1896.⁴⁵

3.1.2. Organizational structure

The IOC is a non-governmental organization and is composed of two main bodies. The first of them is the IOC Executive Board and the second is the IOC Commissions. The IOC also co-operates and co-exists with the IFs (non-governmental organizations that administer several sports at an international level) and the NOCs (whose aim is to promote the Olympic movement in their countries).⁴⁶

3.1.2.1. IOC Executive Board

The IOC Executive board was established in 1921. Since then its main function has been to manage the affairs of the IOC. The IOC Executive Board consists of the IOC President, 4 Vice-Presidents, and 10 Executive members. The IOC Executive Board meeting, the sessions,

⁴³ QUANZ, Dietrich, 1993. Civic Pacifism and Sports-Based Internationalism: Framework for the Founding of the International Olympic Committee. *Olympika: The International Journal of Olympic Studies* [online]. 2(1), 1-23 [cit. 2017-08-29]. Available at: http://library.la84.org/SportsLibrary/Olympika/Olympika_1993/olympika0201b.pdf

⁴⁴ MACALOON., John J., 2007. *This great symbol: Pierre de Coubertin and the origins of the modern Olympic Games*. 25th anniversary ed. London: Routledge. ISBN 978-041-5390-774.

⁴⁵ Ibid

⁴⁶ *The International Olympic Committee: The Organisation* [online], 2017. [cit. 2017-08-29]. Available at: <https://www.olympic.org/about-ioc-institution>

are held once a year and if there is a need for extraordinary sessions, these are held upon the IOC President's initiative or on request of the majority of its members.⁴⁷

The above mentioned sessions are the IOC's supreme organ as far as final decisions are made. The powers of the IOC sessions might be to elect members of the IOC, to elect the President or Vice-Presidents of the IOC or to elect a host city for the Olympic Games. Each of the members of the IOC Session has one vote and the quorum that is required for a single session is half the number of the total members plus one.⁴⁸

The IOC President is elected at a session in secret ballot, by a majority and for a term of 8 years. The candidature process starts three months before the Session is supposed to be held. The candidates are supposed to apply no later than three months before the IOC session, however, the IOC Executive Board has a right to modify the deadlines for application. When the President is elected, but unable to fulfil his duties, he will be temporarily replaced by one of his Vice-Presidents, who are also elected at the IOC sessions, in a secret ballot for a term of 4 years.⁴⁹

The Executive members of the IOC Executive Board are also elected at the IOC sessions, in a secret ballot and for a term of 4 years whereas a member can serve for two successive terms. The Olympic Charter stresses that in the case where a member has served two successive terms, he may be re-elected as an executive member after a two year long break.⁵⁰

3.1.2.2. *IOC Commissions*

The IOC Commissions are established to advise the IOC Executive Board members or the IOC President. It is the IOC President who establishes permanent or ad hoc commissions anytime he finds it necessary and he is also an ex officio member of all the IOC Commissions. All of the IOC Commissions are chaired by an IOC member and their meeting can be held not only personally, but also by video or teleconference.⁵¹

The list of existing IOC Commissions (currently 26) covers the IOC Commissions for single Olympic and Youth Games events, the IOC Commission for Olympic education

⁴⁷ INTERNATIONAL OLYMPIC COMMITTEE, et al. *Olympic Charter*. International Olympic Committee, 2016. Available at: https://stillmed.olympic.org/media/Document%20Library/OlympicOrg/General/EN-Olympic-Charter.pdf#_ga=2.36563104.1466694641.1503992214-127049182.1503597143

⁴⁸ Ibid

⁴⁹ Ibid

⁵⁰ Ibid

⁵¹ Ibid

programme, the IOC Ethics Commission, the Athletes Commission, the Women in sport commission etc.⁵²

3.2. The Olympic Movement

The Olympic Movement associates organizations and athletes who want to contribute, to fulfil the ideals of the Olympic Charter by educating children and youth through sport practises. The IOC, IFs and NOCs are the main constitutive parts of the Olympic Movement. In a broader sense, the Olympic Movement also encompasses IOC, IFs and NOCs members, athletes, and Organising Committees for the Olympic Games members as well as coaches, judges, technicians and other sport officials.⁵³

The IOC's role within the Olympic Movement is primarily to ensure regular celebrations of the Games and to support the promotion of ethics and good governance in world sport, making sure that the spirit of fair-play will prevail. The Olympic Charter defines another fourteen activities the IOC is supposed to do within the Olympic Movement, e.g. to protect clean athletes and the integrity of the sport, to support the promotion of women in sport, to promote sustainable development in sport or to promote a positive legacy from the Olympic Games to the host city or the country.⁵⁴

A part of the Olympic Movement is a programme called Olympic Solidarity which attempts to organize assistance to NOCs and primarily to those who have the greatest need of it by e.g. providing technical assistance to athletes or coaches through scholarships, creating sport facilities in cooperation with national bodies or by assisting the NOCs with the preparation of athletes and coaches for their participation at the Olympic Games. All the programmes that are operated under the Olympic Solidarity Movement are run under the Olympic Solidarity Commission.⁵⁵

⁵² The International Olympic Committee: IOC Executive Board, 2017. *Olympic* [online]. [cit. 2017-08-29]. Available at: <https://www.olympic.org/executive-board>

⁵³ INTERNATIONAL OLYMPIC COMMITTEE, et al. *Olympic Charter*. International Olympic Committee, 2016. Available at: https://stillmed.olympic.org/media/Document%20Library/OlympicOrg/General/EN-Olympic-Charter.pdf#_ga=2.36563104.1466694641.1503992214-127049182.1503597143

⁵⁴ Ibid

⁵⁵ Ibid

3.3. Mechanism of host city election

The host city for the Olympic Games is elected by the IOC members. When the IOC was established, it had only fifteen voting members, but the number has risen up to over a hundred IOC voting members. These members are elected by the IOC and not by the nations or governments of the nations from which they originate, therefore not every nation is represented in the host city election body.⁵⁶

3.3.1. *The candidature process step by step*

The national government of a state of a candidate city must declare interest in bidding ten years before the Olympic Games and as the Olympic Charter requires, once the application is sent, the host city and the host country are responsible for all actions in relation to the city's candidature. The national governments of the countries that want to apply need to submit to the IOC an affirmation declaring that the government guarantees that the country and the public both comply with the Olympic Charter. Each election of a host city for the Olympic Games takes place seven years prior to the concrete Olympic event in a country whose city is not a candidate city for the concrete Olympic event.⁵⁷

The President of the IOC then names an Evaluation Commission for the concrete Olympic event, which is composed of IOC members, representatives of the IFs, NOCs, the Athletes Commission and of the International Paralympic Committee, whereas nationals of the candidate cities may not be elected into the Evaluation Commission.⁵⁸ Evaluation Commissions were appointed in 1980's due to the increasing number of candidate cities. Their mission was to provide information about candidate cities and their ability to host the Games. At the end of 1998, a shock came when newspapers worldwide reported on the corruption influencing the IOC members voting.⁵⁹

At the beginning of the candidature procedure, all candidate cities must prove their financial guarantees that should confirm their financial ability to host the Games. From this moment on, the host cities all run the "election campaigns" and they participate in workshops

⁵⁶ POAST, Paul D., 2007. Winning the Bid: Analyzing the International Olympic Committee's Host City Selections. *International Interactions* [online]. 33(1), 75-95 [cit. 2017-08-31]. DOI: 10.1080/03050620601157470. ISSN 0305-0629. Available at: <http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/03050620601157470>

⁵⁷ INTERNATIONAL OLYMPIC COMMITTEE, et al. *Olympic Charter*. International Olympic Committee, 2016. Available at: https://stillmed.olympic.org/media/Document%20Library/OlympicOrg/General/EN-Olympic-Charter.pdf#_ga=2.36563104.1466694641.1503992214-127049182.1503597143

⁵⁸ Ibid.

⁵⁹ PREUSS, Holger. *Electing an Olympic Host City: A Multidimensional Decision*. 2000.

organized by the IOC. The IOC Evaluation Commission should then investigate the candidature profiles of all applicant cities, visit them and submit the IOC officials a written report on opportunities and the risks of all the candidatures. The reports must be submitted to the IOC no later than a month before the electing Session is held.⁶⁰ This stage is common as the Candidate Acceptance Procedure Phase and occurs from eight to ten years prior to the scheduled Olympic Games. Since 1947, only nineteen applicant cities have not passed through this stage, all of which bid for the host city status from 1999 to 2005.⁶¹

When the IOC acquires the written reports, the Executive Board then makes a final list of candidate cities whose candidature has proven to bring more opportunities than risks and which have provided their ability to finance the Games. A IOC Session is then held to elect a host city with whom a Host City Contract is then signed by the IOC, NOC and locals. From this moment on the city is officially announced to be the host city and the country's NOC is now responsible for the establishment of an Organising Committee, which is supposed to report directly to the IOC Executive Board and therefore should serve as an IOC control body.⁶² Richard Cashman criticises the lack of plans for the immediate post-Games period, which is characteristic of post-Games depression. Cashman also goes into the causes of not deciding on what is supposed to be done with the Games infrastructure and newly created venues. By providing such arguments, Cashman primarily attempts to point out that the functional aspects, e.g. city's financial and geographical ability to host the Games, should not play a fundamentally decisive role, when electing host city.⁶³

The President of the IOC shall also create and name the Olympic Games Coordination Commission, which should strengthen cooperation among OCOG, IOC, IFs, NOCs and the athletes. The Coordination Commission should conduct inspections of the Olympic venues,

⁶⁰ INTERNATIONAL OLYMPIC COMMITTEE, et al. *Olympic Charter*. International Olympic Committee, 2016. Available at: https://stillmed.olympic.org/media/Document%20Library/OlympicOrg/General/EN-Olympic-Charter.pdf#_ga=2.36563104.1466694641.1503992214-127049182.1503597143

⁶¹ POAST, Paul D., 2007. Winning the Bid: Analyzing the International Olympic Committee's Host City Selections. *International Interactions* [online]. **33**(1), 75-95 [cit. 2017-08-31]. DOI: 10.1080/03050620601157470. ISSN 0305-0629. Available at: <http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/03050620601157470>

⁶² INTERNATIONAL OLYMPIC COMMITTEE, et al. *Olympic Charter*. International Olympic Committee, 2016. Available at: https://stillmed.olympic.org/media/Document%20Library/OlympicOrg/General/EN-Olympic-Charter.pdf#_ga=2.36563104.1466694641.1503992214-127049182.1503597143

⁶³ CASHMAN, Richard, et al. Impact of the Games on Olympic host cities. *Barcelona: Centre d'Estudis Olímpics*, 2003. [cit. 2017-08-31]. Available at: <http://www.dormivigilia.com/wp-content/uploads/2010/01/cashman.pdf>

establish specialized groups which should deal with specific areas of organization of the Games or write a report on the Games when they are over.⁶⁴

3.3.2. *Financing of the Committee*

From its early beginning, the IOC's expenditures were financed through the wealth of the organization's members. The change in financing came with the first sale of television rights in 1959 and was followed by Olympic sponsorships (since 1985) which meant that these two financing modes became the official financial resources for the IOC.⁶⁵

The IOC, as the owner of the rights to broadcast, awards the broadcasting rights to a winning television network. The value of the television rights has increased dramatically since the beginning in the 1960s, when the television rights for the Olympic Games in Rome were \$12 million, whereas the TV rights for the 2000 and the 2002 Olympic Games were \$ 1.25 billion.⁶⁶

Two thirds of the finances received by selling the television rights pass to the local organizing committee and the rest is then redistributed to the NOC, through the Olympic Solidarity Programme.⁶⁷

Another financial source for the IOC is the Olympic Programme (TOP), also called the Olympic Partners Programme, which sells worldwide the rights to use the Olympic logo. Normally the company that wants to buy the rights must send in a sum of approximately \$ 40 million, while the IOC receives 10% of the amount, the NOC acquires 20% and the final 70% goes directly to the Games.⁶⁸

⁶⁴ Ibid

⁶⁵ POAST, Paul D., 2007. Winning the Bid: Analyzing the International Olympic Committee's Host City Selections. *International Interactions* [online]. 33(1), 75-95 [cit. 2017-08-31]. DOI: 10.1080/03050620601157470. ISSN 0305-0629. Available at: <http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/03050620601157470>

⁶⁶ Ibid

⁶⁷ TOOHEY, Kristine a Veal, 2000. *The Olympic games: a social science perspective*. Repr. with corrections. Wallingford [u.a.]: CABI Pub. ISBN 08-519-9342-7.

⁶⁸ POAST, Paul D., 2007. Winning the Bid: Analyzing the International Olympic Committee's Host City Selections. *International Interactions* [online]. 33(1), 75-95 [cit. 2017-08-31]. DOI: 10.1080/03050620601157470. ISSN 0305-0629. Available at: <http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/03050620601157470>

4. Logistic Regression Analysis

The following chapter attempts to provide statistical evidence on the successful and unsuccessful biddings and to support or challenge hypotheses and then answer research questions. In the following subchapters, the thesis primarily sets out to put forward a methodology of analysis and the data obtained.

4.1. Dataset

The Dataset consists of 9 independent variables, 1 dependent variable and 72 observations. The independent variables correspond to already defined hypotheses and therefore could also be classified into three groups.

Data collected on single Olympic bids (*test examples*) are valid for the year of the host city election, e.g. data collected on the Winter Olympic Games in Beijing 2022 are valid for the year of 2015, data collected on the Summer Olympic Games in Atlanta 1996 are valid for the year of 1990.

Following paragraphs devote attention to conceptualization and operationalization of independent variables. Variable “*conflict*” is conceptualized as an absence or presence of an armed conflict within the state that bids for the Games and is further operationalized on the basis of the number of ongoing armed conflict that the bidding country was participating in. Information and data are obtained by the Uppsala Conflict Data Program⁶⁹, which is the world’s main provider of information on organized violence and the project of civil war with almost 40 years old history.

Variable “*hr*” is conceptualized as the state’s ability to protect and guarantee human rights and is then operationalized and measured with the CIRI Physical Integrity Rights Index⁷⁰. The CIRI Physical Integrity Rights Index is expressed by a number (from 1-10), whereas the low value of index refers to human rights violation and the high values of index refers to human rights protection.

⁶⁹ Uppsala Conflict Data Program: Department of Peace and Conflict Research [online], 2018. Uppsala [cit. 2018-02-26]. Available at: <http://ucdp.uu.se/>

⁷⁰ CIRI Human Rights Dataset, 2014. *Human Rights Data Project* [online]. Georgia [cit. 2018-02-26]. Available at: <http://www.humanrightsdata.com/p/data-documentation.html>

Variable “*inequal*” can be conceptualized as gender inequality and is measured with the Gender Inequality Index (GII), which measures the inequality of three important aspects – reproductive health, empowerment and economic status.⁷¹ The higher the GII value, the more disparities between women and men are within the state. All of these variables “*conflict*”, “*hr*” and “*inequal*” are defined on the basis of Olympic Charter principles.

Therefore to answer the RQ1, whether the IOC does elect the Olympic Games host cities in accordance with the Olympic Charter principles, all of these independent variables need to reveal a pattern of the strongest correlation with dependent variables (defined as successful bids).

Variables “*area*”, “*gdpgrowth*” and “*security*” make up a group of functional variables and are strongly united with a previously defined functional hypothesis. Variables “*area*” and “*gdpgrowth*”, which refer about state’s area and its gdp growth, are operationalized on the basis of data obtained from the World Bank⁷². “*Security*” is operationalized as the absence of violence, and is therefore measured by a worldwide governance indicator - Political stability and the absence of violence/terrorism, released by the World Bank.⁷³

Ultimately, power-stressing factors are connected to variables “*nuclear*”, “*gdp*” and “*unsc*”. “*Nuclear*” is conceptualized as the nuclear power of a bidding state and is operationalized on the number of nuclear reactors per country.⁷⁴ “*unsc*” refers to the United Nation Security membership and is measured with 1/0 (member/not member) of the UN Security Council. Ultimately data on “*gdp*” is obtained from the World Bank.⁷⁵

Concerning the RQ2, the null hypothesis can be confirmed as soon as the RQ1 will be answered. If we come to the conclusion that the Olympic Games host cities are elected in accordance with the Olympic Charter principles, the zero hypothesis anticipating the prevailing dominance of the idea of Olympism within the election process will be confirmed

⁷¹ Gender Inequality Index, 2018. *United Nations Development Program: Human Development Reports* [online]. New York [cit. 2018-02-26]. Available at: <http://hdr.undp.org/en/content/gender-inequality-index-gii>

⁷² World Bank Open Data, 2018. *World Bank: Data* [online]. Washington D.C [cit. 2018-02-26]. Available at: <https://data.worldbank.org/>

⁷³ Ibid

⁷⁴ Nuclear Power, 2018. *Nuclear Power: Top players in nuclear power* [online]. Georgia: Reuters Graphics [cit. 2018-02-26]. Available at: <http://fingfx.thomsonreuters.com/gfx/rngs/WORLD-NUCLEARPOWER/010040G3112/index.html>

⁷⁵ World Bank Open Data, 2018. *World Bank: Data* [online]. Washington D.C [cit. 2018-02-26]. Available at: <https://data.worldbank.org/>

and the other hypothesis (H₄-H₉) rejected. If not, we will have to assess other hypotheses (H₄-H₉) focusing on whether functional or power stressing factors play a decisive role.

To assess the validity of hypotheses focusing on the factors playing decisive role within the election procedure, the statistical effect of the above mentioned variables (“*conflict*”, “*hr*”, “*inequal*”, “*area*”, “*gdpgrowth*”, “*security*”, “*nuclear*”, “*gdp*” and “*unsc*”) on the dependent variable will be evaluated. By doing so, a statistically significant relationship between independent variables and dependent variables will be confirmed or rejected, which will show whether the above defined hypotheses do correspond with reality or not..

4.1.1. Variable Analysis

The Shapiro–Wilk test [ref-1] was used for variable analysis. The Shapiro-Wilk test examines whether a random sample is not normally distributed. From the output, the alpha value = 0,05 is set as a limit value. If the alpha value increases higher and takes a value of more than 0,05, the null hypothesis is then rejected.⁷⁶

Following table presents results obtained by running a Shapiro-Wilk normality test.

variable	W	p-value
<i>conflict</i>	0.60782	1.428e-12
<i>human rights</i>	0.83372	1.563e-07
<i>inequal</i>	0.88054	5.526e-06
<i>area</i>	0.66376	1.471e-11
<i>gdp</i>	0.62034	2.357e-12
<i>security</i>	0.90857	6.866e-05
<i>nuclear</i>	0.75162	1.051e-09
<i>gdpgrowth</i>	0.91604	0.0001431
<i>unsc</i>	0.61337	1.78e-12

Based on the result, it can be assumed, that none of the independent variables are rejected by the null hypothesis, however, the S-W normality test shows, that preliminary variables do not represent population with a normal distribution. Q-Q Plot is used for data delineation (see

⁷⁶ SEN, Ashish K. a M. S. SRIVASTAVA, 1997. *Regression analysis: theory, methods, and applications*. Corr. 4th print. New York: Springer. ISBN 03-879-7211-0.

Appendices). As some of the variables encompass countries with extremely different values (e.g. the area of the USA on the one hand and the area of Switzerland on the other) and outliers (e.g. number of nuclear reactors of the USA compared to Norway), the normal distribution of variables was not anticipated.

4.1.2. Correlation Coefficient

Further, correlation coefficients were counted using a correlation matrix, to eliminate variables with multicollinearity (see Appendices).⁷⁷ Multicollinearity can result in following problems (1) incorrect estimation of partial regression coefficients and high standard errors (2) change in the magnitude and signs between all samples (3) impede assessment of importance of independent variable.

4.2. Logistic Regression Model

The model's objective is to determine the relevance of all defined parameters to the result of candidate city election. The Logistic Regression model is determined from the linear regression model, which is based on following equation $Y = \beta_0 + \beta_1 X + \epsilon$. Derived form of equation will be used for logistic regression model, whereas few changes are applied as far as when calculating the probability, the value is always between 0 and 1. Therefore the result is always a positive number which equals to 0 or is less than 1. The mostly used equation for logistic regression model is following:

$$\ln(P/1-P) = \beta_0 + \beta_1 X_1 + \beta_2 X_2 \dots + \beta_k X_k$$

The results of the model are particular coefficients: $\beta_0, \beta_1, \beta_2 \dots \beta_k$. To be able to evaluate the outcomes, the logit-transformed probability (p) should be modelled and the model should be thus translated into following equation $p = \exp(\beta_0 + \beta_1 * x_1 + \dots + \beta_k * x_k) / (1 + \exp(\beta_0 + \beta_1 * x_1 + \dots + \beta_k * x_k))$.⁷⁸

⁷⁷ LEBLANC, David C., c2004. *Statistics: concepts and applications for science*. 2. Boston: Jones and Bartlett. ISBN 07-637-4699-1.

⁷⁸ YAN, Xin a XIAO GANG SU, 2009. *Linear regression analysis theory and computing*. [Online-Ausg.]. Singapore: World Scientific Pub. Co. ISBN 978-981-2834-119.

4.3. Analysis and Discussion

4.3.1. 1992-2022

First, correlation coefficients were calculated to eliminate multicollinearity, while the variable *area* revealed the strongest multicollinearity with other variable and thus was excluded. Ultimately, variables *hr* and *unsc* were also excluded due to multicollinearity. Subsequently, the data was normalized and the model was tested, providing following outcomes:

```
Deviance Residuals:
    Min       1Q   Median       3Q      Max
-1.1484  -0.7830  -0.4570  -0.2527   2.3009

Coefficients:
              Estimate Std. Error z value Pr(>|z|)
(Intercept)  -2.3146     1.4332  -1.615   0.1063
conflict     -1.5103     0.8044  -1.878   0.0604 .
gdpgrowth    2.0826     2.3277   0.895   0.3709
gdp          2.6642     1.4024   1.900   0.0575 .
---
Signif. codes:  0 '***' 0.001 '**' 0.01 '*' 0.05 '.' 0.1 ' ' 1

(Dispersion parameter for binomial family taken to be 1)

    Null deviance: 78.704  on 71  degrees of freedom
Residual deviance: 71.200  on 68  degrees of freedom
AIC: 79.2

Number of Fisher Scoring iterations: 5
```

The regression model generated coefficients, which refer to the significance and influence of each variable. To be able to interpret the results and draw conclusions, it should be checked that the model assumed is correctly specified. Thus the McFadden's⁷⁹ pseudo R2 is calculated (MacFadden= 0.1010490) and Hosmer-Lemeshow⁸⁰ goodness of fit test is done (x-squared= 8.099; p value = 0.4238). As far as excellent fit is indicated by higher values for R squared, it can be presupposed that the model is not particularly strong. Alternatively, the Hosmer-Lemeshow test is done, considering that R2 is usually interpreted to be a measure of explained variation, rather than a test of goodness of fit.

The Hosmer-Lemeshow test first multiplies the average of predicted probabilities by the number of observations in the group and then it computes a Pearson goodness of fit statistics. With a p-value as its outcome, the Hosmer-Lemeshow test indicates the model fit. Usually,

⁷⁹ DOMENICICH, Thomas; MCFADDEN, Daniel. *Urban travel demand: a behavioral analysis*. North-Holland, 1975.

