

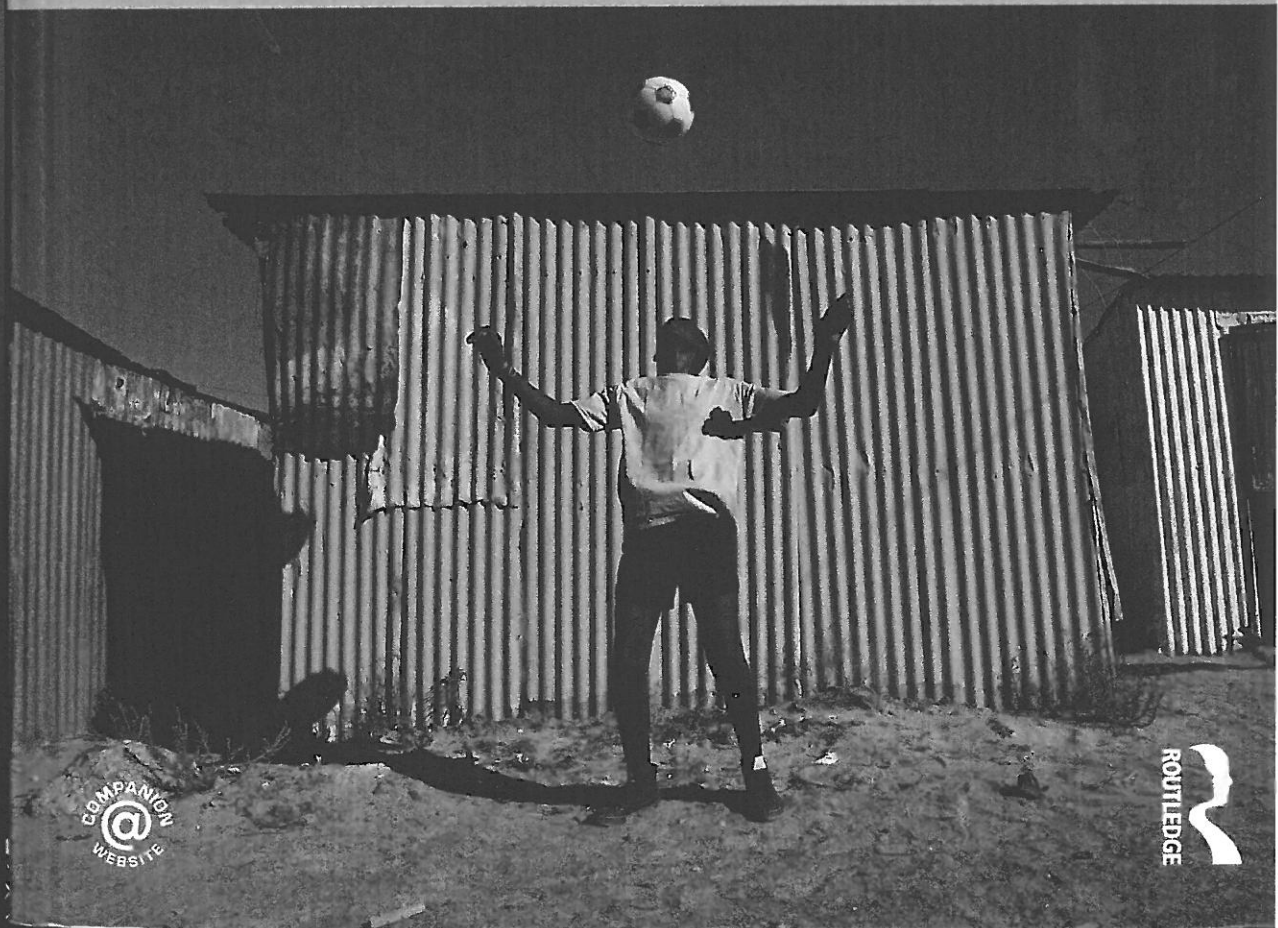
SECOND
EDITION

SPORT, CULTURE AND SOCIETY

AN INTRODUCTION

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WITH JAMES THORNTON



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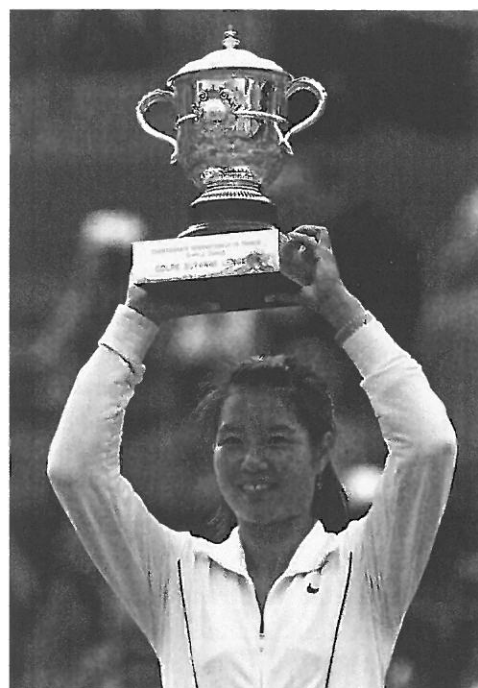
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Chapter 5

Global sport and globalisation

Is sport truly a global phenomenon and what values are associated with global sport?