⁸⁰ HOSMER, David W., et al. A comparison of goodness-of-fit tests for the logistic regression model. *Statistics in medicine*, 1997, 16.9: 965-980.

small p-value indicates a bad fit, therefore it could be assumed that the regression model fits good. Yet it should be emphasized that a large p-value does not always have to indicate good fit. In particular, if the sample size of the model is small, the high p-value may be the consequence of the Hosmer-Lemeshow test's low power to unveil incorrect specification.

Ultimately, the control (the control model consists of variables *conflict*, *gdp* and *gdpgrowth*) and the null models are tested to analyse the deviance. The regression model was tested against the control model and the null model, using the Akaike information coefficient (AIC) that estimates the model of the best fit, meanwhile model with the lowest rate of the AIC appears to fit the best. Based on the AIC, the control model is estimated as the best fit.

The number of correctly predicted outcomes is determined by candidate's probability to succeed, which must be higher than 50%. The likelihood of the control model to predict candidate's victory in election (result=1) was 41,18%, on the contrary, the likelihood of prediction of failure (result=0) was 65,45%.

To be able to interpret the data and the model outcomes, two more steps have to be done. First, the logit-transformed probability must be modelled, as the coefficients are an outcome of the equation and thus are not able to be interpreted in terms of probability. Secondly, significance codes must be taken into consideration, as far as they refer to statistical significance of each variable.

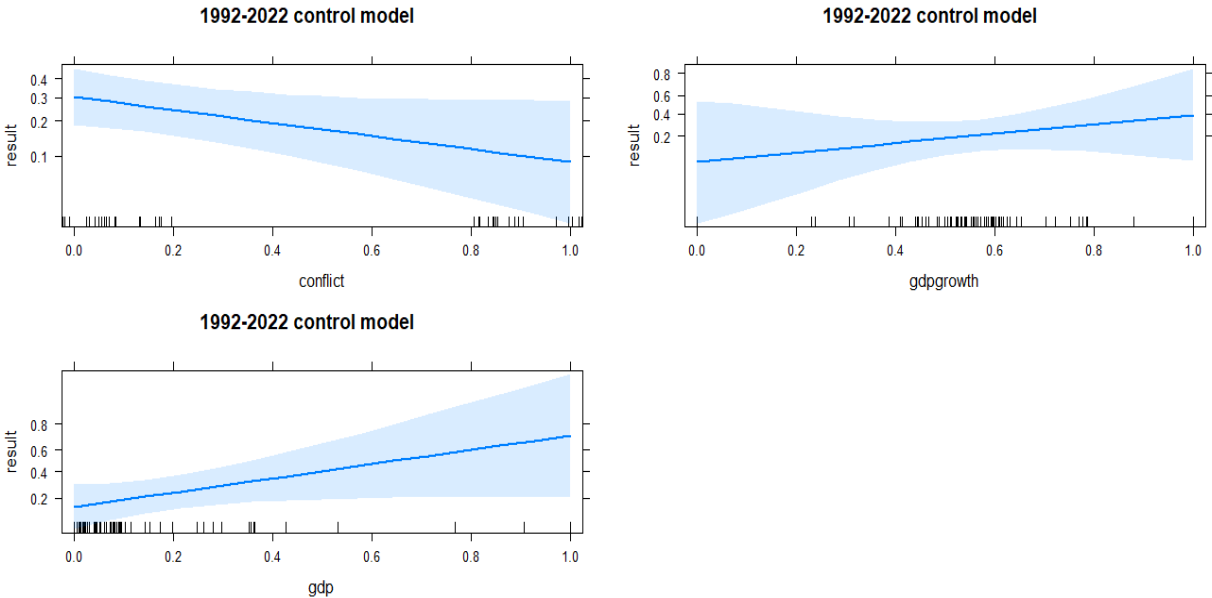
According to the Olympic values, which are officially declared by the IOC in Olympic Charter, the IOC's mission is to contribute to building of a better world with respect of fundamental ethical principles. As stated in the Olympic Charter, the IOC should promote equality, human rights protection and contribute to a peaceful society.⁸¹ Stemming from this the thesis assumes that the IOC thus prioritises to elect candidates with strong normative factors over those, whose normative factors are weak and thus do not contribute to a building of a better society.

However, this really is not a case of reality. Based on the regression model outcomes, the thesis came to a conclusion that GDP is the most decisive factor contributing to candidate's success within the election. If a candidate's GDP rate is larger in one unit, the chance to win

⁸¹ IOC., 2016. *Olympic Charter*, Lausanne. Available at: https://stillmed.olympic.org/media/Document%20Library/OlympicOrg/General/EN-Olympic-Charter.pdf#_ga=2.6366002.1663279215.1498577427-671679150.1496079020.

the election increases by 14,36 times. The GDP growth rate also significantly increases the likelihood of winning the election. Thus if GDP growth increases in one percent, the chance to be elected increases by 8,02 times. For a more precise understanding, see a graph delineating influence of the variables.

Figure 1 – 1992-2022: variables



Apparently, the IOC tends to prioritise strong economies over other candidates. Taking into consideration that Paul D. Post’s large-n analysis came up to the same conclusion, the thesis thus suggests, that the IOC’s statistical tendency is to base its decision on economic strength of a bidding country.⁸²

Taking a closer look at GDP growth, its influence is not as significant as the GDP’s, however, the probability of success of countries with high GDP rate is not small. Further, as for the thesis’s assumption of the IOC’s tendency to prioritise emerging powers within election, the significance of the factor GDP growth approves it. To see if this tendency prevailed over the whole period (1992-2022), or whether it became more/less significant in certain decade, sub-data sets need to be created, tested and evaluated. This will be done in following chapter.

⁸² POAST, Paul D., 2007. Winning the Bid: Analyzing the International Olympic Committee's Host City Selections. *International Interactions* [online], 33(1), 75-95 [cit. 2018-03-12]. DOI: 10.1080/03050620601157470. ISSN 0305-0629. Available at: <http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/03050620601157470>

Focusing attention on the normative factors that were analysed, only variable *conflict* appeared to be statistically significant and is thus taken into consideration. The variable *conflict* is conceptualized as a candidate's participation in armed conflict and is further operationalized in numbers of conflict the state was actively involved in, during its candidate procedure. If a country is taking part in an armed conflict, its chance to win the election lowers. In particular, each conflict that the candidate country participates in, lowers the chance to win the election by 0, 22 times. As far as the variable *hr* was excluded from the model due to multicollinearity and the variable *inequal* was not demonstrated to be statistically significant and appeared to have only small influence, the normative hypotheses (H₁-H₃) can be rejected.

It should be considered that the regression model which attempts to predict an outcome of "how IOC members voted in several election" is assumed to appear less appropriate and thus scores not as good as on the contrary models of regression analysis conducted in the field of, e.g. exact mathematical sciences. As far as human factor is significantly reflected within the election, the IOC members, who elect the host cities, might be influenced by their own interest or by taking bribes.⁸³ More precisely, the fact that the IOC does not select host city on the basis of fitting several parameters into previously defined equation, on the basis of which it decides to elect concrete candidate, must be taken into consideration.

As being aware of that the model does not provide an excellent fit, an idea of subsetting is suggested to be applied in case of improving goodness of fit. As pre-supposed that the time period encompasses more than one IOC's tendency, a creation of sub-data sets might result in a better fit of models. The sub-set models are thus tested within next subchapter.

4.3.2. Sub-data sets 1992-2006 and 2008-2022

As the thesis pre-supposes that the difference in significance and importance of the factors is evident within the tested period (1992-2022), sub-setting the model is necessary to be able to provide assessment of remaining hypotheses. The aim of creating sub-data sets is to get models with higher likelihood of prediction and thus to get more statistically significant factors, which did not have to be outlined by the original model.

⁸³ IOC members accused of taking bribes in exchange for votes, 2017. *Independent* [online]. London [cit. 2018-03-12]. Available at: <https://www.independent.co.uk/sport/general/athletics/ioc-members-bribes-accused-votes-olympics-a7623691.html>

First sub-data set captures the time period of 1992-2006, whereas the thesis anticipates that the normative factors were taken more into account by that time. The thesis does not argue that normative factors took the primacy, as outstanding dominance of GDP is evident over decades. However it believes that if we compare the subsets, the normative variables, except *inequal*⁸⁴, will become more significant and influential in the period of 1992-2006, whereas they will anticipate a sharp drop within the second subset. This assumption stems from the non-existence of any controversial Games within that time period. Focusing our attention on the states, who claimed the victory in election, in particular France, Spain, Norway, the US, Japan, Australia, Greece and Italy, most of the countries, except Greece and Italy, can boast about ranking with high CIRI Index as far as none of them, except Spain, took part in an armed conflict during the candidature.

Second sub-data set (2008-2022) and particularly its outcomes, are crucial for the thesis. As the thesis and primarily the case study that follows the regression analysis, argue, that emerging powers, namely BRICS states, had been prioritised over other candidates within past one and a half decades, the outcomes of second subset are anticipated to indicate (1) the increasing influence of variable *gdpgrowth* and (2) a sharp drop of variable *hr* on the other side. Nevertheless the outcome should also reflect the increasing importance of security (since 9/11) and gender equity, the latest goals of IOC's agenda.

4.3.2.1. Subset: Olympic Games 1992-2006

Analogically to the testing of the original model (1992-2022), the correlation coefficients are first calculated to eliminate multicollinearity (see Appendices). Further, variables *area*, *conflict* and *nuclear* are excluded from the model due to multicollinearity.

```

Deviance Residuals:
  Min       1Q   Median       3Q      Max
-1.2035  -0.6987  -0.5049  -0.3595   2.2507

Coefficients:
              Estimate Std. Error z value Pr(>|z|)
(Intercept)  -1.311     0.723  -1.813  0.0698 .
inequal      -1.482     2.628  -0.564  0.5729
unsc         -1.111     1.196  -0.929  0.3529
gdp           3.870     1.954   1.981  0.0476 *
---
Signif. codes:  0 '***' 0.001 '**' 0.01 '*' 0.05 '.' 0.1 ' ' 1

(Dispersion parameter for binomial family taken to be 1)

Null deviance: 44.584  on 43  degrees of freedom
Residual deviance: 39.924  on 40  degrees of freedom
AIC: 47.924

Number of Fisher Scoring iterations: 5

```

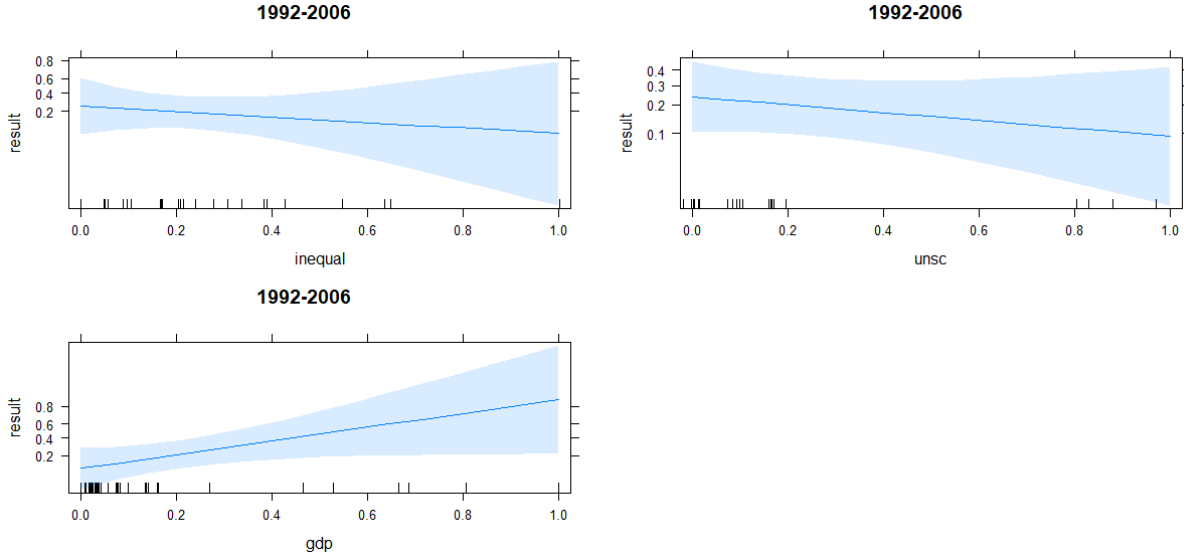
⁸⁴ The variable *inequal* was officially set on the IOC's agenda in first decade of the 21st century and its increased influenced is thus anticipated within the second sub-data set.

The sub-set model is tested against a control model (3 variables) and also a null model (1 variable). The control model, which tested statistically most significant variables *gdp*, *unsc* and *inequal*, was rated with the lowest AIC rate, which significates that it fits the tested data the best and should be thus used to interpret outcomes. McFadden index (0,1078948) anticipates that the control model (1992-2006) is not approved to be significantly strongest.⁸⁵ Yet, compared to the original model (1992-2022), the McFadden index testifies to the greater significance of the control model (1992-2006). Alternatively the Hosmer-Lemeshow test is done, concluding that the control model fits the tested data good.⁸⁶

The success rate of the model is determined by model’s ability to correctly predict outcome for result=1 and result=0. As for prediction of winning the election (result=1), the likelihood of successful prediction is 55,5%, whereas the probability of successfully predicting the failure of the bids (result=0) is 74,29%.

If coefficients are modelled into a logit-transformation, a conclusion is made, stating that statistically significant variable *gdp* is the most influential (see Figure 2).

Figure 2 – 1992-2006: variables



Whenever candidate’s GDP rate increases in one unit, the chance to win the election increases by 65,24 times. We see that the influence of GDP rate significantly increased compared to the original model. To provide an explanation, we must take into consideration

⁸⁵ DOMENICICH, Thomas; MCFADDEN, Daniel. *Urban travel demand: a behavioral analysis*. North-Holland, 1975.
⁸⁶ HOSMER, David W., et al. A comparison of goodness-of-fit tests for the logistic regression model. *Statistics in medicine*, 1997, 16.9: 965-980.

that most of the countries who hosted the Olympic Games within this period (1992-2006) were strong economies compared to other candidate cities (e.g. Japan, Italy or the US, which claimed the victory for more than one time). Whereas focusing attention on current candidates, it cannot be stressed that the winners are weaker economies, however the difference in GDP rate between the candidates is not as prominent as it used to be. Thus we cannot argue that GDP used to be more significant factor as it is today, however, the outcome suggest that nowadays candidates are mostly states with strong economies. Based on following reasoning, the lower influence of variable *gdp* is anticipated within second subset. In particular it is pre-supposed that the number of times, the GDP will increase candidate's likelihood of being elected, will sharply drop in the second subset.

The issue of gender inequality was officially set on the IOC's agenda within the first decade of the 21st century. Since then, the IOC engaged in cooperation with the UN aiming at the promotion of "Women in sport" whereas it has also established a range of working groups that attempt to promote gender equality by other means. Several researches on gender equity were conducted in 1990s, whereas no concrete outcomes were implied.⁸⁷ Thus the variable *inequal* was not assumed to reveal a pattern of strong influence on the success of a bid. As it is operationalized on the basis of Gender Inequality Index (the higher the value, the greater the disparities are), the regression coefficient suggests that if candidate's Gender Inequality Index increases in one unit, the chance of claiming victory in elections decreases by 0.09. Which means that a state with greater gender disparities, decreased its chance to win the election by 0.09 times. As already assumed, the influence of this factor was not so notable within this time period.

Ultimately, the UNSC membership of a candidate decreased its chances of winning the elections by 0,32 times. Which means that each candidate who is a member of the UNSC has 0,32 times lower chance to succeed. As the UN was assumed to be the most powerful international organization, the variable *unsc* was required to test candidate's political prominence. Yet, it can be anticipated that an alternative measurement might provide different and more relevant outcomes. In particular focusing attention on a candidate's membership within a regional organizations rather than the UNSC might result in more significant outcomes in regard to candidate's political prominence.

⁸⁷ IOC, 2010. *GENDER EQUITY AND LEADERSHIP IN OLYMPIC BODIES*. 1. Lausanne. Available at: <https://www.canoeicf.com/sites/default/files/gender-equity-and-leadership-in-olympic-bodies-2010.pdf>

4.3.2.2. Subset: Olympic Games 2008-2022

To not have let the model being affected by multicollinearity, the variables *area*, *unsc* and *nuclear* are excluded from the sub-set model. Control and null models are defined and then tested against the sub-set model, meanwhile the AIC shows that the sub-set model fits the tested data the best.

```

Deviance Residuals:
    Min       1Q   Median       3Q      Max
-1.4520  -0.5689  -0.2494   0.4635   2.3973

Coefficients:
              Estimate Std. Error z value Pr(>|z|)
(Intercept)  -5.7295     5.0555  -1.133   0.2571
conflict     -0.5603     1.7867  -0.314   0.7538
inequal       4.2820     4.3123   0.993   0.3207
gdpgrowth     5.3611     3.7901   1.415   0.1572
security     11.4158     6.5664   1.739   0.0821 .
gdp           1.2137     2.3799   0.510   0.6101
hr           -8.8447     4.6149  -1.917   0.0553 .
---
Signif. codes:  0 '***' 0.001 '**' 0.01 '*' 0.05 '.' 0.1 ' ' 1

(Dispersion parameter for binomial family taken to be 1)

Null deviance: 33.503  on 27  degrees of freedom
Residual deviance: 19.410  on 21  degrees of freedom
AIC: 33.41

Number of Fisher Scoring iterations: 6

```

The value of McFadden pseudo R² (0.4206470) significates that sub-set model (2008-2002) represents excellent fit.⁸⁸ Alternatively, the Hosmer-Lemeshow goodness of fit test shows (x-squared =7.9522, p-value= 0.4382) that the model is fitting the data well.⁸⁹

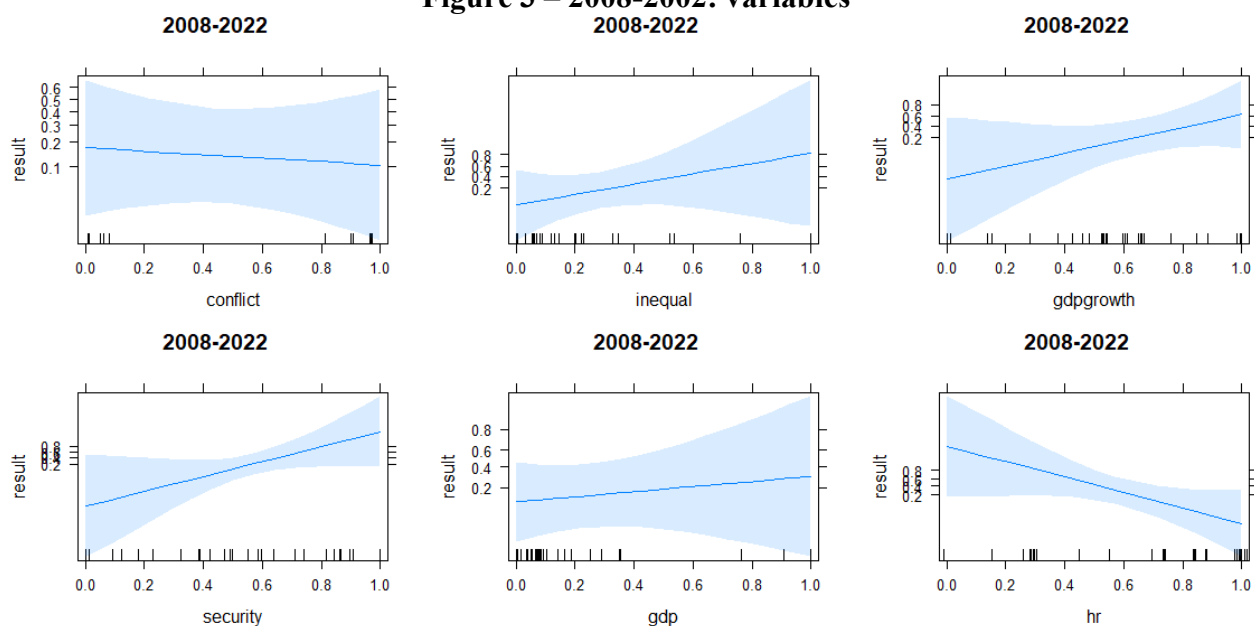
The model's likelihood of correctly predicting an outcome is defined on the basis of the number of correctly predicted outcomes for result=1 and result=0. In this case the probability of successful prediction of winning the election (result=1) is 75%, whereas the probability of successfully predicting the failure of the bids (result=0) is 85%.

The model reveals that variables *hr* and *security* are statistically the most significant, meanwhile together with variable *gdpgrowth*, they appear to have the greatest impact on election. For better understanding, see Figure 3.

⁸⁸ DOMENICICH, Thomas; MCFADDEN, Daniel. *Urban travel demand: a behavioral analysis*. North-Holland, 1975.

⁸⁹ HOSMER, David W., et al. A comparison of goodness-of-fit tests for the logistic regression model. *Statistics in medicine*, 1997, 16.9: 965-980.

Figure 3 – 2008-2002: variables



The IOC's focused its attention on the security operations in 1970s, after a terrorist attack was committed during the Munich Games. The development of security operation accelerated due to 9/11 and evolved into a security regime since then.⁹⁰ As the outcomes of the model indicate, security has been the most powerful factor in regard to being elected. The variable security is operationalized on the basis of Political stability and absence of violence or terrorism index, which measures perceptions of the probability that political instability or an act of terrorism, will occur. Whereas the countries with the highest value of the index (0-100), score the best.

When eyeballing the graphs presented above, it can be told that also variables *hr*, *gdpgrowth* and *inequal* appear to have substantial effect on the result of the election. Human rights as a normative factor experienced a significant drop, as was assumed. The variable *hr* is operationalized on the basis of CIRI index, while the higher the value of the index is, the better the country complies with human rights. Based on this interpretation, the graph outlines that countries which violate human rights (and thus score with a poor value of index) have greater probability of winning the election. If taken into account that only 2010 Vancouver Games and 2020 Tokyo Games stepped out of the line of controversial Games, the explanation of the variable's drop is provided.

⁹⁰ SPAAIJ, Ramón, 2016. Terrorism and Security at the Olympics: Empirical Trends and Evolving Research Agendas. *The International Journal of the History of Sport* [online]. 33(4), 451-468 [cit. 2018-03-12]. DOI: 10.1080/09523367.2015.1136290. ISSN 0952-3367. Available at: <https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/09523367.2015.1136290>

Highlight of security and gender issues as the top goals of latest IOC's agenda, is reflected in increased influence of variables *inequal* and *security*, as anticipated. While the partiality of emerging states, namely BRICS states, over other candidates is also evident, as the GDP growth appears to play a more crucial role, increasing the success rate of a bid. Whereas, the non-compliance with human rights also increases the likelihood of being elected.

4.3.3. Summary

The sub-setting of the original logistic regression analysis model was done in order to increase the goodness of fit of the model and thus provide better outcomes. As both of the sub-set models score better than the original, with a probability of a prediction of an outcome higher than 50%, which estimates the good fit of a model, the aim was fulfilled. The outcomes of the models can be evaluated.

The RQ1 can be thus answered in terms that **the IOC does elect the Olympic Games host cities in accordance with some of the Olympic Charter principles**, while the others (namely human rights) are being underestimated. The RQ2 can be thus answered in terms, that **the IOC tends to base its decision on candidate's economic strength**, as was presupposed in H₈, while the last decade revealed a pattern of prioritisation of candidates with significant economic growth and strong security index.

5. Case Study: Beijing Games

Case study is conducted based on the regression analysis outcomes. The outcomes imply that the IOC's discourse is to prioritise candidates with high GDP, whereas the latest trends revealed a pattern of increasing influence of candidate's GDP growth rate (the higher the better) and human rights (candidates who violate human rights and thus have a small Human Rights index have won).

The case study turns to the subject of the Summer and Winter Olympic Games that were and will be hosted by Beijing, the Chinese capital. Beijing was chosen as the most likely case since it has acquired status of a host city within a short period of 14 years despite broad criticism of the Beijing Summer Games 2008.

The case study itself is based on the rising power theory which fits the Chinese example well. Rising, or sometimes called emerging, power is a common term used to describe states whose economic, population or political growth is enormous and who have also gained international institutionalized influence (e.g. by having a permanent seat in the UN Security Council).⁹¹ Being awarded host city for such a mega event as the Olympic Games, gives these rising powers recognition and symbolic international influence and power. Ultimately, one of the most effective means by which these powers gain recognition and importance, is to exercise their soft power.⁹² The theory is thus described in one of subchapters.

Other subchapters, which refer to the Summer or Winter Olympic Events starts with a brief overview and description of the candidature procedure and is then followed by description of factors. By doing so, the case study aspires to provide first, broader perspective and second, to put forward alternative indexes and measurements of factors, which were not included in the regression analysis (e.g. Human Watch, Human Atlas and Amnesty International statement on human rights).

⁹¹ CALLAHAN, William, 2005. How to understand china: the dangers and opportunities of being a rising power. *Review of International Studies* [online]. Cambridge, **31**(4), 701-714 [cit. 2017-03-17]. Available at: <https://www.cambridge.org/core/journals/review-of-international-studies/article/div-classtitlehow-to-understand-china-the-dangers-and-opportunities-of-being-a-rising-powerdiv/FEE384B73707418810A8523BCEE0006B#fndtn-information>

⁹² ALMEIDA, Bárbara Schausteck de, Wanderley MARCHI JÚNIOR a Elizabeth PIKE, 2014. The 2016 Olympic and Paralympic Games and Brazil's soft power. *Contemporary Social Science* [online]. **9**(2), 271-283 [cit. 2017-03-17]. DOI: 10.1080/21582041.2013.838291. ISSN 2158-2041. Available at: <http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/21582041.2013.838291>

5.1. Rising Power – theoretical background

Rising or emerging power is a term applied for countries that are considered to be in the process of increasing their power (economic and political) faster than the rest. To be defined as a rising power, the country needs to be larger and poorer on per capita basis compared to industrialized countries. The concept of emerging power has become a response to changes within international politics of the 21st century. Focusing attention on BRICS, the majority of scholars adopted a broader elucidation and definition of what an emerging power is: *The gain of space the “emergent” observed in world economy transformed their meaning inside the financial vocabulary, conducting the term to qualify International Relations phenomena. Such a greater economic growth in the developing world has empowered its major players to make a claim for space in global governance, by either reforming or revising status quo order.*⁹³

Oliver Stuenkel states that there is no clear definition of when a country can be proclaimed a rising power. He himself sets two criteria. First, rising power usually needs to be large in both, the area and the population. Second, the rising power needs to be poorer on the per capita basis than other, industrialized countries.⁹⁴

Leslie Wehner, on the contrary, presents her own definition of emerging powers concept, including a broader scope of view and impact. Rising powers, according to Wehner's definition, are usually illustrated as states with increasing material capacities. These states rely on political strategies, which are influential and therefore have impact on position of hegemonic powers within international politics.⁹⁵

Paes, Cunha and Fonsaeca define rising powers as countries that convert positional improvement and changes concerning the distribution of global wealth into political power. The conversion itself may be perceived by exercise of hard power (acquisition of military capacities) or by means of soft power. Nevertheless the strategies of rising powers encompass

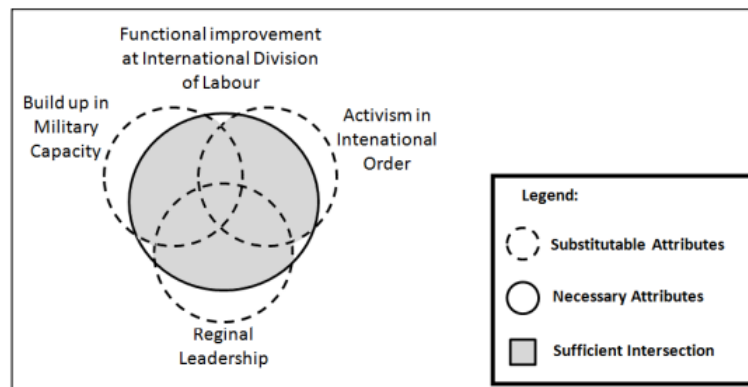
⁹³ PAES, Lucas de Oliviera, André Moreira CUNHA a Petro Cezar Dutra FONSAECA, 2015. The Formation of the Concept of Emerging Power in International Relations. *Ponficia Universidad Católica de Peru* [online]. Lima [cit. 2018-03-17]. Available at: <http://files.pucp.edu.pe/sistema-ponencias/wp-content/uploads/2015/01/PAES-CUNHA-FONSECA-2015-The-Formation-of-the-Concept-of-Emerging-Power-in-International-Relations1.pdf>

⁹⁴ STUENKEL, Oliver, 2016. Emerging Powers and BRICS. *Oxford Bibliographies* [online]. Oxford: Oxford University Press [cit. 2018-03-17]. Available at: <http://oxfordbibliographiesonline.com/view/document/obo-9780199743292/obo-9780199743292-0187.xml#obo-9780199743292-0187-bibliItemGroup-0001>

⁹⁵ WEHNER, Leslie, 2017. Emerging Powers in Foreign Policy. *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Politics* [online]. Bath: Oxford University Press [cit. 2018-03-17]. Available at: <http://politics.oxfordre.com/view/10.1093/acrefore/9780190228637.001.0001/acrefore-9780190228637-e-363>

both, soft power strategies that prevail and also means of hard power (Figure 4). Ultimately, the emergence of the rising powers can be identified with political behaviour that all rising powers have in common, e.g. the institutional activism aspiring to establish normative order which would be more favourable to its emergence ⁹⁶

Figure 4 - Dimensions comprising the concept of emerging power in International Relations



Note. Reprinted from <http://files.pucp.edu.pe/sistema-ponencias/wp-content/uploads/2015/01/PAES-CUNHA-FONSECA-2015-The-Formation-of-the-Concept-of-Emerging-Power-in-International-Relations1.pdf>

Andrew Hurrell does not attempt to provide a single definition of the concept, however, he focuses his attention to characteristic signs, by defining four shared characteristics these emerging powers do have in common. First, in addition to economic growth, they have military and political potential. Second, each of these countries aspires to play a more influential role in international relations. Third, relations between emerging powers have deepened, e.g. BRICS and finally fourth, they were never integrated into post-war order.⁹⁷

Despite the fact that there is no prevailing definition for emerging/rising powers, scholars Paes, Cunha and Fonseca point out, that there is the duality of the concept of emerging powers persisting within international politics. First concept's definition is in line with definitions stated above, being interpreted in terms of "stretching" beyond connotative range-as a manifestation of the historical transformation. The term's second connotation

⁹⁶ PAES, Lucas de Oliviera, André Moreira CUNHA a Petro Cezar Dutra FONSAECA, 2015. The Formation of the Concept of Emerging Power in International Relations. *Ponficia Universidad Católica de Peru* [online]. Lima [cit. 2018-03-17]. Available at: <http://files.pucp.edu.pe/sistema-ponencias/wp-content/uploads/2015/01/PAES-CUNHA-FONSECA-2015-The-Formation-of-the-Concept-of-Emerging-Power-in-International-Relations1.pdf>

⁹⁷ HURRELL, ANDREW, 2006. Hegemony, liberalism and global order: what space for would-be great powers? *International Affairs* [online]. 82(1), 1-19 [cit. 2017-08-26]. DOI: 10.1111/j.1468-2346.2006.00512.x. ISSN 0020-5850. Available at: <https://academic.oup.com/ia/article-lookup/doi/10.1111/j.1468-2346.2006.00512.x>

refers to semi-periphery, regional or middle powers, as far as it has been incorporated into international relations in order to fill in the theoretical gap of these theories.⁹⁸

Noonan and Nadkarni elucidate essential factors explaining the People's Republic of China's New assertiveness: confidence, frustration and uncertainty. "*China's confidence derived mostly from its relative success in shrugging off the global financial crisis and maintaining a strong growth trajectory.*" By the end of 2009, the economic growth rate of China was at 8.7 percent, therefore many Chinese were persuaded that Chinese model, that was able to balance obstacles of market oriented economy on one hand and an authoritarian political system on the other, worked better for China than the Western model of modernization. Furthermore the economic crisis convinced some Chinese about the decline of the West, while China was also exasperated by anti-China forces attempting to prevent Chinese growth from rising to its rightful place. Such a frustration was embedded in the late nineteenth century, when China suffered humiliation and defeat at the hands of imperial powers. People's Republic of China thus attempts to be rising to regain its dominant, glorious position within international politics. Huge economic, social and thus also political tensions were created as a consequence of China's rapid economic growth, whereas Chinese also raised their expectations for the performance of the government. Chinese political leaders thus know that their legitimacy depends heavily on their own ability to meet the various demands of the Chinese across society.⁹⁹

The emerging powers of today seem to be predisposed to bid for hosting sports mega events and also to exploit their hosting of sport mega events in similar ways. A central motivation for emerging powers to host sports mega events is supported by political and ideological contours, e.g hosting international mega events to enhance patriotism, the manner of connecting certain messages and ideas to these mega events or constituting the convergence point for ideologies. 2008 Beijing Olympic Games provided the People's Republic of China with a platform to demonstrate its rise within international politics by e.g.

⁹⁸ PAES, Lucas de Oliveira, André Moreira CUNHA a Pedro Cezar Dutra FONSECA, 2017. Narratives of Change and Theorisations on Continuity: the Duality of the Concept of Emerging Power in International Relations. *Contexto Internacional* [online]. **39**(1), 75-95 [cit. 2018-03-17]. DOI: 10.1590/s0102-8529.2017390100004. ISSN 0102-8529. Available at: http://www.scielo.br/scielo.php?script=sci_arttext&pid=S0102-85292017000100075&lng=en&tlng=en

⁹⁹ NOONAN, Norma a Vidya NADKARNI, 2016. *Challenge and Change: Global Threats and the State in Twenty-first Century International Politics* [online]. New York: Palgrave Macmillan US [cit. 2018-03-17]. DOI: 10.1057/978-1-137-48479-6. ISBN 978-1-137-49264-7.

placing China in closer contact with the West or by supporting China's cultural integration within an international sphere.¹⁰⁰

5.2. Summer Olympic Games Beijing 2008

Zhou, Ap and Bauer state that Chinese motivation to host the Summer Olympic Games in 2008 is based on three essential elements. First of them underlines the historical importance of an Olympic bid connected to Open-Door and Reform policy in 1978 and states the development from this moment on. The second element is the significant influence of Chinese political leadership on an Olympic bid, meaning that all suggestions made by top political leaders in the People's Republic of China are followed and supported and the Olympic bid for the 2008 Summer Games was no exception. Lastly, the motivation of the Chinese government results from hosting the Asian Games in 1990 and realizing its political and ideological potential. The third element is therefore identified with uniting Chinese citizens with the government's ideology.¹⁰¹

Xiufang (Leah) Li criticises the 2008 Beijing Summer Games for making up essential elements of state's soft power strategy. Leah Li runs an analysis of state owned media sources and comes to a conclusion that on a daily basis, China produced huge amount of stories and news in relation to the Games, athletes, culture and marketing. As far as China's Daily is a state owned media enterprise, only one percent of the news and stories were reported negatively. The agenda-setting function of media established four frames, including Olympic Spirit, Gold Fever, Sport Innovation and Rebrand Made in People's Republic of China Frame, to manifest Beijing's soft power. By doing so a message stating that Beijing adhered to international shared values, was delivered to the world.¹⁰²

¹⁰⁰ CORNELISSEN, Scarlett, 2010. The Geopolitics of Global Aspiration: Sport Mega-events and Emerging Powers. *The International Journal of the History of Sport* [online]. **27**(16-18), 3008-3025 [cit. 2018-03-17]. DOI: 10.1080/09523367.2010.508306. ISSN 0952-3367. Available at: <http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/09523367.2010.508306>

¹⁰¹ ZHOU, (Joe) Yong, John AP a Thomas BAUER, 2012. Government motivations for hosting the Beijing 2008 Olympic Games. *Journal of Tourism and Cultural Change* [online]. **10**(2), 185-201 [cit. 2018-03-17]. DOI: 10.1080/14766825.2012.662984. ISSN 1476-6825. Available at: <http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/14766825.2012.662984>

¹⁰² LI, Xiufang (Leah), 2017. From Beijing to Rio: rebranding China via the modern Olympic Games. *The Journal of International Communication* [online]. **23**(2), 252-271 [cit. 2018-03-17]. DOI: 10.1080/13216597.2017.1347101. ISSN 1321-6597. Available at: <https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/13216597.2017.1347101>

5.2.1. Candidate selection procedure

The candidate selection procedure for the 2008 Summer Olympic Games consisted of 5 candidate cities: Osaka, Paris, Toronto, Istanbul and Beijing. All of the city's representatives and delegations were present at the 112th IOC Session that took place in Moscow in 2001 and which followed the order determined after Sydney Games, to give each candidate an hour to present the candidate city. On the contrary to the majority of candidate cities with promotional video clips, Chinese bet on the success of a personal appearance and 9 presenters led by the Chinese Vice President started to deliver their presentation speeches.

103

This decision appeared to be the right one as far as Beijing won the election with 56 votes, leaving Toronto in second position with 22 votes, Paris in third with 18 votes and Istanbul in fourth with 9 votes. Osaka was eliminated in the first round.¹⁰⁴

The announcement of Beijing's success was immediately followed with criticism. The Guardian stated that despite Beijing's proclamation of the Games helping the cause of Human Rights within the country, over twenty people, including a Tibetan monk, were arrested on the day of Beijing's election because,¹⁰⁵. The NY times argued that the Games could prove itself to be a proclamation and validation of a Communist party not only internationally, but essentially among the Chinese.¹⁰⁶

The European Parliament issued a resolution on Beijing's bid arguing that the People's Republic of China have been repressing human rights for decades, imposing capital punishment leading to over a thousand reported executions every year and the widespread use of torture by police and military force.¹⁰⁷ The Chinese government replied with promises of

¹⁰³ OFFICIAL REPORT OF THE BEIJING 2008 OLYMPIC GAMES, 2010. *International Olympic Committee: Olympic World Library* [online]. Beijing: BOCOG, 2010 [cit. 2018-03-17]. Available at: https://library.olympic.org/Default/doc/SYRACUSE/23655/official-report-of-the-beijing-2008-olympic-games-beijing-organizing-committee-for-the-games-of-the-?_lg=en-GB#_ga=2.178779232.557057210.1520846181-740691516.1513625414

¹⁰⁴ Ibid.

¹⁰⁵ MACKAY, Duncan a Vivek CHAUDHARY, 2001. Alarm as China wins Olympics: Human rights alarm as Beijing wins race for 2008 games. *The Guardian* [online]. [cit. 2018-03-17]. Available at: <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2001/jul/14/china.sport1>

¹⁰⁶ SMITH, Craig, 2001. Olympics: Critics at home Surfacing in Wake of China's Successful Bid for the Games. *NY Times* [online]. New York, 2001 [cit. 2018-03-17]. Available at: <https://www.nytimes.com/2001/07/15/sports/olympics-critics-home-surfacing-wake-china-s-successful-bid-for-games.html>

¹⁰⁷ *European Parliament resolution on Beijing's bid to host the 2008 Olympic Games* [online], 2001. Brussels [cit. 2018-03-17]. Available at:

improvement of the political situation, human rights or press freedom by the time the Summer Games will be hosted, however, Amnesty International reported these promises were broken stating that: “*There has been no progress towards fulfilling these promises, only continued deterioration. The authorities have used the Olympic Games as pretext to continue, and in some respects, intensify existing policies and practices which have led to serious and widespread violations of human rights.*”¹⁰⁸

The European Parliament’s activity was followed by the US House of Representatives imposing a resolution calling for the immediate action to stop arrests of civilians and Tibetans. The resolution was also supposed to put pressure on the People’s Republic of China to stop supporting Burma and Sudan. In a reaction to the resolution, the People’s Republic of China accused the US House of Representatives of trying to sabotage the 2008 Games. That time president, George Bush, was later condemned for meeting Chinese political activists just a few days before the official opening ceremony of the 2008 Summer Games.

5.2.2. Factors of analysis

The following subchapter focuses its attention on a broader investigation of factors used within regression analysis, except factors area and UN Security Council membership, which do not need a broader description and will be presented with the regression analysis data.

5.2.2.1. Conflict

Uppsala Conflict Data Program states that in 2001, the People’s Republic of China had not been active in any kind of armed conflict, remarking that “*it has often been impossible to determine with certainty whether incidents should be included in UCDP data.*”¹⁰⁹ Heidelberg Institute for International Conflict Research states that the People’s Republic of China was

http://www.europarl.europa.eu/omk/omnsapir.so/pv2?PRG=DOCPV&APP=PV2&SDOCTA=16&TXTLST=1&TPV=PROV&POS=1&Type_Doc=RESOL&DATE=050701&DATEF=010705&TYPEF=TITRE&PrgPrev=PRG@TITRE%7cAPP@PV2%7cTYPEF@TITRE%7cYEAR@01%7cFind@olympic%7cFILE@BIBLIO01%7cPLAGE@1&LANGUE=EN

¹⁰⁸ POMFRET, James, 2008. Amnesty slams China's broken Olympics promises. *Reuters* [online]. [cit. 2018-03-17]. Available at: <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-olympics-amnesty/amnesty-slams-chinas-broken-olympics-promises-idUSHKG8344020080728?feedType=RSS&feedName=sportsNews>

¹⁰⁹ *Uppsala Conflict Data Program: Department of Peace and Conflict Research* [online], 2018. Uppsala [cit. 2018-03-17]. Available at: <http://ucdp.uu.se/#/onesided/953>

not active in any armed conflict in 2001, however, it stresses that Chinese government revealed a pattern of political provocations of Tibetans¹¹⁰

5.2.2.2. *Human Rights*

The Chinese government systematically suppressed any forms of independent political activities. By the end of 2000, already ten leaders of dissident Chinese Democratic Party were sentenced to prison, receiving from eleven to five years. The Chinese government also struggled to acquire control over the internet. To do so, various regulations were applied and ultimately, an internet policy was established.¹¹¹ Not only the freedom of expression and the internet, but also freedom of speech, worker's rights, freedom of religion or a ban on death penalties are the main issues that occurred (and still do occur) in the People's Republic of China according to an Amnesty International's statement.¹¹²

Human Rights Watch states that media regulations were also tightened in 2001, when the Communist Party official stressed that the masses of journalist had to agree with any statement made by the president Jiang Zemin and the central committee, whereas they were not allowed to write on all topics. Otherwise any kind of media resources might were closed if it published a report on sensitive or taboo topics.¹¹³

Human Atlas states that in 2001, People's Republic of China's CIRI Physical Integrity Rights Index acquired the number 2 out of possible 8, when 8 stays for full respect for physical integrity rights.¹¹⁴ Freedom House defines People's Republic of China as a "not free" state in 2001 with freedom rating of 6.5 (1 best, 7 worst), civil liberties of 6 (1 best, 7 worst) and political rights at 7 (1 best, 7 worst).¹¹⁵

¹¹⁰ Heidelberg Institut for International Conflict Relations: *Konfliktbarometer* [online], 2001. Heidelberg [cit. 2018-03-20]. Available at: <https://hiik.de/konfliktbarometer/>

¹¹¹ *Human Rights Watch: World Report* [online], 2001. New York [cit. 2018-03-20]. Available at: <https://www.hrw.org/legacy/wr2k1/asia/china.html>

¹¹² China: 2017/2018, 2018. *Amnesty International* [online]. London [cit. 2018-03-20]. Available at: <https://www.amnesty.org/en/countries/asia-and-the-pacific/china/report-china/#endnote-7>

¹¹³ Human Rights Watch: China and Tibet, 2001. *Human Rights Watch* [online]. New York [cit. 2018-03-20]. Available at: <http://pantheon.hrw.org/legacy/wr2k2/asia4.html>

¹¹⁴ Human Rights Atlas: China, 2001. *Human Rights Atlas: Data Factsheet* [online]. Essex: University of Essex, 2001 [cit. 2018-03-20]. Available at: <http://www.humanrightsatlas.org/data/factsheet/cn/2001>

¹¹⁵ Freedom House: China, 2001. *Freedom House* [online]. Washington, 2001 [cit. 2018-03-20]. Available at: <https://freedomhouse.org/report/freedom-world/2001/china>

5.2.2.3. *Gender (in)equalit*

Susan Greenhalg stated that from a historical perspective traditional Confucian China developed one of the most patriarchal family systems, whereas she also pointed to the fact that legislative progress and a change in attitude had encouraged a displacement of such patriarchy. Since the 1990s, the People's Republic of China had revised a series of laws promoting gender equality.¹¹⁶

In 2001, the People's Republic of China promulgated its Outline for the Development of Chinese Women (2001-2010), outlining 34 major goals and 100 policies which are measured in six categories: women and the economy, women's participation in decision making and administration, women and education, women and health, women and the law and women and the environment.¹¹⁷

5.2.2.4. *GDP*

China's GDP (according to data provided by the World Bank) was 1,339,000 USD in 2001.¹¹⁸ In 2001 the People's Republic of China became a WTO member and had catalysed its rapid economic rise.

Chinese membership within the WTO marks a milestone of its successful economic growth, which dates back to 1978. The reduction of poverty is considered to be one of the first successes of Chinese economy. The World Bank estimated that Chinese poverty population dropped from 542 to 375 million in the 1980s, followed by a drop of 115 million in the 1990s. Overall, the World Bank also estimated that the decline of poverty in the People's Republic of China had positively affected a reduction of poverty worldwide (See Figure 5).¹¹⁹

¹¹⁶ GREENHALGH, Susan, 1985. Sexual Stratification: The Other Side of "Growth with Equity" in East Asia. *Population and Development Review* [online]. **11**(2), 265- [cit. 2018-03-20]. DOI: 10.2307/1973489. ISSN 00987921. Available at: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/1973489?origin=crossref>

¹¹⁷ China Publishes Gender Equality White Paper, 2005. *China.org: Top News* [online]. August 2005 [cit. 2018-03-20]. Available at: <http://www.china.org.cn/english/2005/Aug/139404.htm>

¹¹⁸ World Bank Open Data, 2018. *World Bank: Data* [online]. Washington D.C [cit. 2018-03-20]. Available at: <https://data.worldbank.org/>

¹¹⁹ ANGANG, By Hu, Hu LINLIN a Chang ZHIXIAO, 2002. China's economic growth and poverty reduction: 1978-2002. *International Monetary Fund* [online]. [cit. 2018-03-20]. Available at: [y/external/np/apd/seminars/2003/newdelhi/angang.pdf](http://www.imf.org/external/np/apd/seminars/2003/newdelhi/angang.pdf)

Figure 5 - Poverty population and the poverty rate of the world

	1950	1960	1970	1980	1992	1999
Poverty population (million) ^a	1805.6	1946.5	2200.7	2426.6	2800	2320
Population in dire poverty (million) ^b	1376.2	1330.1	1304.7	1390.3	1294	1169
Poverty rate (%)	71.9	64.3	60.1	55.0	51.3	38.1
Dire poverty rate (%)	54.8	44.0	35.6	31.5	23.7	13.3

Note. Reprinted from: <https://www.imf.org/external/np/apd/seminars/2003/newdelhi/angang.pdf>

This first great success was accomplished with the People's Republic of China entering the WTO on 11th December 2001 as its 143th member after fifteen years of arduous negotiation. In between these two decades, the People's Republic of China had shifted from centrally planned to open market economy by abolishing trade plans, decentralizing trades, slashing tariffs etc. Such shifts catalysed the growth of economy, the already mentioned reduction of poverty and therefore changed the People's Republic of China to a rapidly growing economy. China soon realized that if it wanted to sustain its economic growth, it would have to join an international organization to ensure the protection of its own trade interests and overcoming domestic obstacles. Radhikari and Yang argue, that this was the essential motivation of the People's Republic of China to enter the WTO.¹²⁰

By the end of 2001, China's economy had experienced several successes and found itself at the starting point of even greater expansion.

5.2.2.5. Security

David Shambaugh stresses that Chinese security is essentially influenced by East Asian regional security, China's domestic economy, political system and the Chinese military, whereas China's economic reforms and China's military will play a key role in the evolution and form of its security policy.¹²¹

By the end of the 90s, the People's Republic of China had become most confident about its security environment since its foundation in 1949 as far as it did not face any plausible external threats of violence for the first time in nearly 50 years. In spite of the end of

¹²⁰ ADHIKARI, Ramesh a Yongzheng YANG, 2002. What Will WTO Membership Mean for China and Its Trading Partners?. *Finance and Development* [online]. 39(3), 1-9 [cit. 2018-03-20]. ISSN International Monetary Fund. Available at: <http://citeseerx.ist.psu.edu/viewdoc/download?doi=10.1.1.627.4337&rep=rep1&type=pdf>

¹²¹ SHAMBAUGH, David, 2008. China's security policy in the post-Cold War era. *Survival* [online]. 34(2), 88-106 [cit. 2018-03-20]. DOI: 10.1080/00396339208442643. ISSN 0039-6338. Available at: <http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/00396339208442643>

the Cold War and world's bipolarity, which brought on several instabilities within the world's security and expectations of future regional imbalances, the major threats were restrained. Such a development has strengthened the prospect of peaceful environment maintenance which could then lead to a broader and successful economic development.¹²²

By that time People's Republic of China had faced only one potential threat concerning Sino-Indian relations." *China and India are seeking to normalize relations, but any setback in this process could greatly destabilize the security environment in South Asia and indirectly accelerate the nuclear and conventional arms race between India and Pakistan*, " Maleeha Lodhi states.¹²³

5.2.2.6. Nuclear power

The nuclear powers (US, Russia, UK or France) have scaled down their nuclear arsenals with the end of Cold War. China, on the contrary, has stepped up its nuclear programme, which then lead to an enlargement of its nuclear weapons stock, moving it towards a better and real battle preparation. This step is supported by the efforts of the People's Liberation Army to transform itself from "hiding force" into "fighting force".¹²⁴

At the beginning of the 21st century, the People's Republic of China has clearly presented its standpoint towards nuclear weapon policy, stating that they should be used only as diplomatic or political tools. China therefore became one of the most vociferous critics of the US proposal to erect a National Missile Defence shield for itself. The Chinese natural standpoint towards non-proliferation mechanisms was embedded in realpolitik, as far as that if any of the great nuclear powers (e.g. the US) would strengthen its position, China would have then lost its creditability of a deterrent.¹²⁵

In addition to the usage of nuclear power as a means of political or diplomatic tools, the People's Republic of China focused its attention on the usage of nuclear power concerning

¹²² GLASER, Bonnie S., 1993. China's Security Perceptions: Interests and Ambitions. *Asian Survey* [online]. **33**(3), 252-271 [cit. 2018-03-20]. DOI: 10.2307/2645250. ISSN 00044687. Available at: <http://as.ucpress.edu/cgi/doi/10.2307/2645250>

¹²³ LODHI, Maleeha, 2001. Security challenges in South Asia. *The Nonproliferation Review* [online]. **8**(2), 118-124 [cit. 2018-03-20]. DOI: 10.1080/10736700108436856. ISSN 1073-6700. Available at <http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/10736700108436856>

¹²⁴ JI, You, 1999. Nuclear power in the post-cold war era: The development of China's nuclear strategy. *Comparative Strategy* [online]. **18**(3), 245-259 [cit. 2018-03-20]. DOI: 10.1080/01495939908403181. ISSN 0149-5933. Available at: <http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/01495939908403181>

¹²⁵ RAPPAL, M.V., 2002. China's nuclear arsenal and missile defence. *Strategic Analysis* [online]. **26**(1), 65-79 [cit. 2018-03-20]. DOI: 10.1080/09700160208450026. ISSN 0970-0161. Available at: <http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/09700160208450026>

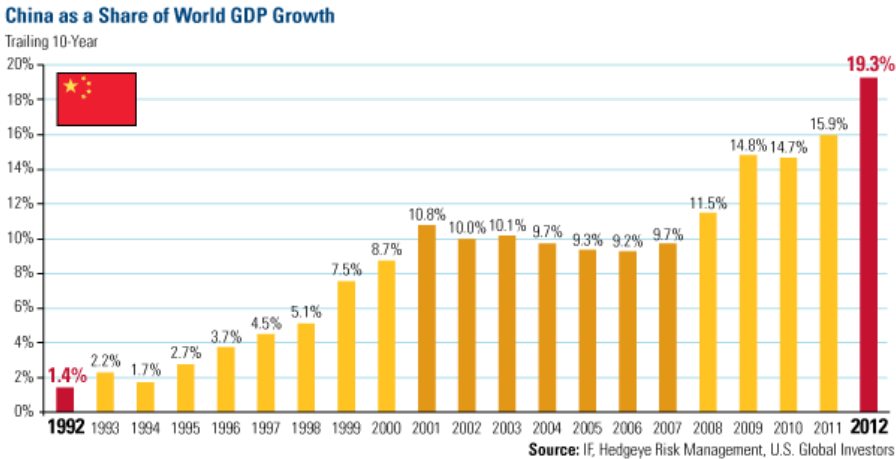
future energy supply. By 2001, China expected its energy demand to amount to 3360 million tons of oil in 2050 and set a goal of relying, as much as possible, only on domestic sources.¹²⁶

5.2.2.7. GDP growth

Liu identifies four main factors that had started and escalated China’s Economic growth from the 1980s, marked with market-oriented reforms in 1978, onwards. First, gaining efficiency at micro levels. Second, improved resource allocation. Third, diffusing technology through foreign direct investments and ultimately, gaining an improvement in infrastructure. Liu also states that additional driving forces, e.g. state-owned enterprises or banking reforms, played a certain and important role, comparing Chinese economy growth to a miracle.¹²⁷

Amartya Sen, on the contrary, remains critical about the rapid growth of China’s economy, stating that what we see in China, concerning the rapidity of GDP growth, is a unique example dominating other world regions. Nevertheless, most of people have misunderstood and failed in realizing that such a rapid GDP growth will have either a negative impact in China, which is on the contrary to e.g. Singapore, a country with large rural population.¹²⁸

Figure 6– China’s Share of World GDP Growth



Note. Reprinted from: <http://www.usfunds.com/investor-library/frank-talk/how-to-profit-from-a-changing-china/#.Wrtb0NRuZdg>

¹²⁶ DAZHONG, Wang a Lu YINGYUN, 2002. Roles and prospect of nuclear power in China's energy supply strategy. *Nuclear Engineering and Design* [online]. **218**(1-3), 3-12 [cit. 2018-03-20]. DOI: 10.1016/S0029-5493(02)00180-2. ISSN 00295493. Available at: <http://linkinghub.elsevier.com/retrieve/pii/S0029549302001802>

¹²⁷ LIU, Zhiqiang, 2000. The Nature of China's Economic Growth in the Past Two Decades. *Post-Communist Economies* [online]. **12**(2), 201-214 [cit. 2018-03-21]. DOI: 10.1080/14631370050043643. ISSN 1463-1377. Available at: <http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/14631370050043643>

¹²⁸ SEN, Amartya, 2003. The Conceptual Challenge of Evaluating Inequality and Poverty. *Economics: Quarterly*. Beijing: Peking University Press, **2003**(1), 257-258.

As seen on the graph above (see Figure 6), China's GDP growth share of the world's GDP growth reached its maximum in 2001, the year of Olympic host city selection, comparing to previous years.

5.3. Winter Olympic Games Beijing 2022

The 2022 Winter Olympic Games will be hosted by Beijing, the Chinese capital, in spite of the fact that Beijing venues have minimal annual snowfall and will have to rely completely on good weather conditions that could allow it to produce artificial snow. Beijing was named a host city for the 2022 Winter Olympic Games after it defeated its only competitor Almaty, which boasted its snowy winters with motto "Keeping it Real". Beijing will therefore become the first venue to stage both, the Summer and Winter Olympic Games.¹²⁹

The IOC states that the 2022 Beijing Games will promote the values of Olympism and will help less developed regions to become new economic powerhouses for China. The Organizing Committee has already established Beijing's 2022 concept which consists of three main pillars. First, Beijing sets its ultimate priority to provide athletes with top class service in any possible area. Second, it aims to ensure sustainable development, claiming it as its core strategy. And ultimately, Beijing will adhere to the policy of funding the Games primarily through the Chinese market.¹³⁰

5.3.1. Candidate selection procedure

The IOC reviewed all candidate bids and chose Beijing, Almaty and Oslo as candidates to be hosting the 2022 Winter Olympic Games. In October 2014, the Norwegian parliament refused to grant the government financial guarantees to staging the Games and refused the IOC's demands, such as meeting with the King or hosting VIP cocktail parties. Therefore Oslo withdrew its bid, which was soon followed by aggressive IOC's response, as the BBC states, of claiming that Norway failed and missed a great opportunity.¹³¹

¹²⁹ HUANG, Zheping, 2018. Water Olympics: The Winter Olympics is pretty much over natural snow, which is great for their next host. *Quartz* [online]. February 23, 2018 [cit. 2018-03-21]. Available at: <https://qz.com/1213121/beijing-2022-winter-olympics-will-rely-entirely-on-artificial-snow/>

¹³⁰ Beijing 2022: Vision, 2018. *International Olympic Committee* [online]. Lausanne [cit. 2018-03-21]. Available at: <https://www.olympic.org/beijing-2022>

¹³¹ ROAN, Dan, 2014. Winter Olympics: What now for 2022 after Norway pulls out?. *BBC: Sport* [online]. London, 2 October 2014 [cit. 2018-03-21]. Available at: <http://www.bbc.com/sport/winter-olympics/29455789>

On the 31st of July 2015, the IOC session was held in Malaysia to elect a 2022 Winter Olympic Games host city. Beijing took victory over Almaty with 44 votes against 40. The election was questioned about the possibility of any voting irregularities. First of all, fifteen IOC members were missing during the election and then there were technical obstacles within the voting procedure. The electronic vote experienced technical faults, therefore the first votes did not count. The election then continued with paper ballot with one abstention.¹³²

Beijing's victory may not have been much of surprise, as far as the IOC president, Thomas Bach, had claimed it to be a "safe decision". Many of the IOC members were, however, surprised that the match was so close. David Wallechinsky, president of the International Society of Olympic Historians, stated that the main motivation of the IOC voters should not be recognized with normative or functional background, as he suggests that their agendas differ a lot. Therefore the logistics for the participants or the normative values may not be considered as a big factor for the voters. While they might be deciding upon how few weeks spent in China may be preferable to a few weeks spend in Kazakhstan.¹³³

5.3.2. Factors of analysis

The following subchapter focuses its attention on a broader investigation of factors used within regression analysis, except factors area and the UN Security Council membership, which do not need a broader description and will be presented with regression analysis data.

5.3.2.1. Conflict

The Uppsala Conflict Data Program found the People's Republic of China to be in conflict in 2015, considering the dispute over Kokang. Kokang and its territory, which is located between China and Myanmar, had been contested since the 1950s. The area of Kokang has been a part of Republic of China for centuries, however, it became a part of Myanmar as a result of an agreement signed in 1897. The dispute, ending up with over 452 victims and 10 000 refugees, re-started again in 2015.¹³⁴

¹³² Beijing wins election to host 2022 Winter Olympics, 2015. *USA Today* [online]. 2015 [cit. 2018-03-21]. Available at: <https://www.usatoday.com/story/sports/olympics/2015/07/31/beijing-wins-election-host-2022-winter-olympics/30923451/>

¹³³ BORDEN, Sam, 2015. Beijing Defeats Almaty in Bid to Host 2022 Winter Olympics. *New York Times* [online]. 2015 [cit. 2018-03-21]. Available at: <https://www.nytimes.com/2015/08/01/sports/olympics/beijing-selected-as-host-of-2022-winter-olympics.html>

¹³⁴ Myanmar:Kokang, 2018. *Uppsala Conflict Data Program* [online]. Uppsala [cit. 2018-03-21]. Available at: <http://ucdp.uu.se/#/conflict/439>

The Heidelberg University Conflict Barometer states that China was present in more than just one conflict, of which most are classified as disputes over ideology, e.g. Chinese government against Christians, Chinese government against political opposition or China against Taiwan.¹³⁵

5.3.2.2. *Human Rights*

The Human Rights Watch states that in spite of new political leadership, which has undertaken few positive steps in certain areas, the People's Republic of China remains an authoritarian state, which systematically violates human rights. Ultimately, the Human Rights Watch also argues that at the same time political authorities have also unleashed extraordinary assaults on human rights, stating that open hostility of Chinese government towards human rights activists was tragically illustrated by the death of grassroots activist Cao Shunli. The activist was detained and was denied to accede to adequate health care in spite of the fact that she was seriously ill. The activist died just few days after official authorities permitted her transportation from detention to a hospital.¹³⁶

The Human Atlas states that in 2015, the People's Republic of China's CIRI Physical Integrity Rights Index acquired the number 0 out of possible 8, when 8 stays for full respect for physical integrity rights.¹³⁷ Freedom House finds the People's Republic of China as a "not free" state in 2015 with freedom rating of 6.5 (1 best, 7 worst), civil liberties of 6 (1 best, 7 worst) and political rights at 7 (1 best, 7 worst).¹³⁸

The Chinese government continued in publishing laws against those who remained a threat to political ideology. As a result of such policy, Liu Xiaobo, a Nobel Prize laureate died in custody, human rights defenders and activists were detained and sentenced to prison – very often outside formal detention facilities, for a longer time, with additional risk of torture. Repression of religious activists doubled and the control over the Internet was strengthened.¹³⁹

¹³⁵ Conflict Barometer: 2015, 2015. *Heidelberg Institute for International Conflict Research* [online]. Heidelberg [cit. 2018-03-21]. Available at: <https://hiik.de/conflict-barometer/bisherige-ausgaben/?lang=en>

¹³⁶ World Report: 2015, 2015. *Human Rights Watch* [online]. New York [cit. 2018-03-24]. Available at: <https://www.hrw.org/world-report/2015/country-chapters/china-and-tibet>

¹³⁷ Human Rights Atlas: China, 2015. *Human Rights Atlas: Data Factsheet* [online]. Essex: University of Essex, 2015 [cit. 2018-03-24]. Available at: <http://www.humanrightsatlas.org/data/factsheet/cn/2015>

¹³⁸ Freedom House: China, 2015. *Freedom House* [online]. Washington, 2015 [cit. 2018-03-24]. Available at: <https://freedomhouse.org/report/freedom-world/2015/china>

¹³⁹ China: 2015, 2015. *Amnesty International: Report* [online]. London [cit. 2018-03-24]. Available at: <https://www.amnesty.org/en/countries/asia-and-the-pacific/china/>

5.3.2.3. Gender (in)equality

Despite proclamation of the Chinese government in promoting gender equality policy at the beginning of the 21st century, the reality in 2015 was to the contrary. Wu and Zhang stress that based on the available data, the disparity between women and men within educational opportunities have shifted, stating that women have even gained more, however, the gender gap within rural-urban inequality (concerning many areas) has even enlarged..¹⁴⁰

In spite of providing women with better education opportunities, they still are not perceived equally with men. Chinese sociologist Feng Gang stated that history provided evidence on academia not being a domain of women in China.¹⁴¹ Concerning Gender equality, China is still lagging behind. Chinese intellectuals and business elites publicly express their opinion on the issue of existing gender gaps, whereas they feel free to state that the movement aspiring to achieve gender equality in China is one of the means by which ugly and stupid women try to repress traditional and nice women in China.¹⁴²

The main reason of discontent for Chinese women is rooted in a state run campaign focusing on the ticking of the biological and social clock of women stating and also warning women that if they will not be married and will not procreate by their mid 20s, they would become “leftovers”. The State’s government also underlines the importance of women’s role encouraging them to prefer the domestic realm over career.¹⁴³

5.3.2.4. GDP

China’s membership within the WTO has caused the Chinese remarkable successful achievements in economy, e.g. China became the largest merchandise exporter, the number one destination for Inward FDI and investor for outdoor FDI among developing countries, or the second largest merchandise importer and economy in GDP terms (Figure 7). China has

¹⁴⁰ XIAOGANG, Wu a Zhuoni ZANG, 2010. Changes in educational inequality in China, 1990–2005: Evidence from the population census data. *Globalization, Changing Demographics, and Educational Challenges in East Asia* [online]. 123-152 [cit. 2018-03-24]. DOI: 10.1108%2FS1479-3539%282010%290000017007. Available at: <https://www.emeraldinsight.com/action/showCitFormats?doi=10.1108%2FS1479-3539%282010%290000017007>

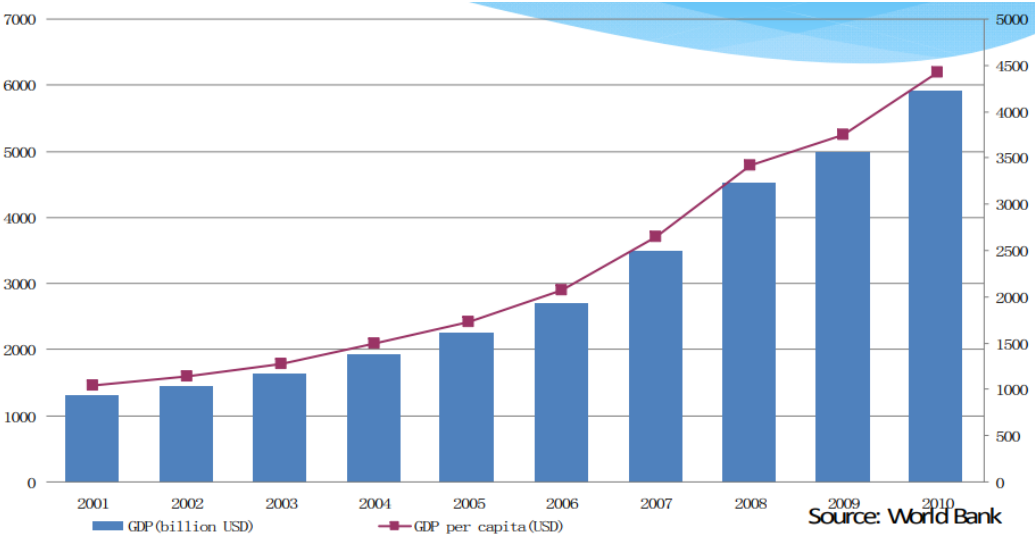
¹⁴¹ PAULK, David, 2017. Sociologist Refuses to Apologize for Sexist Social Media Posts. *Sixth Tone* [online]. Beijing [cit. 2018-03-24]. Available at: <http://www.sixthtone.com/news/1001047/sociologist-refuses-to-apologize-for-sexist-social-media-posts>

¹⁴² RICHARDSON, Sophie, 2017. China Needs to Stop the Growing Gender Gap: Ineffective Anti-Discrimination Mechanisms Hinder Women’s Progress. *Human Rights Watch* [online]. [cit. 2018-03-24]. Available at: <https://www.hrw.org/news/2017/11/05/china-needs-stop-growing-gender-gap>

¹⁴³ OTHIS, Eileen, 2015. Inequality in China and the impact on Women’s Rights. *TheConversation* [online]. Oregon: University of Oregon [cit. 2018-03-24]. Available at: <https://theconversation.com/inequality-in-china-and-the-impact-on-womens-rights-38744>

also established a system unified with the WTO rules, which should ensure Chinese transparent policy.¹⁴⁴

Figure 7 – China’s GDP during 2001-2010



Note. Reprinted from https://www.wto.org/english/thewto_e/acc_e/s7lu_e.pdf

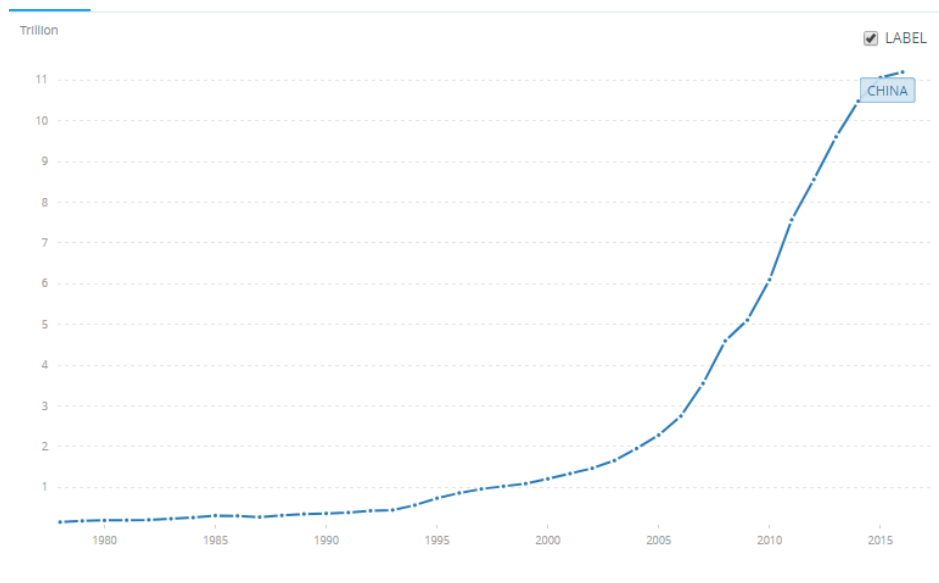
Despite Chinese positive perception of its membership within the WTO and its declaration of transparent policy run in accordance with WTO principles, the US represented by its president, Donald Trump, perceive the membership differently. Trump’s administration stated that Chinese membership within the WTO can be considered as a mistake as far as it accused the Chinese capital, Beijing, of not moving to a western-model of open market economy and society. The administration stressed that a clear evidence of the US failure of supporting China’s entry into the WTO exists. The failure is defined as inefficiency in securing China’s embrace of an open-marked, trade oriented regime.¹⁴⁵

In spite of criticism of China not becoming an open market economy under the WTO reign, the fact is that by the end of 2015, its GDP rate was by 11,065,000 USD – crowning its rapid growth (Figure 8).

¹⁴⁴ China in the WTO: Past, Present and Future, 2012. *World Trade Organization* [online]. [cit. 2018-03-24]. Available at: https://www.wto.org/english/thewto_e/acc_e/s7lu_e.pdf

¹⁴⁵ *Financial Times: US says China WTO membership was a mistake* [online], 2018. Washington [cit. 2018-03-24]. Available at: <https://www.ft.com/content/edb346ec-fd3a-11e7-9b32-d7d59aace167>

Figure 8– China’s GDP (US \$)



Note. Reprinted from:

<https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/NY.GDP.MKTP.CD?end=2016&locations=CN&start=1978>

5.3.2.5. *Security*

People’s Republic of China focuses more attention on regional security than any other country in Asia due to historical consequences. Its main concerns included Northern Korea and its nuclear power, Taiwan issue or the South China Sea or Islamic Fundamentalism. China attempts to promote economic cooperation and therefore avoid any military disputes.¹⁴⁶

The Chinese president Xi Jinping published the National Security Law of the People’s Republic of China on the 1st July, 2015. The Law attempts to establish a regime of national security system to enable sustainable social and economic development and to secure that other state interests will not be faced with any danger. The Law states that maintaining the sovereignty and unity of China shall be common commitment of not only Chinese people, but also of Hong Kong, Taiwan and Macao compatriots while.¹⁴⁷

Ankit Panda from *The Diplomat* argues that the above mentioned Law is vague and underlines the central role of the Communist Party, which will profit from a more centralized

¹⁴⁶ SONG, Xinning, 2013. Security and the Role of China. *The Palgrave Handbook of EU-Asia Relations* [online]. London: Palgrave Macmillan, 471-480 [cit. 2018-03-24]. DOI: 10.1007/978-0-230-37870-4_30. Available at: https://link.springer.com/chapter/10.1007/978-0-230-37870-4_30

¹⁴⁷ PANYUE, Huang, 2017. National Security Law of the People's Republic of China: 2015. *Ministry of National Defense of the People's Republic of China* [online]. [cit. 2018-03-24]. Available at: http://eng.mod.gov.cn/publications/2017-03/03/content_4774229.htm

and authoritative national security system as far as it will influence everyday life of each citizen. The New York Times finds the National Security Law to be a more abstract statement of principles of the Chinese government, attempting to exhort the Chinese to be prompt about threats to the Communist Party.¹⁴⁸

5.3.2.6. *Nuclear power*

China's position towards nuclear energy has not changed over the years, which means that China perceives nuclear power plants more as a source of energy than an instrument of a dispute or conflict. To get enough energy, China has started a program to be able to sufficiently supplement the needs of Chinese. “ *China's plans for a rapid expansion of nuclear power plants are “insane” because the country is not investing enough in safety controls,* “He Zuoxiu, a leading Chinese scientist has warned, stating that he would like to see China to stop the expansion as far as the nuclear power plants are not approved.¹⁴⁹

China published a new Five Years plan in 2015, stating that more than 100 nuclear power reactors will start up and more than US\$100 billion to construct them will be invested annually. The essential initiative for such investment and development of nuclear power plants derives from China's huge tremendous air pollution from coal-fired plants and need for increase of energy.¹⁵⁰

5.3.2.7. *GDP growth*

In 2015, China's economy grew by 6.9%. Compared with a 7.3% a year earlier, it marks its slowest growth in 25 years. Nevertheless some observers state China's growth is actually much weaker than suggested by official data, whereas Beijing denies number are being inflated.¹⁵¹

The data given by the Chinese government are often doubted to correspond with real data and facts, therefore many academics try to run their own analysis, attempting to present numbers that do correspond with reality. Hoenderop and Williamson investigated Chinese

¹⁴⁸ PANDA, Ankit, 2015. The Truth about China's New Security Law. *The Diplomat* [online]. [cit. 2018-03-24]. Available at: <https://thediplomat.com/2015/07/the-truth-about-chinas-new-national-security-law/>

¹⁴⁹ GRAHAM HARRISON, Emma, 2015. China warned over 'insane' plans for new nuclear power plants. *The Guardian*[online]. Beijing [cit. 2018-03-26]. Available at: <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/may/25/china-nuclear-power-plants-expansion-he-zuoxiu>

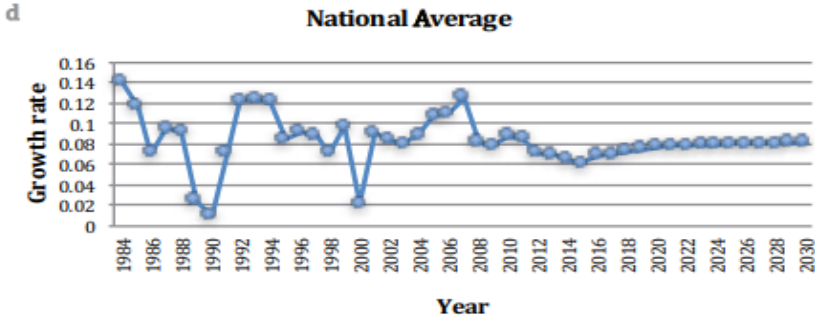
¹⁵⁰ CONCA, James, 2015. China Shows How to Build Nuclear Reactors Fast and Cheap. *Forbes* [online]. New York [cit. 2018-03-26]. Available at: <https://www.forbes.com/sites/jamesconca/2015/10/22/china-shows-how-to-build-nuclear-reactors-fast-and-cheap/#15890fe95484>

¹⁵¹ China economic growth slowest in 25 years, 2016. *BBC: News* [online]. London, 2016 [cit. 2018-03-26]. Available at: <http://www.bbc.com/news/business-35349576>

annual GDP growth, using an alternative benchmark, proposing a benchmark index for the nominal GDP growth constructed from numbers of 150 major Chinese companies, which covers 19 industry sectors. The main interest was to track, but deviate from the official data released by governmental institutions, whereas the first index was established on total Gross Margin and the second index was based on the growth in the total Revenue of major Chinese companies. The study came to a conclusion that there were several changes within officially presented data and the results of their analysis, whereas the GDP growth was more volatile, than officially reported, which they state to matter as far as all financial markets worldwide tend to react to even marginal changes in reported rates of Chinese GDP growth.¹⁵²

Yao and Wang attempted to release a future forecast of a GDP growth in China, concerning differences between all Chinese regions. They came up with a conclusion, that different speeds of development and growth are found within different regions. Ultimately, they released a graph showing forecast of GDP growth (see Figure 9).¹⁵³

Figure 9 – Forecast growth rates of GDP



Note. Reprinted from: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/pdf/j.ctt1trkk3v.11.pdf>

¹⁵² WILLIAMSON, Peter J., Simon HOENDEROP a Jochem HOENDEROP, 2018. An alternative benchmark for the validity of China’s GDP growth statistics. *Journal of Chinese Economic and Business Studies* [online]. **16**(2), 171-191 [cit. 2018-03-26]. DOI: 10.1080/14765284.2018.1438867. ISSN 1476-5284. Available at: <https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/14765284.2018.1438867>

¹⁵³ YAO, Yang a Mengqi WANG, 2017. Internal Convergence and China’s Growth Potential. SONG, Ligang, Ross GARNAUT, Cai FANG a Lauren JOHNSTON. *China's New Sources of Economic Growth: Human Capital, Innovation and Technological Change*. 2. Australia: ANU Press, s. 67-88. ISBN 978-1-76046-130-0.

Conclusion

Stemming from Levermore and Budd's claim of sport being a facet of international diplomacy and Bousfield's suggestion that the IOC should create normative pressures, the aspirations of the diploma thesis were set. The aims of the thesis were first, to present the IOC as an international institution espousing significant position within sports diplomacy and secondly, to run regression analysis attempting to examine the IOC's normative power.

The thesis desired to find out if hosting the Olympic Games is awarded in accordance with the Olympic Charter principles (RQ1), or, if it is not, what are the most decisive factors which significantly influence the fruitfulness of the bid (RQ2).

Several hypotheses were defined in the methodological part of the thesis and were then classified into three categories: normative (H₁-H₃), functional (H₄-H₆) and power-stressing (H₇-H₉). Based on the regression analysis outcomes, the normative hypotheses for RQ1, except *conflict*, were disproved. The RQ1 was thus answered in terms that the IOC does not elect host cities in accordance with all of the principles of Olympism. Considering RQ2, the thesis came to the conclusion that power stressing factor, namely GDP, is the most influential and thus increases candidate's likelihood of being elected, while factors security and gdp growth have played the most significant role within past decade.

The first part of the thesis introduces the IOC as an international institution. It is obvious that since the UN officially recognized sport as an important enabler and engaged in cooperation with the IOC, the IOC's position within international relations got strengthened. Since then, many academics called for several changes within the IOC's policy, including stronger normative pressures and the promotion of the idea of Olympism. Stemming from this, the IOC would also deserve to become recognized as an influential international organization. Resting on such an argument, the thesis attempted to provide the description of the IOC, focusing attention on its historical establishment, the structure of the organization and the decision-making process, which primarily describes the process of host city election.

In the second part, logistic regression analysis is conducted to find out what the most decisive factors are, influencing the fruitfulness of the bid. First of all, a dataset of 72 observations and 9 variables was created. A model for logistic regression analysis was created then, whereas it produced several coefficients, describing the importance of each variable/factor, as its results. Further, subsets of the two time periods (1992-2006 and 2008-

2022) were created to illustrate how the trend of voting has changed over the years within the IOC. The subsets outcomes indicates that alongside strong GDP rate, candidate's strong security index, significant GDP growth and non-compliance with human rights heavily increase its likelihood of being elected.

Ultimately, the analysis was then supplemented by a case study, which focused its attention on the 2008 Beijing Summer Olympic Games and the 2022 Beijing Winter Olympic Games. The Beijing Games were chosen as the most likely case, as far as the 2008 Beijing Summer Games set a wave of controversial Olympic Games in motion, including e.g. the 2014 Sochi Games or the 2016 Rio de Janeiro Summer Games. Furthermore, the Beijing Games are still remembered as one of the most overpaid Games in history, held in a country which does not correspond with the idea of Olympism. Despite the criticism and the alarming non-compliance with human rights, Beijing was awarded as host city for the 2022 Winter Olympic Games, beating Almaty.

The case study aspired to provide alternative measurements of the individual factors, whereas the primarily attention was focused on the introduction of a Rising Power theory and its further application to the case study. Stemming from the theory and the regression analysis outcomes, the case study came to a conclusion that Beijing's second success corresponds with the IOC's latest discourse, and thus is not a form of a deviation. The case study also suggests that, based on the Rising Power theory, the rising powers tend to succeed in the election by effectively projecting their soft power. They are thus easily believed to have an attempt to improve the normative factors, even though the reality is usually different. In a brief, if a rising power lacks in a range of normative factors, it can easily persuade the IOC, by projection of its soft power, that as a host city of an Olympic event it will make an effort to improve. However, the case of a reality appeared to be different. The Olympic event is misused for political goals and achievement of international attention, while the normative factors remain of the same quality, which is also the case of Beijing Games.

In spite of the results obtained from the analysis, which states that the IOC's trend within the election is to prioritise the power-stressing factors over normative ones, there have been several hints of a turning point. For example, the IOC's engagement in the global fight against doping and drug policy, or the last Olympic cities elections, in which Paris and Los Angeles were elected. Ultimately, based on the long-term criticism of its policy, the IOC

officially declared human rights protection will become the core requirement for further Olympic events.¹⁵⁴

As being aware of possible downsides of the research design, it is suggested to outline them and to provide proposals of a possible enhancement. First of all, the number of parameters tested within the logistic regression was not sufficient. Enlargement of the analysis could thus ensure having a better fit of the model. Secondly, using alternative measurements of variables might increase the probability of correct predictions made by the model. Nonetheless, as the subjectivity of IOC members (the voters) influencing the election is considered, one doubts whether the effect of above mentioned improvements would be so apparent.

As pre-supposed that the tested time period (1992-2022) encompasses more than one IOC's tendency, subsetting of the data in two time periods was suggested and then accomplished, to create models of a better fit. The two sub-set models showed that in spite of the overall dominance of the GDP factor, the 21st century trend of the IOC is to prioritise rising economies with strong security index and also states that barely comply with human rights. This phenomenon is obvious not only when considering the Beijing Games, but also e.g. Sochi or Rio Games. Ultimately, this step revealed to increase the models' goodness of fit and thus to provide statistically more significant data.

In conclusion, a range of takeaway points can be drawn from the research. Firstly, in spite of officially proclaiming to be an institution ensuring the spread and support to the principles of the Olympism, the IOC apparently does not reflect the normative principles into host city election satisfactorily. Moreover the question of human rights is significantly ignored. Notwithstanding that gender equity and absence of an armed conflict have positive effect and increase the likelihood of successful bidding, the sharp drop of importance of human rights disallows to come to a different conclusion. Therefore it is a time the IOC starts thinking about adopting alternative attitude or bringing about a reform that would ensure existence of a host city election procedure which would primarily make allowance for normative factors, so that the Olympic Games might become an act of honour, not a political tool.

¹⁵⁴ IOC to make human rights protection a core requirement for future Olympic Games hosts, 2017. *Deutsche Welle*[online]. Berlin [cit. 2018-05-04]. Available at: <http://www.dw.com/en/ioc-to-make-human-rights-protection-a-core-requirement-for-future-olympic-games-hosts/a-37755889>

Summary

The thesis aspires to find out whether the IOC elects the Olympic Games host cities in accordance with Olympic Charter principles. If not, it then attempts to find out what are the most decisive factors, increasing the probability of winning the elections. Furthermore, the thesis also aspires to present the IOC as an influential international organization.

The aims of the thesis are reached by first, collecting information and then describing the IOC, its structure and decision making processes or the idea of Olympism. Secondly, mixed method research, composed of qualitative analysis and a qualitative study, is conducted. The analysis examines 72 observations and 9 variables, which represent normative, functional and power stressing groups of factors. By conducting the analysis, the thesis aspires to state whether the host city election is in accordance with the idea of Olympism and if not, what are others more influential factors. The analysis is then followed by a case study, which focuses attention on the Beijing Games, which is considered to be the most likely case. Based on the results obtained from the analysis and the Rising powers theory, the case study aspires to elucidate why Beijing won another election after it hosted the controversial Olympic event in 2008

The first part of the thesis deals with the designation of the IOC and is then followed in its second part, with a mixed method research.

The research shows that IOC prioritises to elect candidates, who are strong economies, thus the presumption of a normative character of the IOC was, to some extent, disproved. Further, the outcomes indicate that IOC's latest trend is to elect candidates with high security index, significant economic growth and non-compliance (or poor compliance) with human rights. Such a characterization corresponds to the definition of emerging power, thus the reasoning is embedded in the Rising powers theory.

List of References

- ADHIKARI, Ramesh a Yongzheng YANG, 2002. What Will WTO Membership Mean for China and Its Trading Partners?. *Finance and Development* [online]. **39**(3), 1-9 [cit. 2018-03-20]. ISSN International Monetary Fund. Available at: <http://citeseerx.ist.psu.edu/viewdoc/download?doi=10.1.1.627.4337&rep=rep1&type=pdf>
- ALLISON, Lincoln., 2004. *The global politics of sport: the role of global institutions in sport*. 1. New York: Routledge. ISBN 978-041-5346-023.
- ALMEIDA, Bárbara Schausteck de, Wanderley MARCHI JÚNIOR a Elizabeth PIKE, 2014. The 2016 Olympic and Paralympic Games and Brazil's soft power. *Contemporary Social Science* [online]. **9**(2), 271-283 [cit. 2017-03-17]. DOI: 10.1080/21582041.2013.838291. ISSN 2158-2041. Available at: <http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/21582041.2013.838291>
- ANGANG, By Hu, Hu LINLIN a Chang ZHIXIAO, 2002. China's economic growth and poverty reduction: 1978-2002. *International Monetary Fund* [online]. [cit. 2018-03-20]. Available at: [y/external/np/apd/seminars/2003/newdelhi/angang.pdf](http://external/np/apd/seminars/2003/newdelhi/angang.pdf)
- Beijing 2022: Vision, 2018. *International Olympic Committee* [online]. Lausanne [cit. 2018-03-21]. Available at: <https://www.olympic.org/beijing-2022>
- Beijing wins election to host 2022 Winter Olympics, 2015. *USA Today* [online]. 2015 [cit. 2018-03-21]. Available at: <https://www.usatoday.com/story/sports/olympics/2015/07/31/beijing-wins-election-host-2022-winter-olympics/30923451/>
- BORDEN, Sam, 2015. Beijing Defeats Almaty in Bid to Host 2022 Winter Olympics. *New York Times* [online]. 2015 [cit. 2018-03-21]. Available at: <https://www.nytimes.com/2015/08/01/sports/olympics/beijing-selected-as-host-of-2022-winter-olympics.html>
- BOUSFIELD, Dan a Jean Michel MONTSION, 2012. Transforming an international organization: norm confusion and the International Olympic Committee. *Sport in Society* [online]. **15**(6), 823-838 [cit. 2017-08-23]. DOI: 10.1080/17430437.2012.708284. ISSN 1743-0437. Available at: <http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/17430437.2012.708284>
- CALLAHAN, William, 2005. How to understand china: the dangers and opportunities of being a rising power. *Review of International Studies* [online]. Cambridge, **31**(4), 701-714 [cit. 2017-03-17]. Available at: <https://www.cambridge.org/core/journals/review-of-international-studies/article/div-classtitlehow-to-understand-china-the-dangers-and-opportunities-of-being-a-rising-powerdiv/FEE384B73707418810A8523BCEE0006B#fndtn-information>
- Case study research: design and methods*, c1994. 2nd ed. Thousand Oaks: SAGE Publications. Applied social research methods series, Volume 5. ISBN 08-039-5663-0
- CASHMAN, Richard, et al. Impact of the Games on Olympic host cities. *Barcelona: Centre d'Estudis Olympics*, 2003. [cit. 2017-08-31]. Available at: <http://www.dormivigilia.com/wp-content/uploads/2010/01/cashman.pdf>
- CIRI Human Rights Dataset, 2014. *Human Rights Data Project* [online]. Georgia [cit. 2018-02-26]. Available at: <http://www.humanrightsdata.com/p/data-documentation.html>

CONCA, James, 2015. China Shows How to Build Nuclear Reactors Fast and Cheap. *Forbes* [online]. New York [cit. 2018-03-26]. Available at: <https://www.forbes.com/sites/jamesconca/2015/10/22/china-shows-how-to-build-nuclear-reactors-fast-and-cheap/#15890fe95484>

Conflict Barometer: 2015, 2015. *Heidelberg Institute for International Conflict Research* [online]. Heidelberg [cit. 2018-03-21]. Available at: <https://hiik.de/conflict-barometer/bisherige-ausgaben/?lang=en>

Cooperation with the UN, 2017. *Olympic* [online]. Lausanne [cit. 2017-08-24]. Available at: <https://www.olympic.org/cooperation-with-the-un>

CORNELISSEN, Scarlett, 2010. The Geopolitics of Global Aspiration: Sport Mega-events and Emerging Powers. *The International Journal of the History of Sport* [online]. **27**(16-18), 3008-3025 [cit. 2018-03-17]. DOI: 10.1080/09523367.2010.508306. ISSN 0952-3367. Available at: <http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/09523367.2010.508306>

CRESWELL, John W., c2003. *Research design: qualitative, quantitative, and mixed methods approaches*. 2nd ed. Thousand Oaks, Calif.: Sage Publications. ISBN 07-619-2442-6

DAZHONG, Wang a Lu YINGYUN, 2002. Roles and prospect of nuclear power in China's energy supply strategy. *Nuclear Engineering and Design* [online]. **218**(1-3), 3-12 [cit. 2018-03-20]. DOI: 10.1016/S0029-5493(02)00180-2. ISSN 00295493. Available at: <http://linkinghub.elsevier.com/retrieve/pii/S0029549302001802>

DOMENICICH, Thomas; MCFADDEN, Daniel. *Urban travel demand: a behavioral analysis*. North-Holland, 1975.

European Parliament resolution on Beijing's bid to host the 2008 Olympic Games [online], 2001. Brussels [cit. 2018-03-17]. Available at: http://www.europarl.europa.eu/omk/omnsapir.so/pv2?PRG=DOCPV&APP=PV2&SDOCTA=16&TX_TLST=1&TPV=PROV&POS=1&Type_Doc=RESOL&DATE=050701&DATEF=010705&TYPEF=TITRE&PrgPrev=PRG@TITRE%7cAPP@PV2%7cTYPEF@TITRE%7cYEAR@01%7cFind@olympic%7cFILE@BIBLIO01%7cPLAGE@1&LANGUE=EN

FARRAR, Donald E. a Robert R. GLAUBER, 1967. Multicollinearity in Regression Analysis: The Problem Revisited. *The Review of Economics and Statistics* [online]. **49**(1), 92- [cit. 2018-03-10]. DOI: 10.2307/1937887. ISSN 00346535. Available at: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/1937887?origin=crossref>

Financial Times: US says China WTO membership was a mistake [online], 2018. Washington [cit. 2018-03-24]. Available at: <https://www.ft.com/content/edb346ec-fd3a-11e7-9b32-d7d59aace167>

Freedom House: China, 2001. *Freedom House* [online]. Washington, 2001 [cit. 2018-03-20]. Available at: <https://freedomhouse.org/report/freedom-world/2001/china>

Freedom House: China, 2015. *Freedom House* [online]. Washington, 2015 [cit. 2018-03-24]. Available at: <https://freedomhouse.org/report/freedom-world/2015/china>

Gender Inequality Index, 2018. *United Nations Development Program: Human Development Reports* [online]. New York [cit. 2018-02-26]. Available at: <http://hdr.undp.org/en/content/gender-inequality-index-gii>

GLASER, Bonnie S., 1993. China's Security Perceptions: Interests and Ambitions. *Asian Survey* [online]. **33**(3), 252-271 [cit. 2018-03-20]. DOI: 10.2307/2645250. ISSN 00044687. Available at: <http://as.ucpress.edu/cgi/doi/10.2307/2645250>

GRAHAM HARRISON, Emma, 2015. China warned over 'insane' plans for new nuclear power plants. *The Guardian* [online]. Beijing [cit. 2018-03-26]. Available at: <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/may/25/china-nuclear-power-plants-expansion-he-zuoxiu>

GRAINGER, Andrew F. a David L. ANDREWS, 2012. International Olympic Committee. *The Wiley-Blackwell Encyclopedia of Globalization* [online]. Chichester, UK: John Wiley [cit. 2017-08-27]. DOI: 10.1002/9780470670590.wbeog321. ISBN 9780470670590. Available at: <http://doi.wiley.com/10.1002/9780470670590.wbeog321>

GREENHALGH, Susan, 1985. Sexual Stratification: The Other Side of "Growth with Equity" in East Asia. *Population and Development Review* [online]. **11**(2), 265- [cit. 2018-03-20]. DOI: 10.2307/1973489. ISSN 00987921. Available at: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/1973489?origin=crossref>

HAUGEN, Heidi Østbø, 2011. Time and space in Beijing's Olympic bid. *Norsk Geografisk Tidsskrift - Norwegian Journal of Geography* [online]. **59**(3), 217-227 [cit. 2017-08-23]. DOI: 10.1080/00291950500228238. ISSN 0029-1951. Available at: <http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/00291950500228238>

Heidelberg Institut for International Conflict Relations: Konfliktbarometer [online], 2001. Heidelberg [cit. 2018-03-20]. Available at: <https://hiik.de/konfliktbarometer/>

HUANG, Zheping, 2018. Water Olympics: The Winter Olympics is pretty much over natural snow, which is great for their next host. *Quartz* [online]. February 23, 2018 [cit. 2018-03-21]. Available at: <https://qz.com/1213121/beijing-2022-winter-olympics-will-rely-entirely-on-artificial-snow/>

Human Rights Atlas: China, 2001. *Human Rights Atlas: Data Factsheet* [online]. Essex: University of Essex, 2001 [cit. 2018-03-20]. Available at: <http://www.humanrightsatlas.org/data/factsheet/cn/2001>

Human Rights Atlas: China, 2015. *Human Rights Atlas: Data Factsheet* [online]. Essex: University of Essex, 2015 [cit. 2018-03-24]. Available at: <http://www.humanrightsatlas.org/data/factsheet/cn/2015>

Human Rights Watch: China and Tibet, 2001. *Human Rights Watch* [online]. New York [cit. 2018-03-20]. Available at: <http://pantheon.hrw.org/legacy/wr2k2/asia4.html>

Human Rights Watch: World Report [online], 2001. New York [cit. 2018-03-20]. Available at: <https://www.hrw.org/legacy/wr2k1/asia/china.html>

HURRELL, ANDREW, 2006. Hegemony, liberalism and global order: what space for would-be great powers? *International Affairs* [online]. **82**(1), 1-19 [cit. 2017-08-26]. DOI: 10.1111/j.1468-2346.2006.00512.x. ISSN 0020-5850. Available at: <https://academic.oup.com/ia/article-lookup/doi/10.1111/j.1468-2346.2006.00512.x>

CHAPPELET, J.-L a Brenda. KÜBLER-MABBOTT, 2008. *The International Olympic Committee and the Olympic system: the governance of world sport*. 1. New York: Routledge. Global institutions series. ISBN 978-0-415-43167-5.

CHAPPELET, Jean-Loup, 2013. Managing the size of the Olympic Games. *Sport in Society* [online]. **17**(5), 581-592 [cit. 2017-08-23]. DOI: 10.1080/17430437.2013.834621. ISSN 1743-0437. Available at: <http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/17430437.2013.834621>

China economic growth slowest in 25 years, 2016. *BBC: News* [online]. London, 2016 [cit. 2018-03-26]. Available at: <http://www.bbc.com/news/business-35349576>

China in the WTO: Past, Present and Future, 2012. *World Trade Organization* [online]. [cit. 2018-03-24]. Available at: https://www.wto.org/english/thewto_e/acc_e/s7lu_e.pdf

China Publishes Gender Equality White Paper, 2005. *China.org: Top News* [online]. August 2005 [cit. 2018-03-20]. Available at: <http://www.china.org.cn/english/2005/Aug/139404.htm>

China: 2015, 2015. *Amnesty International: Report* [online]. London [cit. 2018-03-24]. Available at: <https://www.amnesty.org/en/countries/asia-and-the-pacific/china/>

China: 2017/2018, 2018. *Amnesty International* [online]. London [cit. 2018-03-20]. Available at: <https://www.amnesty.org/en/countries/asia-and-the-pacific/china/report-china/#endnote-7>

CHU, Marcus P., 2016. Chinese cities bid for the Winter Olympics: from Harbin's failure to Beijing and Zhangjiakou's success. *Asia Pacific Journal of Sport and Social Science* [online]. **5**(2), 120-131 [cit. 2017-08-23]. DOI: 10.1080/21640599.2016.1193302. ISSN 2164-0599. Available at: <http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/21640599.2016.1193302>

INTERNATIONAL OLYMPIC COMMITTEE, et al. *Olympic Charter*. International Olympic Committee, 2016. Available at: https://stillmed.olympic.org/media/Document%20Library/OlympicOrg/General/EN-Olympic-Charter.pdf#_ga=2.36563104.1466694641.1503992214-127049182.1503597143

International Olympic Committee: The Organisation, 2017. *Olympic* [online]. Lausanne [cit. 2017-08-24]. Available at: <https://www.olympic.org/about-ioc-institution>

IOC, 2001. *Report of the IOC Evaluation Commission for the Games of the XXIX Olympiad in 2008* [online]. In: . Lausanne, s. 1-103 Available at: https://stillmed.olympic.org/media/Document%20Library/OlympicOrg/Documents/Host-City-Elections/XXIX-Olympiad-2008/Report-of-the-IOC-Evaluation-Commission-for-the-Games-of-the-XXIX-Olympiad-2008.pdf#_ga=2.219323099.355536577.1510137853-1552203786.1510137853y

IOC., 2015. *Report of the 2022 Evaluation Commission* 1st ed., Lausanne. Available at: https://stillmed.olympic.org/media/Document%20Library/OlympicOrg/Documents/Host-City-Elections/XXIV-OWG-2022/Report-of-the-IOC-Evaluation-Commission-for-the-XXIV-Olympic-Winter-Games-2022.pdf#_ga=2.94922524.1663279215.1498577427-671679150.1496079020

IOC members accused of taking bribes in exchange for votes, 2017. *Independent* [online]. London [cit. 2018-03-12]. Available at: <https://www.independent.co.uk/sport/general/athletics/ioc-members-bribes-accused-votes-olympics-a7623691.html>

IOC to make human rights protection a core requirement for future Olympic Games hosts, 2017. *Deutsche Welle* [online]. Berlin [cit. 2018-05-04]. Available at: <http://www.dw.com/en/ioc-to-make-human-rights-protection-a-core-requirement-for-future-olympic-games-hosts/a-37755889>

Ji, You, 1999. Nuclear power in the post-cold war era: The development of China's nuclear strategy. *Comparative Strategy* [online]. **18**(3), 245-259 [cit. 2018-03-20]. DOI: 10.1080/01495939908403181. ISSN 0149-5933. Available at: <http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/01495939908403181>

KAHANE, Leo H., c2008. *Regression basics*. 2nd ed. Los Angeles: Sage Publications. ISBN 978-1-4129-5126-5.

KESSLER, Mario, 2011. Only Nazi Games? Berlin 1936: The Olympic Games between Sports and Politics. *Socialism and Democracy* [online]. **25**(2), 125-143 [cit. 2017-08-24]. DOI: 10.1080/08854300.2011.579476. ISSN 0885-4300. Available at: <http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/08854300.2011.579476>

KRIPPENDORFF, Klaus., 2013. *Content analysis: an introduction to its methodology*. 3rd ed. London: SAGE. ISBN 978-141-2983-150.

LEBLANC, David C., c2004. *Statistics: concepts and applications for science*. 2. Boston: Jones and Bartlett. ISBN 07-637-4699-1.

LEVERMORE, Roger a Adrian BUDD, 2004. *Sport and international relations: an emerging relationship*. 1. New York: Routledge. ISBN 978-0714682839.

LI, Xiufang (Leah), 2017. From Beijing to Rio: rebranding China via the modern Olympic Games. *The Journal of International Communication* [online]. **23**(2), 252-271 [cit. 2018-03-17]. DOI: 10.1080/13216597.2017.1347101. ISSN 1321-6597. Available at: <https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/13216597.2017.1347101>

LIU, Zhiqiang, 2000. The Nature of China's Economic Growth in the Past Two Decades. *Post-Communist Economies* [online]. **12**(2), 201-214 [cit. 2018-03-21]. DOI: 10.1080/14631370050043643. ISSN 1463-1377. Available at: <http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/14631370050043643>

LODHI, Maleeha, 2001. Security challenges in South Asia. *The Nonproliferation Review* [online]. **8**(2), 118-124 [cit. 2018-03-20]. DOI: 10.1080/10736700108436856. ISSN 1073-6700. Available at <http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/10736700108436856>

LOLAND, Sigmund, 1995. *Coubertin's Ideology of Olympism from the Perspective of the History of Ideas*. Oslo

LONGMAN, Jere, 2001. Olympics: Beijing Wins Bid for 2008 Olympic Games. *The NY times* [online]. New York [cit. 2018-03-21]. Available at: <https://www.nytimes.com/2001/07/14/sports/olympics-beijing-wins-bid-for-2008-olympic-games.html>

MACALOON., John J., 2007. *This great symbol: Pierre de Coubertin and the origins of the modern Olympic Games*. 25th anniversary ed. London: Routledge. ISBN 978-041-5390-774.

MACKAY, Duncan a Vivek CHAUDHARY, 2001. Alarm as China wins Olympics: Human rights alarm as Beijing wins race for 2008 games. *The Guardian* [online]. [cit. 2018-03-17]. Available at: <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2001/jul/14/china.sport1>

MAENNIG, Wolfgang a Christopher VIERHAUS, 2017. Winning the Olympic host city election: key success factors. *Applied Economics* [online]. **49**(31), 3086-3099 [cit. 2017-08-23]. DOI: 10.1080/00036846.2016.1254339. ISSN 0003-6846. Available at: <https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/00036846.2016.1254339>

MARKOVITS, Andrei S. a Lars RENSMANN, 2013. *Gaming the world: how sports are reshaping global politics and culture*. 2. S.l.: Princeton Univ Press. ISBN 978-069-1162-034.

MARTIN, Lisa L. a Beth A. SIMMONS. Theories and Empirical Studies of International Institutions. *International Organization* [online]. 1998, 52(4), 729-757 [cit. 2017-08-23] DOI:10.1162/002081898550734. ISSN 15315088. Available at: http://journals.cambridge.org/abstract_S0020818398440554

MENARD, Scott W., c2002. *Applied logistic regression analysis*. 2nd ed. Thousand Oaks, Calif.: Sage Publications. Sage university papers series, no. 07-106. ISBN 978-076-1922-087

Myanmar:Kokang, 2018. *Uppsala Conflict Data Program* [online]. Uppsala [cit. 2018-03-21]. Available at: <http://ucdp.uu.se/#/conflict/439>

NOONAN, Norma a Vidya NADKARNI, 2016. *Challenge and Change: Global Threats and the State in Twenty-first Century International Politics* [online]. New York: Palgrave Macmillan US [cit. 2018-03-17]. DOI: 10.1057/978-1-137-48479-6. ISBN 978-1-137-49264-7.

NYE, Joseph S., 2004. *Soft power the means to success in world politics*. New York: Public Affairs. ISBN 978-078-6738-960.

Nuclear Power, 2018. *Nuclear Power: Top players in nuclear power* [online]. Georgia: Reuters Graphics [cit. 2018-02-26]. Available at: <http://fingfx.thomsonreuters.com/gfx/rngs/WORLD-NUCLEARPOWER/010040G3112/index.html>

OFFICIAL REPORT OF THE BEIJING 2008 OLYMPIC GAMES, 2010. *International Olympic Committee: Olympic World Library* [online]. Beijing: BOCOG, 2010 [cit. 2018-03-17]. Available at: https://library.olympic.org/Default/doc/SYRACUSE/23655/official-report-of-the-beijing-2008-olympic-games-beijing-organizing-committee-for-the-games-of-the-?_lg=en-GB#_ga=2.178779232.557057210.1520846181-740691516.1513625414

OTHIS, Eileen, 2015. Inequality in China and the impact on Women's Rights. *TheConversation* [online]. Oregon: University of Oregon [cit. 2018-03-24]. Available at: <https://theconversation.com/inequality-in-china-and-the-impact-on-womens-rights-38744>

PAES, Lucas de Oliveira, André Moreira CUNHA a Pedro Cezar Dutra FONSECA, 2017. Narratives of Change and Theorisations on Continuity: the Duality of the Concept of Emerging Power in International Relations. *Contexto Internacional* [online]. **39**(1), 75-95 [cit. 2018-03-17]. DOI: 10.1590/s0102-8529.2017390100004. ISSN 0102-8529. Available at: http://www.scielo.br/scielo.php?script=sci_arttext&pid=S0102-85292017000100075&lng=en&tlng=en

- PAES, Lucas de Oliveira, André Moreira CUNHA a Petro Cezar Dutra FONSAECA, 2015. The Formation of the Concept of Emerging Power in International Relations. *Ponficia Universidad Católica de Peru* [online]. Lima [cit. 2018-03-17]. Available at: <http://files.pucp.edu.pe/sistema-ponencias/wp-content/uploads/2015/01/PAES-CUNHA-FONSECA-2015-The-Formation-of-the-Concept-of-Emerging-Power-in-International-Relations1.pdf>
- PANDA, Ankit, 2015. The Truth about China's New Security Law. *The Diplomat* [online]. [cit. 2018-03-24]. Available at: <https://thediplomat.com/2015/07/the-truth-about-chinas-new-national-security-law/>
- PANYUE, Huang, 2017. National Security Law of the People's Republic of China: 2015. *Ministry of National Defense of the People's Republic of China* [online]. [cit. 2018-03-24]. Available at: http://eng.mod.gov.cn/publications/2017-03/03/content_4774229.htm
- PAULK, David, 2017. Sociologist Refuses to Apologize for Sexist Social Media Posts. *Sixth Tone* [online]. Beijing [cit. 2018-03-24]. Available at: <http://www.sixthtone.com/news/1001047/sociologist-refuses-to-apologize-for-sexist-social-media-posts>
- PENG, Chao-Ying Joanne, Kuk Lida LEE a Gary M. INGERSOLL, 2010. An Introduction to Logistic Regression Analysis and Reporting. *The Journal of Educational Research* [online]. **96**(1), 3-14 [cit. 2017-08-26]. DOI: 10.1080/00220670209598786. ISSN 0022-0671. Available at: <http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/00220670209598786>
- POAST, Paul D., 2007. Winning the Bid: Analyzing the International Olympic Committee's Host City Selections. *International Interactions* [online]. **33**(1), 75-95 [cit. 2017-08-31]. DOI: 10.1080/03050620601157470. ISSN 0305-0629. Available at: <http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/03050620601157470>
- POMFRET, James, 2008. Amnesty slams China's broken Olympics promises. *Reuters* [online]. [cit. 2018-03-17]. Available at: <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-olympics-amnesty/amnesty-slams-chinas-broken-olympics-promises-idUSHKG8344020080728?feedType=RSS&feedName=sportsNews>
- President Vladimir Putin took part in the presentation of Sochi at the 119th session of the International Olympic Committee, which will choose the venue for the 2014 Winter Olympics, 2007. *Kremlin: Events* [online]. Guatemala City [cit. 2017-08-24]. Available at: <http://en.kremlin.ru/events/president/news/41136>
- PREUSS, Holger. Electing an Olympic Host City: A Multidimensional Decision. 2000.
- QUANZ, Dietrich, 1993. Civic Pacifism and Sports-Based Internationalism: Framework for the Founding of the International Olympic Committee. *Olympika: The International Journal of Olympic Studies* [online]. **2**(1), 1-23 [cit. 2017-08-29]. Available at: http://library.la84.org/SportsLibrary/Olympika/Olympika_1993/olympika0201b.pdf
- RAPPAPAI, M.V., 2002. China's nuclear arsenal and missile defence. *Strategic Analysis* [online]. **26**(1), 65-79 [cit. 2018-03-20]. DOI: 10.1080/09700160208450026. ISSN 0970-0161. Available at: <http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/09700160208450026>

- RICHARDSON, Sophie, 2017. China Needs to Stop the Growing Gender Gap: Ineffective Anti-Discrimination Mechanisms Hinder Women's Progress. *Human Rights Watch* [online]. [cit. 2018-03-24]. Available at: <https://www.hrw.org/news/2017/11/05/china-needs-stop-growing-gender-gap>
- RIORDAN, James a Arnd. KRÜGER, 1999. *The international politics of sport in the 20th century*. 1. New York: Routledge. ISBN 978-0419211600.
- ROAN, Dan, 2014. Winter Olympics: What now for 2022 after Norway pulls out?. *BBC: Sport* [online]. London, 2 October 2014 [cit. 2018-03-21]. Available at: <http://www.bbc.com/sport/winter-olympics/29455789>
- SEN, Amartya, 2003. The Conceptual Challenge of Evaluating Inequality and Poverty. *Economics: Quarterly*. Beijing: Peking University Press, **2003**(1), 257-258.
- SEN, Ashish K. a M. S. SRIVASTAVA, 1997. *Regression analysis: theory, methods, and applications*. Corr. 4th print. New York: Springer. ISBN 03-879-7211-0.
- SHAMBAUGH, David, 2008. China's security policy in the post-Cold War era. *Survival* [online]. **34**(2), 88-106 [cit. 2018-03-20]. DOI: 10.1080/00396339208442643. ISSN 0039-6338. Available at: <http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/00396339208442643>
- SMITH, Craig, 2001. Olympics: Critics at home Surfacing in Wake of China's Successful Bid for the Games. *NY Times* [online]. New York, 2001 [cit. 2018-03-17]. Available at: <https://www.nytimes.com/2001/07/15/sports/olympics-critics-home-surfacing-wake-china-s-successful-bid-for-games.html>
- SPAAIJ, Ramón, 2016. Terrorism and Security at the Olympics: Empirical Trends and Evolving Research Agendas. *The International Journal of the History of Sport* [online]. **33**(4), 451-468 [cit. 2018-03-12]. DOI: 10.1080/09523367.2015.1136290. ISSN 0952-3367. Available at: <https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/09523367.2015.1136290>
- SONG, Xinning, 2013. Security and the Role of China. *The Palgrave Handbook of EU-Asia Relations* [online]. London: Palgrave Macmillan, 471-480 [cit. 2018-03-24]. DOI: 10.1007/978-0-230-37870-4_30. Available at: https://link.springer.com/chapter/10.1007/978-0-230-37870-4_30
- STUENKEL, Oliver, 2016. Emerging Powers and BRICS. *Oxford Bibliographies* [online]. Oxford: Oxford University Press [cit. 2018-03-17]. Available at: <http://oxfordbibliographiesonline.com/view/document/obo-9780199743292/obo-9780199743292-0187.xml#obo-9780199743292-0187-bibItemGroup-0001>
- The International Olympic Committee: IOC Executive Board, 2017. *Olympic* [online]. [cit. 2017-08-29]. Available at: <https://www.olympic.org/executive-board>
- The International Olympic Committee: The Organisation* [online], 2017. [cit. 2017-08-29]. Available at: <https://www.olympic.org/about-ioc-institution>
- TOOHEY, Kristine a Veal, 2000. *The Olympic games: a social science perspective*. Repr. with corrections. Wallingford [u.a.]: CABI Pub. ISBN 08-519-9342-7.
- Uppsala Conflict Data Program: Department of Peace and Conflict Research* [online], 2018. Uppsala [cit. 2018-03-17]. Available at: <http://ucdp.uu.se/#/onesided/953>

- WATTS, Jonathan, 2008. China accuses US of trying to sabotage Olympics. *The Guardian* [online]. Beijing [cit. 2018-03-17]. Available at: <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2008/jul/31/olympics?gusrc=rss&feed=networkfront>
- WEHNER, Leslie, 2017. Emerging Powers in Foreign Policy. *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Politics* [online]. Bath: Oxford University Press [cit. 2018-03-17]. Available at: <http://politics.oxfordre.com/view/10.1093/acrefore/9780190228637.001.0001/acrefore-9780190228637-e-363>
- WILLIAMSON, Peter J., Simon HOENDEROP a Jochem HOENDEROP, 2018. An alternative benchmark for the validity of China's GDP growth statistics. *Journal of Chinese Economic and Business Studies* [online]. **16**(2), 171-191 [cit. 2018-03-26]. DOI: 10.1080/14765284.2018.1438867. ISSN 1476-5284. Available at: <https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/14765284.2018.1438867>
- World Bank Open Data, 2018. *World Bank: Data* [online]. Washington D.C [cit. 2018-03-20]. Available at: <https://data.worldbank.org/>
- World Report: 2015, 2015. *Human Rights Watch* [online]. New York [cit. 2018-03-24]. Available at: <https://www.hrw.org/world-report/2015/country-chapters/china-and-tibet>
- XIAOGANG, Wu a Zhuoni ZANG, 2010. Changes in educational inequality in China, 1990–2005: Evidence from the population census data. *Globalization, Changing Demographics, and Educational Challenges in East Asia* [online]. 123-152 [cit. 2018-03-24]. DOI: 10.1108%2FS1479-3539%282010%290000017007. Available at: <https://www.emeraldinsight.com/action/showCitFormats?doi=10.1108%2FS1479-3539%282010%290000017007>
- YAN, Xin a XIAO GANG SU, 2009. *Linear regression analysis theory and computing*. [Online-Ausg.]. Singapore: World Scientific Pub. Co. ISBN 978-981-2834-119.
- YAO, Yang a Mengqi WANG, 2017. Internal Convergence and China's Growth Potential. SONG, Ligang, Ross GARNAUT, Cai FANG a Lauren JOHNSTON. *China's New Sources of Economic Growth: Human Capital, Innovation and Technological Change*. 2. Australia: ANU Press, s. 67-88. ISBN 978-1-76046-130-0.
- ZHOU, (Joe) Yong, John AP a Thomas BAUER, 2012. Government motivations for hosting the Beijing 2008 Olympic Games. *Journal of Tourism and Cultural Change* [online]. **10**(2), 185-201 [cit. 2018-03-17]. DOI: 10.1080/14766825.2012.662984. ISSN 1476-6825. Available at: <http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/14766825.2012.662984>

List of Appendices

Appendix 1 - Pearson correlation heatmap - model 1992-2022

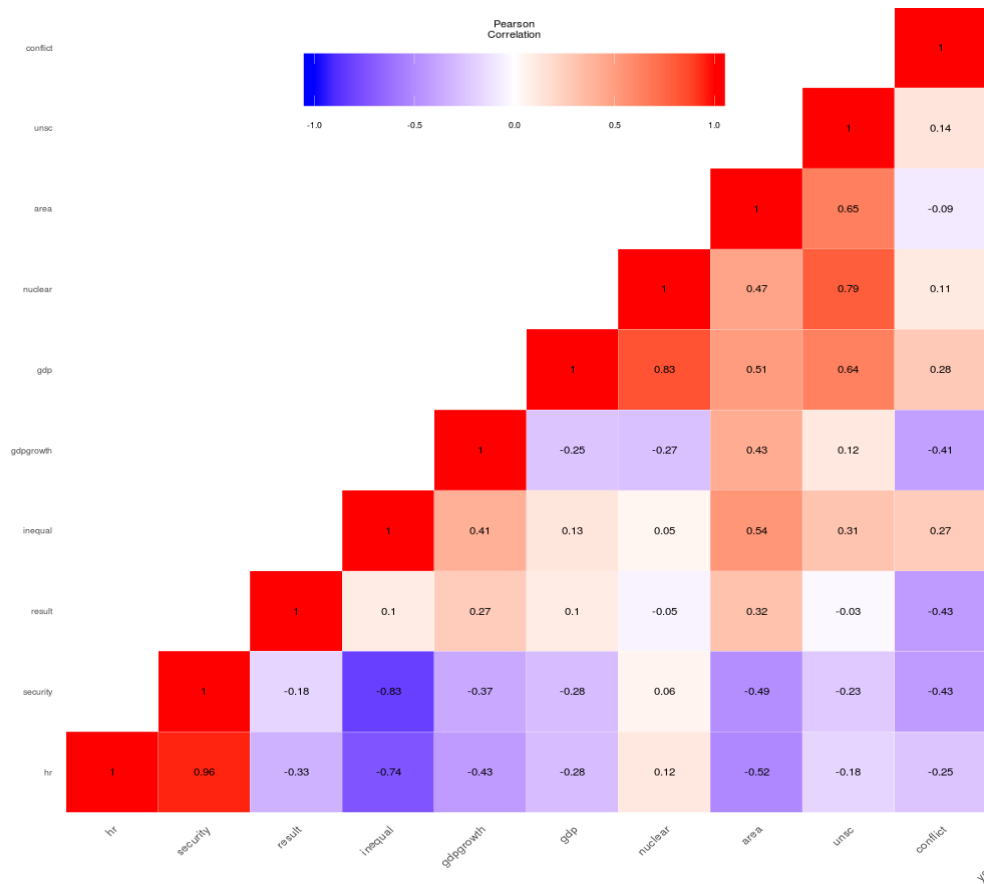
Appendix 2 – Pearson correlation heatmap – model 1992-2006

Appendix 3– Pearson correlation heatmap – model 2008-2022

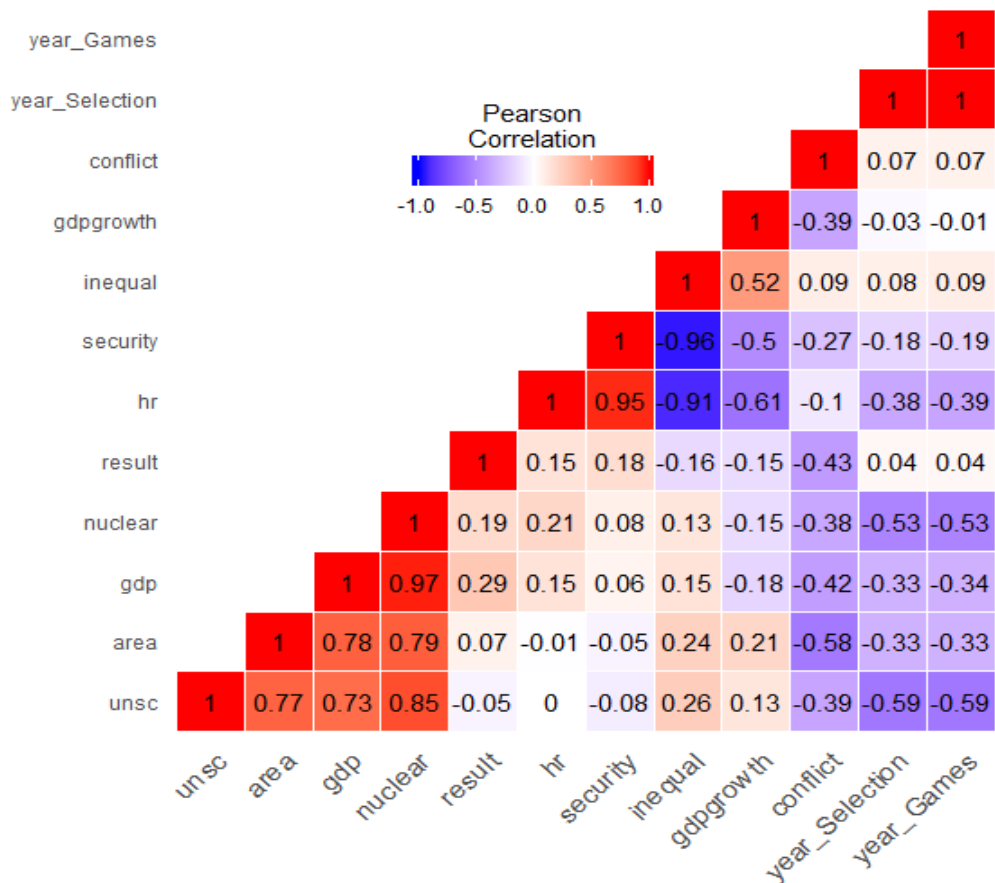
Appendix 4 - R transcript

Appendices

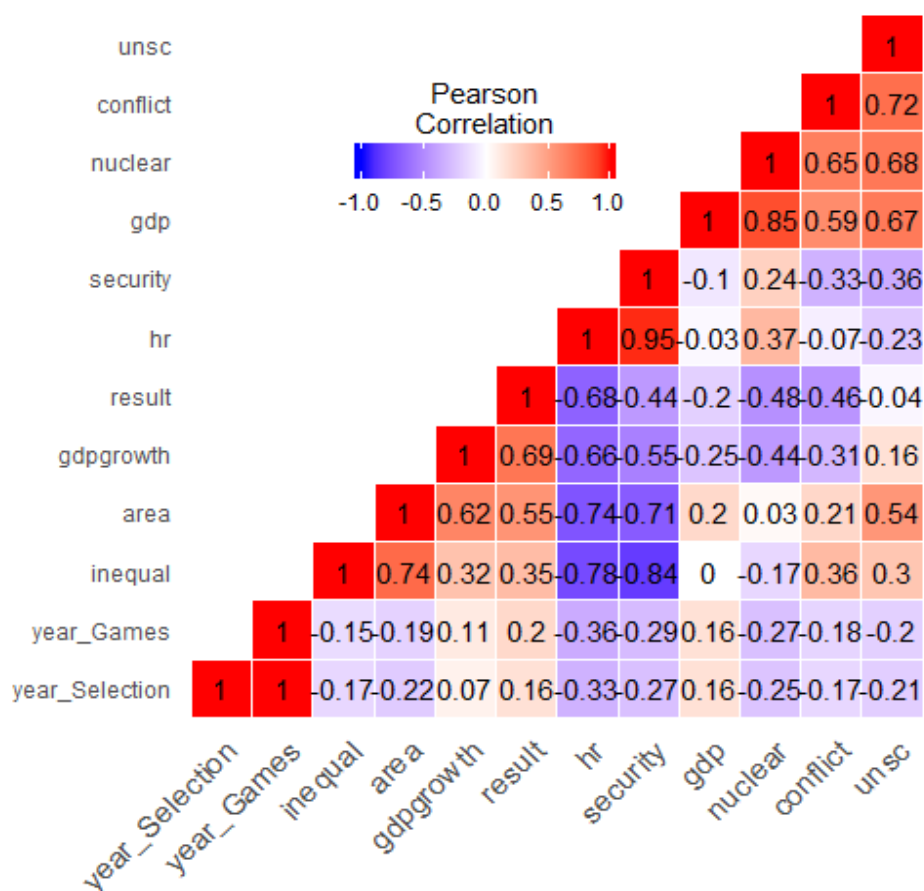
Appendix 1- Pearson correlation heatmap- model 1992-2022



Appendix 2- Pearson correlation heatmap- model 1992-2006



Appendix 3- Pearson correlation heatmap- model 2008-2022



Appendix 4 – R transcript

Model 1992-2022

```

# Adresar pro nacteni dat
dir='C:/Users/user/Desktop/regrese'
setwd(dir)
# Soubor pro nacteni
#file = 'dataset_1992-2022.csv'
#file = 'dataset_1992-2006.csv'
#file = 'dataset_2008-2022.csv'
file = 'dataset_1992-2022.csv'
data = read.table(file, header = TRUE ,sep = ";", dec=",")
# Zobrazeni dat
#show(data)
#show(data$candidate)
#summary(data)
# ----- #
# odmitnuti/neodmitnuti nulove hypotezy
shapr_conflict = shapiro.test(data$conflict)
shapr_hr = shapiro.test(data$hr)
shapr_inq = shapiro.test(data$inequal)
shapr_area = shapiro.test(data$area)
shapr_gdp = shapiro.test(data$gdp)
shapr_security = shapiro.test(data$security)

```

```

shapr_unsc = shapiro.test(data$unsc)
shapr_gdpg = shapiro.test(data$gdpgrowth)
shapr_nuclear = shapiro.test(data$nuclear)
# conflict
shapr_conflict
# hr
shapr_hr
#inq
shapr_inq
# area
shapr_area
# gdp
shapr_gdp
# security
shapr_security
# unsc
shapr_unsc
# gdpg
shapr_gdpg
# nuclear
shapr_nuclear
# ----- #
# normalizace dat
normalize = function(x) {return ((x - min(x)) / (max(x) - min(x)))}
dataN = as.data.frame(lapply(data, normalize))      # celeho datove vstupu
# One could also use sequence such as df[1:2]
# dfNorm <- as.data.frame(lapply(data[4], normalize))    # pouze urciteho sloupce
# ----- #
# pro urceni struktury vstupnich dat
# graf Q-Q norm
png(filename="C:/Users/user/Desktop/regrese/qq_conflict.png", width = 1920, height = 1200,
pointsize=30)
qqnorm(data$conflict, pch = 1, frame = FALSE)
qqline(data$conflict, col = "steelblue", lwd = 2)
dev.off() # zavreni souboru s grafem
png(filename="C:/Users/user/Desktop/regrese/qq_hr.png", width = 1920, height = 1200,
pointsize=30)
qqnorm(data$hr, pch = 1, frame = FALSE)
qqline(data$hr, col = "steelblue", lwd = 2)
dev.off() # zavreni souboru s grafem
png(filename="C:/Users/user/Desktop/regrese/qq_inequal.png", width = 1920, height = 1200,
pointsize=30)
qqnorm(data$inequal, pch = 1, frame = FALSE)
qqline(data$inequal, col = "steelblue", lwd = 2)
dev.off() # zavreni souboru s grafem
png(filename="C:/Users/user/Desktop/regrese/qq_area.png", width = 1920, height = 1200,
pointsize=30)
qqnorm(data$area, pch = 1, frame = FALSE)
qqline(data$area, col = "steelblue", lwd = 2)
dev.off() # zavreni souboru s grafem
png(filename="C:/Users/user/Desktop/regrese/qq_gdp.png", width = 1920, height = 1200,
pointsize=30)
qqnorm(data$gdp, pch = 1, frame = FALSE)
qqline(data$gdp, col = "steelblue", lwd = 2)
dev.off() # zavreni souboru s grafem

```

```

png(filename="C:/Users/user/Desktop/regrese/qq_security.png", width = 1920, height = 1200,
pointsize=30)
qqnorm(data$security, pch = 1, frame = FALSE)
qqline(data$security, col = "steelblue", lwd = 2)
dev.off() # zavreni souboru s grafem
png(filename="C:/Users/user/Desktop/regrese/qq_nuclear.png", width = 1920, height = 1200,
pointsize=30)
qqnorm(data$nuclear, pch = 1, frame = FALSE)
qqline(data$nuclear, col = "steelblue", lwd = 2)
dev.off() # zavreni souboru s grafem
png(filename="C:/Users/user/Desktop/regrese/qq_gdpgrowth.png", width = 1920, height = 1200,
pointsize=30)
qqnorm(data$gdpgrowth, pch = 1, frame = FALSE)
qqline(data$gdpgrowth, col = "steelblue", lwd = 2)
dev.off() # zavreni souboru s grafem
png(filename="C:/Users/user/Desktop/regrese/qq_unsc.png", width = 1920, height = 1200,
pointsize=30)
qqnorm(data$unsc, pch = 1, frame = FALSE)
qqline(data$unsc, col = "steelblue", lwd = 2)
dev.off() # zavreni souboru s grafem

#COL = [candidate      conflict hr      inequal area   gdp   securityunsc  gdpgrowth   unsc
        result  year_Selection year_Games]
# ----- #
# Pearsonovu korelacni koeficient
#a = cor.test(data$gdp,data$hr,method="pearson")
#a$estimate
# ----- #
correl_mat = cor(data, method = "pearson")
correl_mat
cormat = cor(data, method = "pearson")
cormat
cormat = round(cor(cormat),2)
cormat
# Get lower triangle of the correlation matrix
get_lower_tri<-function(cormat){
  cormat[upper.tri(cormat)] <- NA
  return(cormat)
}
# Get upper triangle of the correlation matrix
get_upper_tri <- function(cormat){
  cormat[lower.tri(cormat)]<- NA
  return(cormat)
}
upper_tri <- get_upper_tri(cormat)
upper_tri
# Melt the correlation matrix
library(reshape2)
melted_cormat <- melt(upper_tri, na.rm = TRUE)
# Heatmap
library(ggplot2)
ggplot(data = melted_cormat, aes(Var2, Var1, fill = value))+
  geom_tile(color = "white")+
  scale_fill_gradient2(low = "blue", high = "red", mid = "white",
    midpoint = 0, limit = c(-1,1), space = "Lab",

```

```

        name="Pearson\nCorrelation") +
theme_minimal()+
theme(axis.text.x = element_text(angle = 45, vjust = 1,
        size = 12, hjust = 1))+
coord_fixed()
reorder_cormat <- function(cormat){
# Use correlation between variables as distance
dd <- as.dist((1-cormat)/2)
hc <- hclust(dd)
cormat <-cormat[hc$order, hc$order]
}
# Reorder the correlation matrix
cormat <- reorder_cormat(cormat)
upper_tri <- get_upper_tri(cormat)
# Melt the correlation matrix
melted_cormat <- melt(upper_tri, na.rm = TRUE)
# Create a ggheatmap
ggheatmap <- ggplot(melted_cormat, aes(Var2, Var1, fill = value))+
geom_tile(color = "white")+
scale_fill_gradient2(low = "blue", high = "red", mid = "white",
        midpoint = 0, limit = c(-1,1), space = "Lab",
        name="Pearson\nCorrelation") +
theme_minimal()+ # minimal theme
theme(axis.text.x = element_text(angle = 45, vjust = 1,
        size = 12, hjust = 1))+
coord_fixed()

# Print the heatmap
print(ggheatmap)

ggheatmap +
geom_text(aes(Var2, Var1, label = value), color = "black", size = 4) +
theme(
axis.title.x = element_blank(),
axis.title.y = element_blank(),
panel.grid.major = element_blank(),
panel.border = element_blank(),
panel.background = element_blank(),
axis.ticks = element_blank(),
legend.justification = c(1, 0),
legend.position = c(0.6, 0.7),
legend.direction = "horizontal")+
guides(fill = guide_colorbar(barwidth = 7, barheight = 1,
        title.position = "top", title.hjust = 0.5))

# MODEL regrese
# vsechny parametry
model_1 = glm(result ~ conflict + unequal + gdpgrowth + security + gdp + nuclear ,
family=binomial("logit"),data=dataN)
model_1
summary(model_1)

#kontrolni model
model_c1 = glm(result ~ conflict + gdpgrowth + gdp, family=binomial("logit"),data=dataN)

```

```

model_c1
summary(model_c1)

#likelihood ratio test
library(car)
Anova(model_1, test=c("LR"))
Anova(model_c1, test=c("LR"))
anova(model_1,model_c1,model_1c2,test=c("LR"))
AIC(model_1,model_c1,model_1c2, k = 2)

#log-transformed model
exp(cbind(coef(model_1),confint(model_1)))
library(effects)
plot(allEffects(model_1), main="1992-2022 subset")

exp(cbind(coef(model_c1),confint(model_c1)))
library(effects)
plot(allEffects(model_c1), main="1992-2022 control model")

# Instalaci balicku car + nutnosti na strane OS
#install.packages("car")
#install.packages("rlg", dependencies=TRUE, repos='http://cran.rstudio.com/')
#install.packages("clusterSim", dependencies=FALSE, repos='http://cran.rstudio.com/')
#update.packages(lib.loc = "/usr/local/lib/R/site-library")
install.packages("car")
# Nacteni knihovny
library(car)

# Nastaveni grafu
png(filename="C:/Users/user/Desktop/regrese/residualPlots1992-2022.png",
     width = 1920,
     height = 1200,
     pointsize=30
)
# ----- #
# Residua = jak moc je model dobry
# residua vs promenna -> melo by byt nahodne
# Tisk obrazku do souboru
residualPlots(model_1,fitted=TRUE)

dev.off() # zavreni souboru s grafem

# Zobrazeni koeficientu modelu, format P = coef1*promenna + coef2*promenna ...
#coef(model_1)
#exp(coef(model_1))
#inframe = data.frame(conflict=0,      hr=0, inequal=0, area=1, gdp=20, security=10, unsc=5,
gdpgrowth=0, unsc=0)
#result = predict(model_1,data, type="response")
#result = predict(model_1,inframe, type="response")
pr_result = predict(model_1,dataN, type="response")
pr_result

pr_result = predict(model_c1,dataN, type="response")
pr_result

```

```

#mcfaddenR2index
library(pscl)
head(dataN)
model_1 <- glm(result ~ conflict + inequal + gdpgrowth + security + gdp + nuclear ,
family=binomial("logit"),data=dataN)
summary(model_1)
pR2(model_1)
model_c1 <- glm(result ~ conflict + gdpgrowth + gdp, family=binomial("logit"),data=dataN)
summary(model_c1)
pR2(model_c1)
#likelihoo ratio test for models
library(lmtest)
library(zoo)
lrtest(model_1, model_c1)
AIC(model_1,model_c1,model_1c2, k = 2)

#hosmer-lemeshow test
library(ResourceSelection)
model_1 <- glm(result ~ conflict + inequal + gdpgrowth + security + gdp + nuclear ,
family=binomial("logit"),data=dataN)
hoslem.test(model_1$y, model_1$fitted)
hoslem.test(model_c1$y, model_c1$fitted)

```


Master Thesis's Summary



Master thesis proposal

Institute of Political Studies
Faculty of Social Sciences
Charles University

Author: Kristýna Králová

E-mail: 38653219@fsv.cuni.cz

Field of Study: International Relations

Year of Matriculation: 2016

Anticipated Date of Completion (semester/academic year): Summer Semester of 2018

Supervisor: Michal Parížek, Ph.D.

Name of Master Thesis in English: Sport as a tool of International Politics: International Olympic Committee and mechanism of host city election

Name of Master Thesis in Czech: Sport jako nástroj mezinárodní politiky: Mezinárodní olympijský výbor a mechanismus volby hostitelské země pro olympijské hry

Key words: International Olympic Committee; Olympic host city election; Olympic Games; sport as a tool of politics

Topic characteristic and thesis aims:

Interconnectivity of sports and politics has been evident since the end of World War I. Riordan and Krügel¹⁵⁵ argue that it were the emerging authoritative regimes that discovered propaganda potential in sport events and therefore bolstered the interconnection. Illustrating their argument Riordan and Krügel use known case of Berlin Olympic Games in 1936 which are sometimes labelled as one of first IOC failures. The Berlin Games failure was then extended by many Games including Olympic Games in Munich, Moscow or Los Angeles.

Summer Olympic Games in Beijing (2008) and Rio de Janeiro (2016) or Winter Olympic Games in Sochi (2014) are undoubtedly examples of certain tendency that prevails within

¹⁵⁵ RIORDAN, James a Arnd. KRÜGER, 1999. *The international politics of sport in the 20th century*. 1. New York: Routledge. ISBN 978-0419211600.

IOC host city election procedure within past decade. With emerging influence of the IOC as an international institution taking part in programs supervised by the UN and other major international organizations, one might believe that it elects host cities with a sense of political responsibility. However, almost each election of past decades express the right opposite.

I would say that the issue of possible over-politicization of sports has engaged many scholars so far, however, not many of them try to capture the whole host city election procedure and focus only on single cases.

The Thesis focuses on mutual relationship of international politics and sport, concretely sport events, and it also focuses on the International Olympic Committee as an international organization. It aims to define the mechanism of elections of the host city for Olympic Games and it tries to examine in detail the effects of various factors that influence the Olympic Games host city election. It is based on presumption that Olympic Games (as other mega events) serve certain political goals and are often held by cities to demonstrate state's power and influence and therefore many (and probably most) of host cities are not elected to fulfil Olympic idea, however, there are many other factors that matter in the election process more than idea of peace, democracy or non-discrimination.

The Thesis maps out the election processes in between 1986 -2015. It argues that Olympic Games host cities elections are not essentially operated on the basis of Olympic Charter and its principles, which results in awarding hosting the Games to non-democratic countries. And therefore it examines in detail other various factors that are considered influential factors that are decisive for winning the elections. The factors reflect state's economic strength and stability, its ability to finance Olympic Games, state's energy resources, aspects of democracy or state's security.

In its second part the Thesis is based on a case study that focuses on a case of China's election for hosting the Winter Olympic Games in Beijing 2008 and 2022. The case study tries to examine why Beijing was once again announced as a host city for another Olympic event within some 14 years, when there are other candidate cities that have not been elected for many decades. The case study focuses on the election process of Winter Olympic Games of 2022 and it puts emphasis on development (whether there is any) of China between election processes for 2008 and 2022 Olympic Games, that could explain China's success.

Literature Review:

The amount of academic literature dealing with same or similar issue has been on a rise within last decade, however, almost no academic literature exists within the topic of the International Olympic Committee or Olympic Games host city selection.

Therefore the first part of the thesis tries to capture and describe the IOC as an international institution. Based on the IOC official reports¹⁵⁶ and the Olympic Charter¹⁵⁷ the thesis outlines IOC organizational structure and voting procedures, whereas an emphasis is put on different assumptions, e.g. financing mechanism. By doing so the first part of thesis compiles existing information predominantly to provide others with a text including overall information about the IOC. One of the aims of the thesis is also to present the IOC as an international organization. Bousfield and Montsion released their article¹⁵⁸ in 2012, stressing the same – the IOC is an international organization with a strong political influence. Their article maps out the development and reorganization of the International Olympic Committee and describes it as a powerful international organization. It focuses on how the IOC cooperates with the UN and how the IOC pays attention to topics as gender equality or sustainable development, which both authors see as a reason why the IOC has gained prestige over recent years.

As I have already mentioned not much literature is written on the same or similar topic, as far as many scholars focus only on case examples, however, Paul Poast from Chicago University published similar study in 2007.¹⁵⁹ Poast's research first of all focuses on International Olympic Committee in general and then it goes more in depth to analyse certain tendencies within the host city election mechanism. According to results obtained from the research, Poast argues that economic factors are the decisive ones and that the IOC should maintain continental diversity.

¹⁵⁶ IOC., 2015. Report of the 2022 Evaluation Commission 1st ed., Lausanne. Available at: https://stillmed.olympic.org/media/Document%20Library/OlympicOrg/Documents/Host-City-Elections/XXIV-OWG-2022/Report-of-the-IOC-Evaluation-Commission-for-the-XXIV-Olympic-Winter-Games-2022.pdf#_ga=2.94922524.1663279215.1498577427-671679150.1496079020.

¹⁵⁷ IOC., 2016. Olympic Charter, Lausanne. Available at: https://stillmed.olympic.org/media/Document%20Library/OlympicOrg/General/EN-Olympic-Charter.pdf#_ga=2.6366002.1663279215.1498577427-671679150.1496079020.

¹⁵⁸ Bousfield, D. & Montsion, J.M., 2012. Transforming an international organization: norm confusion and the International Olympic Committee. *Sport in Society*, 15(6), pp.823-838. Available at: <http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/17430437.2012.708284>

¹⁵⁹ Poast, P.D., 2007. Winning the Bid: Analyzing the International Olympic Committee's Host City Selections. *International Interactions*, 33(1), pp.75-95. Available at: <http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/03050620601157470>

The thesis is a mixed- method design¹⁶⁰ according to John Creswell's definition. Creswell defines six mix methods design strategies: sequential explanatory, sequential exploratory, sequential transformative, concurrent triangulation, concurrent nested and concurrent transformative, accenting their strengths and weakness. The research fits the best the first Creswell's strategy: sequential explanatory, which means that more attention is paid to the quantitative research in the first phase, whereas the second qualitative phase is mostly based on the results/data obtained from the first phase.

First phase, a quantitative research, is a logistic regression analysis. Scott Menard's book¹⁶¹ is a very useful handbook helping to run the logistic regression, presenting logistic regression models for individual and grouped data, including updated discussions of goodness of fit, efficiency, regression coefficients and also concrete examples.

Second phase, a qualitative research, is a content analysis. Hsieh and Shannon¹⁶² define in detail three approaches that are used to interpret data within content analysis. It describes the main differences between these approaches delineating analytic procedures which are specific to each approach. The thesis is an example of directed (also called illustrative or descriptive) content analysis, which means that it starts with a relevant research findings or a theory.

A theory that fits the Chinese example the best is a rising power theory. Academics Hart and Jones published an article¹⁶³ focusing on rising powers, alternatively called emerging states, of BRICS, aiming to explain the basis of their newfound power. The article also pays attention to how those states wield the newfound power and influence in various (economic, financial or security) realms.

The content analysis first describes candidature procedures of Beijing for Summer¹⁶⁴ and Winter¹⁶⁵ Olympic Games, and then it compares several factors (defined in methodological

¹⁶⁰ CRESWELL, John W., c2003. *Research design: qualitative, quantitative, and mixed methods approaches*. 2nd ed. Thousand Oaks, Calif.: Sage Publications. ISBN 07-619-2442-6

¹⁶¹ MENARD, Scott W., c2002. *Applied logistic regression analysis*. 2nd ed. Thousand Oaks, Calif.: Sage Publications. Sage university papers series, no. 07-106. ISBN 978-076-1922-087

¹⁶² HSIEH, Hsiu-Fang a Sarah E. SHANNON, 2016. Three Approaches to Qualitative Content Analysis. *Qualitative Health Research* [online]. 15(9), 1277-1288. DOI: 10.1177/1049732305276687. ISSN 1049-7323. Available at: <http://journals.sagepub.com/doi/10.1177/1049732305276687>

¹⁶³ Hart, A.F. & Jones, B.D., 2011. How Do Rising Powers Rise? *Survival*, 52(6), pp.63-88. Available at: <http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/00396338.2010.540783>

¹⁶⁴ IOC, 2001. *Report of the IOC Evaluation Commission for the Games of the XXIX Olympiad in 2008* [online]. In: . . . Lausanne, s. 1-103 Available at: https://stillmed.olympic.org/media/Document%20Library/OlympicOrg/Documents/Host-City-Elections/XXIX-Olympiad-2008/Report-of-the-IOC-Evaluation-Commission-for-the-Games-of-the-XXIX-Olympiad-2008.pdf#_ga=2.219323099.355536577.1510137853-1552203786.1510137853

part), aiming to come to a conclusion of whether China has become more democratic country to be awarded host city once again or whether the host city election is mainly influenced by other actors than the ideas and principles of Olympism.

**Master Thesis objective and formulation of hypotheses or research questions,
conceptualization and operationalization:**

The Thesis is based on a presumption that Olympic Games are held to demonstrate state's power within international relations. It aims to present the International Olympic Committee as the one and only decision-making and executive organ that can heavily influence whether a candidate city will or will not host the Games and therefore it is the one and only organ that can allow a state to demonstrate its power by hosting the Games.

RQ1: Does the IOC elect Olympic Games host cities according to Olympic Charter principals?

RQ2: If not, what are other more influential factors that are decisive for host city election?

Conceptualization of key terms:

Olympic Charter principles

Olympic Charter principles, which are also called principles of Olympism or the idea of Olympism are several principles defined in Olympic Charter.¹⁶⁶ These principles mainly stress that the IOC, its organizations, athletes and other staff should contribute to building better and peaceful society, should promote equality and act against any form of discrimination.

¹⁶⁵ IOC., 2015. *Report of the 2022 Evaluation Commission* 1st ed., Lausanne. Available at: https://stillmed.olympic.org/media/Document%20Library/OlympicOrg/Documents/Host-City-Elections/XXIV-OWG-2022/Report-of-the-IOC-Evaluation-Commission-for-the-XXIV-Olympic-Winter-Games-2022.pdf#_ga=2.94922524.1663279215.1498577427-671679150.1496079020.

¹⁶⁶ IOC., 2016. *Olympic Charter*, Lausanne. Available at: https://stillmed.olympic.org/media/Document%20Library/OlympicOrg/General/EN-Olympic-Charter.pdf#_ga=2.6366002.1663279215.1498577427-671679150.1496079020

Influential factors

As few academics had stressed (e.g. Christopher Shaw¹⁶⁷, Alan Tomlinson and Garry Whannel¹⁶⁸) the Olympic Games election is influenced by power political factors. Influential factors are conceptualized as economical (GDP growth), energy (nuclear energy resources) and institutional (UN Security council membership).

Hypotheses:

First of all I formulate a zero hypothesis arguing that no power political factors play decisive role in the election process which would mean that the election is made in accordance with Olympic Charter principals.

- **H₀** - No power political factors influence host city elections

Further, based on a literature review, I formulate hypotheses which can further be divided into three main groups: normative, functional and power-stressing.

The normative group of hypotheses corresponds – at least to some extent, with the principles of Olympism. This set of hypotheses is therefore formulated on the basis of what Pierre de Coubertin first formulated as standards of Olympic Charter.

- **H₁** – If the country is not taking part in an armed conflict, the chance to win the elections is bigger
- **H₂** – If the country protects human rights, the chance to win the elections is bigger
- **H₃**- If the country tries to ban discrimination and to promote equality, the chance to win the elections is bigger

The functional group of hypotheses essentially sums up all factors/conditions that are defined and describe country's ability to host the Games. These hypotheses are then formulated according to what the International Olympic Committee defines as set of conditions each candidate city must fulfil.

¹⁶⁷ CHRISTOPHER A. SHAW., 2008. *Five ring circus myths and realities of the Olympic games*. 1. Gabriola Island, BC: New Society Publishers. ISBN 15-509-2356-0.

¹⁶⁸ TOMLINSON, Alan; WHANNELL, Garry (ed.). *Five ring circus: Money, power and politics at the Olympic Games*. Pluto Press, 1984.

- **H₄**- The bigger the city's area is the bigger the chance to win the elections is
- **H₅** - The larger country's economy (GDP) is the bigger the chance to win the elections is
- **H₆**- The better the country's security is the bigger the chance to win the elections is

The power-stressing group of hypotheses tries to define a set of factors that could demonstrate state's (international) power. This set of hypotheses mainly corresponds with the thesis presumption of hosting Olympic Games to stress state's (soft) power.

- **H₇** - The larger country's nuclear energy resources reserve is the bigger the chance to win the elections is
- **H₈** – The higher country's GDP growth is the bigger the chance to win the elections is
- **H₉**- If the country is UN Security Council member, the chance to win the elections is bigger

Anticipated structure of Thesis:

1. Introduction
2. Literature Review
3. Methodology
 - 3.1. Hypotheses
 - 3.2. The choice of topic and Case study
 - 3.3. Quantitative Research - Methods
 - 3.4. Qualitative Research - Methods
4. International Olympic Committee
 - 4.1. IOC as an international organization
 - 4.1.1. Historical establishment and development
 - 4.1.2. Organizational Structure
 - 4.1.2.1. IOC Executive Board
 - 4.1.2.2. IOC Commissions
 - 4.2. Olympic Movement
 - 4.3. Mechanism of host city election
 - 4.3.1. The candidature process step by step
 - 4.3.2. Financing of the Committee
5. Logic Regression Analysis
 - 5.1. Data Collection
 - 5.2. Results
6. Case Study: Olympic Games – Beijing
 - 6.1. Theoretical Background: rising power
 - 6.2. From candidate to host city: Summer Olympic Games
 - 6.3. From candidate to host city: Winter Olympic Games
 - 6.4. Comparison
7. Conclusion
8. Annex
9. References

Methodology:

The Thesis is designed as **mixed method research** based on quantitative research methods and is then supplemented by a case study based on qualitative research methods. As John Creswell argues employing two research methods in a mixed method research has gained popularity. Creswell defines six mixed method strategies of which he argues, that the most popular one is sequential explanatory strategy used also within the thesis.¹⁶⁹

The **quantitative research design** is based on a logistic regression¹⁷⁰ which will be operated as a large-n analysis. The regression will be employed with country/city's success (within the election process) as dependent variable and independent variables "conflict", "humanrights", "inequality", "area", "GDP", "security", "nuclear", "GDPgrowth" and "UNSC", corresponding with already defined hypotheses.

Conceptualization of Variables:

"*conflict*" - By "conflict" I mean whether applicant country takes part in an armed conflict or not. "*humanrights*" – By "humanrights" I mean Human rights protection, therefore whether applicant country has ratified international human rights treaties. "*inequality*" – "Inequality" means whether applicant country tries to implement principles of equality and to fight against discrimination. According to updated version of the Olympic Charter, which newly stress the importance promote support of women in sport, the third variable will be therefore perceived as gender inequality. "*area*" - By "area" I mean surface area of applicant city, one of the information each applicant city must publish when filling in the applicant form. "*GDP*" - By "GDP" I mean a concrete amount of state's GDP. "*security*" - By "security" I mean whether hosting Olympic Games in an applicant country is safe for all participants. "*nuclear*" - By "nuclear" I mean nuclear energy resources, therefore the amount of nuclear energy resources that applicant country has. "*GDPgrowth*" - By "GDPgrowth" I mean the concrete number, which says, whether country's GDP was on the rise or decline. "*UNSC*" - By "UNSC" I mean UN Security Council membership, therefore whether the applicant country is UN Security Council member or not.

¹⁶⁹ CRESWELL, John W., c2003. *Research design: qualitative, quantitative, and mixed methods approaches*. 2nd ed. Thousand Oaks, Calif.: Sage Publications. ISBN 07-619-2442-6

¹⁷⁰ MENARD, Scott W., c2002. *Applied logistic regression analysis*. 2nd ed. Thousand Oaks, Calif.: Sage Publications. Sage university papers series, no. 07-106. ISBN 978-076-1922-087

Operationalization of Variables:

Variables are operationalized as follows:

“*conflict*” is measured according to data obtained from Uppsala Conflict Data Programme, which provides information about each country and its participation in armed conflicts. If country does not participate in armed conflict the variable gains value 0, if it does the variable gains value according to number of conflict the applicant country is taking part in.¹⁷¹

“*humanrights*” is measured on the basis of number of international human rights treaties ratified by applicant country. The data are obtained from the UN Human Rights Office website.¹⁷² According to last update of the Olympic Charter, which now emphasizes promotion of gender equality and women in sport, the third variable – “*inequality*” is measured with Gender Inequality Index released by the UN Development Programme.¹⁷³

“*area*” and “*GDP*” are measured according to information given by World Bank¹⁷⁴

“*security*” is measured with World Internal Security and Police Index. The index measures internal security of a state across its four domains: capacity, process, legitimacy and outcomes.¹⁷⁵ “*nuclear*” is measured by country’s nuclear capacity. Data are obtained from

World Energy Council which publishes data in three phases – until 2008 – from 2008 to 2011- from 2011 to 2016.¹⁷⁶ The “*GDP growth*” measurement is based on the data obtained from the World Bank.¹⁷⁷ The *UN membership* is measured on the basis of 1/0, when 1 means applicant country is a UN member and 0 means it is not a UN member.¹⁷⁸

¹⁷¹ Uppsala Conflict Data Program: China, *Uppsala Conflict Data Program* [online]. [Accessed July 04, 2017]. Available at: <http://ucdp.uu.se/#country/710>

¹⁷² United Nations Human Rights: Office of the High Commissioner, *United Nations Human Rights* [online]. [Accessed July 04, 2017]. Available at: <http://www.ohchr.org/EN/Countries/AsiaRegion/Pages/CNIndex.aspx>

¹⁷³ Gender Inequality Index, *UN Development Programmes: Human Development Reports* [online]. [Accessed July 04, 2017]. Available at: <http://hdr.undp.org/en/content/gender-inequality-index-gii>

¹⁷⁴ *The world bank: GDP current* [online], 2017. [Accessed July 04, 2017]. Available at: <http://databank.worldbank.org/data/reports.aspx?source=2&series=NY.GDP.MKTP.CD&country=>

¹⁷⁵ *World Internal Security Index: Global Rankings* [online], 2017. [Accessed July 04, 2017]. Available at: <http://wispindex.org/>

¹⁷⁶ *World Energy Council: Energy Resources* [online], 2017. [Accessed July 04, 2017]. Available at: <https://www.worldenergy.org/data/resources/>

¹⁷⁷ *The world bank: GDP growth* [online], 2017. [Accessed July 04, 2017]. Available at: <https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/NY.GDP.MKTP.KD.ZG>

¹⁷⁸ United Nations: Security Council, *United Nations* [online]. [Accessed July 04, 2017]. Available at: <http://www.un.org/en/sc/members>

The qualitative method used within the Thesis is content analysis, which is formed as an illustrative (also known as directed or descriptive) analysis according to Hsieh and Shannon's definition.¹⁷⁹ The analysis is based on Rising Power theory¹⁸⁰ and examines in detail the candidature procedures for Summer (2008) and Winter (2022) Olympic Games that were and are about to be held in Beijing.

This Thesis deals with the most likely example of Beijing's candidature whereas it operates with a comparative study of Beijing 2008 Summer Olympic Games and upcoming Beijing 2022 Winter Olympic Games. Beijing's candidature and Olympic Games hosting in 2008 has been criticized in many ways starting from displacing citizens, media censorship or tolerating racism and ending up with human rights violation.¹⁸¹ It seems that awarding rising powers the right to host Olympic Games has become last trend of the IOC with almost all BRICS countries hosting sport mega events in past decade.¹⁸² It might be therefore argued that rising powers are given chance to stress and demonstrate their power by hosting the Games despite the fact that the political system that the Games should be held in is not in accordance with the principles of Olympism. One might then ask, why was Beijing awarded a host city for 2022 Winter Olympic Games once again when political conditions in China have not changed much?¹⁸³

The comparative study therefore tries to examine whether there is an improvement that would turn Beijing to a host city that corresponds with Coubertin's principles. It compares data and information about Beijing's first candidature from 2001 with data about its second candidature from 2015 and focuses on following factors/aspects:

- Whether China has participated more/less/ the same in armed conflicts
- Whether China has been more/less/ the same oppressive (concerning human rights)
- Whether index of gender inequality has been on a rise/ decline/the same
- Whether Beijing's area is larger/smaller/the same

¹⁷⁹ HSIEH, Hsiu-Fang a Sarah E. SHANNON, 2016. Three Approaches to Qualitative Content Analysis. *Qualitative Health Research* [online]. 15(9), 1277-1288. DOI: 10.1177/1049732305276687. ISSN 1049-7323. Available at: <http://journals.sagepub.com/doi/10.1177/1049732305276687>

¹⁸⁰ Hart, A.F. & Jones, B.D., 2011. How Do Rising Powers Rise? *Survival*, 52(6), pp.63-88. Available at: <http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/00396338.2010.540783>

¹⁸¹ The opening ceremony: what the world said, 2008. *The Guardian* [online]. London [Accessed July 04, 2017] Available at: <https://www.theguardian.com/media/2008/aug/10/olympicsandthemedias.olympics2008>

¹⁸² Hart, A.F. & Jones, B.D., 2011. How Do Rising Powers Rise? *Survival*, 52(6), pp.63-88. Available at: <http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/00396338.2010.540783>

¹⁸³ Human rights groups criticize decision to award 2022 Winter Olympics to Beijing, 2015. *New York Daily News* [online]. Kuala Lumpur [Accessed July 04, 2017]. Available at: <http://www.nydailynews.com/sports/more-sports/beijing-host-2022-winter-olympics-article-1.2310438>

- Whether China's GDP is bigger/smaller/the same
- Whether Chinese's security is better/worse/the same
- Whether Chinese amount of nuclear energy resources is bigger/smaller/the same
- Whether China's GDP has risen/fallen/been the same
- Whether China is/is not a member of the UN Security Council

These factors correspond with independent variables used within regression logistic analysis, with which the case study is closely connected. The analysis should state whether the Games are awarded to potential host cities on the basis of what is declared in the Olympic Charter. If so, the case study should mark significant change in Chinese political regime (within first three factors).

The content analysis of official IOC documents - mainly IOC official reports on Beijing Candidature and Olympic Games financing, is used to describe the process of Beijing 2008¹⁸⁴ and 2022¹⁸⁵ election. Another non-official documents are analysed to provide deeper critical analysis and to describe the controversy connected to Chinese Olympic Games and China in general. These documents are mainly journalist articles therewith they are originated in both China and the "West", to keep the Thesis more objective.

¹⁸⁴ Beijing Organizing Committee for the Games of the XXIX Olympiad., 2010. *Official report of the Beijing 2008 Olympic Games* 3rd ed., Beijing: BOCOG. Available at: <https://library.olympic.org/Default/doc/SYRACUSE/23655/official-report-of-the-beijing-2008-olympic-games-beijing-organizing-committee-for-the-games-of-the-#> [Accessed June 27, 2017].

¹⁸⁵ IOC., 2015. *Report of the 2022 Evaluation Commission* 1st ed., Lausanne. Available at: https://stillmed.olympic.org/media/Document%20Library/OlympicOrg/Documents/Host-City-Elections/XXIV-OWG-2022/Report-of-the-IOC-Evaluation-Commission-for-the-XXIV-Olympic-Winter-Games-2022.pdf#_ga=2.94922524.1663279215.1498577427-671679150.1496079020.

Bibliography:

Beijing Organizing Committee for the Games of the XXIX Olympiad., 2010. *Official report of the Beijing 2008 Olympic Games* 3rd ed., Beijing: BOCOG. Available at: <https://library.olympic.org/Default/doc/SYRACUSE/23655/official-report-of-the-beijing-2008-olympic-games-beijing-organizing-committee-for-the-games-of-the-#> [Accessed June 27, 2017].

Bousfield, D. & Montsion, J.M., 2012. Transforming an international organization: norm confusion and the International Olympic Committee. *Sport in Society*, 15(6), pp.823-838. Available at: <http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/17430437.2012.708284> [Accessed June 27, 2017].

CHRISTOPHER A. SHAW., 2008. *Five ring circus myths and realities of the Olympic games*. 1. Gabriola Island, BC: New Society Publishers. ISBN 15-509-2356-0.

CRESWELL, John W., c2003. *Research design: qualitative, quantitative, and mixed methods approaches*. 2nd ed. Thousand Oaks, Calif.: Sage Publications. ISBN 07-619-2442-6

Hart, A.F. & Jones, B.D., 2011. How Do Rising Powers Rise? *Survival*, 52(6), pp.63-88. Available at: <http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/00396338.2010.540783> [Accessed July 03, 2017].

Haugen, H.Ø., 2011. Time and space in Beijing's Olympic bid. *Norsk Geografisk Tidsskrift - Norwegian Journal of Geography*, 59(3), pp.217-227. Available at: <http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/00291950500228238> [Accessed June 27, 2017].

HOSMER, David W., et al. A comparison of goodness-of-fit tests for the logistic regression model. *Statistics in medicine*, 1997, 16.9: 965-980.

HSIEH, Hsiu-Fang a Sarah E. SHANNON, 2016. Three Approaches to Qualitative Content Analysis. *Qualitative Health Research* [online]. 15(9), 1277-1288. DOI: 10.1177/1049732305276687. ISSN 1049-7323. Available at: <http://journals.sagepub.com/doi/10.1177/1049732305276687>

Chappelet, J.-L., 2013. Managing the size of the Olympic Games. *Sport in Society*, 17(5), pp.581-592. Available at: <http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/17430437.2013.834621> [Accessed June 27, 2017].

IOC, 2010. *GENDER EQUITY AND LEADERSHIP IN OLYMPIC BODIES*. 1. Lausanne. Available at: <https://www.canoeicf.com/sites/default/files/gender-equity-and-leadership-in-olympic-bodies-2010.pdf>

IOC., 2015. *Candidature Process: 2024*, Lausanne. Available at: https://stillmed.olympic.org/media/Document%20Library/OlympicOrg/Documents/Host-City-Elections/XXXIII-Olympiad-2024/Candidature-Process-Games-for-the-XXXIII-Olympiad-2024.pdf#_ga=2.2172848.1663279215.1498577427-671679150.1496079020.

IOC., 2015. *Report of the 2022 Evaluation Commission* 1st ed., Lausanne. Available at: https://stillmed.olympic.org/media/Document%20Library/OlympicOrg/Documents/Host-City-Elections/XXIV-OWG-2022/Report-of-the-IOC-Evaluation-Commission-for-the-XXIV-Olympic-Winter-Games-2022.pdf#_ga=2.94922524.1663279215.1498577427-671679150.1496079020.

IOC., 2016. *Olympic Charter*, Lausanne. Available at: https://stillmed.olympic.org/media/Document%20Library/OlympicOrg/General/EN-Olympic-Charter.pdf#_ga=2.6366002.1663279215.1498577427-671679150.1496079020.

Levermore, R. & Budd, A., 2004. *Sport and international relations an emerging relationship* 1st ed., London: Routledge.

MacAloon, J.J., 2015. Agenda 2020 and the Olympic Movement *. *Sport in Society*, 19(6), pp.767-785. Available at: <http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/17430437.2015.1119960> [Accessed June 27, 2017].

MENARD, Scott W., c2002. *Applied logistic regression analysis*. 2nd ed. Thousand Oaks, Calif.: Sage Publications. Sage university papers series, no. 07-106. ISBN 978-076-1922-087

Poast, P.D., 2007. Winning the Bid: Analyzing the International Olympic Committee's Host City Selections. *International Interactions*, 33(1), pp.75-95. Available at: <http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/03050620601157470> [Accessed June 27, 2017].

TOMLINSON, Alan; WHANNELL, Garry (ed.). *Five ring circus: Money, power and politics at the Olympic Games*. Pluto Press, 1984.

The world bank: GDP growth [online], 2017. [Accessed July 04, 2017]. Available at: <https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/NY.GDP.MKTP.KD.ZG>

United Nations Human Rights: Office of the High Commissioner, *United Nations Human Rights* [online]. [Accessed July 04, 2017]. Available at: <http://www.ohchr.org/EN/Countries/AsiaRegion/Pages/CNIndex.aspx>

United Nations: Security Council, *United Nations* [online]. [Accessed July 04, 2017]. Available at: <http://www.un.org/en/sc/members>

Uppsala Conflict Data Program: China, *Uppsala Conflict Data Program* [online]. [Accessed July 04, 2017]. Available at: <http://ucdp.uu.se/#country/710>

van Hilvoorde, I., Elling, A. & Stokvis, R., 2010. How to influence national pride? The Olympic medal index as a unifying narrative. *International Review for the Sociology of Sport*, 45(1), pp.87-102. Available at: <http://journals.sagepub.com/doi/10.1177/1012690209356989> [Accessed July 04, 2017].

World Energy Council: Energy Resources [online], 2017. [Accessed July 04, 2017]. Available at: <https://www.worldenergy.org/data/resources/>

World Internal Security Index: Global Rankings [online], 2017. [Accessed July 04, 2017]. Available at: <http://wispindex.org/>

Xu, X., 2006. Modernizing China in the Olympic Spotlight: China's National Identity and the 2008 Beijing Olympiad. *The Sociological Review*, 54(2 suppl), pp.90-107. Available at: <http://journals.sagepub.com/doi/10.1111/j.1467-954X.2006.00655.x> [Accessed July 04, 2017].

No diploma theses on the same topic were defended at Charles University within 10 past years.