Has the axis of world sporting power shifted within Asia?



PREVIEW

Key terms defined ■ Introduction ■ Racing as a global sport? ■ Global sport ■ Globalisation ■ Sport processes ■ Global media coverage ■ Nike sport ■ What is globalisation? ■ Characteristics of global sport ■ Political, economic, cultural and social globalisation ■ Global Sport: Flows and Processes ■ Challenges to global sport ■ Global or International sport ■ Sport and anti-globalisation ■ Radical and moderate anti-globalisation ■ Sporting intervention ■ Summary

SPORT, GLOBALISATION AND OTHER COMMUNITIES

OBJECTIVES

This chapter will:

- explore the notion of global sport;
- critically evaluate the myth and reality of globalisation;
- consider the emergence and characteristics of global sport;
- ask whether the global era has ended;
- consider some alternatives to the notion of global sport; and
- question the notion of globalisation as being an appropriate term to describe the development of international sport.

KEY TERMS DEFINED

Cosmopolitan: Composed of people or elements from all parts of the world or from many different spheres.

Development: A multidimensional process that normally notes a change from a less to a more desirable state.

Globalisation: A historical process involving a fundamental shift or transformation in the spatial scale of human social organisation that links distant communities and expands the reach of power relations across regions and continents. Often used to describe a single world economy, although sometimes employed to define the growing integration of the international capitalist system.

Internationalisation: The term is used to denote high levels of international interaction and interdependence. The term is often used to distinguish the position from globalisation. The processes of internationalisation are often shaped by inter-state and transnational agreements.

Neo-liberalism: Represents the re-assertion of the classical liberal concern to promote the maximum possible liberty and/or economic efficiency. Developed in the 1970s, it advocates measures to promote economic development, and is used to guide the transition from planned to market economies in former communist countries.

INTRODUCTION

The term 'global sport' and the associated processes of globalisation are not uncommon within discussions of contemporary sport, culture and society. This has tended to take place at two levels: the extent to which the globalisation of sport itself has occurred, and the extent to which sport makes a contribution to other globalisation processes. The existence of world

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satellite information systems, global patterns of sports consumption and consumerism, and the emergence of global sports competitions such as international tennis matches, the Olympic Games or other international sports tournaments have all contributed to the idea that the world of sport is more of a single entity. Such a notion tends to overlook the complexity of international sport that is, in itself, both historically variable and multidimensional. It is one thing to say that sport *x* is the most popular sport in the world and has increased its international presence, and another to say that sport *x* is global. Can you think of a truly global sport or product that exists in every country of the world?

One of the obvious objections to both notions of global sport and globalisation is that it is but a buzz word to denote the latest phase of capitalism. It is important to point out that discussions of global sport, while accepting that there are powerful reasons for viewing globalisation as a new phase of development, also need to recognise that globalising forces are not all necessarily either good forces or progressive forces. Not everybody has a voice in global sport and although many valuable studies of sport have tended to revolve around a comparison between the local and the global, few, if any, studies of global sport have considered the parochial versus the global or the parochial versus the international. The debate over global sport covers many relevant aspects and issues that illuminate aspects of contemporary sport but the criticisms of global sport today also need to be seriously addressed. The radically uneven distribution of power and voice in sport today often makes for a distorted politics of global sport in which the interests of the few more often than not take precedence over the interests of the majority.

It is difficult to deny or challenge the fact that the world has become a smaller place or that the sports clothes people wear or the relentless coverage of sport on television has helped to evoke the idea of global sporting products or experiences. However, it is meaningless to equate the sporting experiences of young women in Cuba or Afghanistan with those of a teenage American or German. The experiences are as similar as they are different. In other words, in order to understand the sporting world of these young people, it is necessary to resist the temptation to treat sporting experiences as if they were even or universal or equal. There is little evidence to suggest that even American sporting forms have become global. On the other hand, one of the world's most popular international sports, football, while increasing in popularity within the US, is still of secondary importance to other sports inside America. The notion of global sport, therefore, is difficult to define as a product since it is not homogeneous or universal, and consequently those who have attempted to explain the emergence of global sport have tended to refer to the process or development of global sport. It is hard to miss the powerfully inclusive ideas of belonging and quest for recognition that moves so many people to challenge what they see as unfairness or corruption in contemporary global sport. On a broader level, the anti-globalisation critique is perhaps one of the most globalised moral movements or social network operations in the world today. It is necessary, therefore, to consider some of the current criticisms of global sport and globalisation while, at the same time, recognising the promise and possibilities of sport.

The term 'globalisation' has been poorly defined, often meaning different things to different people. In particular, it is often unclear whether people are dealing with globalisation in all its forms or whether they are referring to economic or political or cultural, or all three

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aspects of it. Globalisation is the process by which interaction between humans, and the effect of that interaction, occurs across global distances with increasing regularity, intensity and speed. Much of the debate about globalisation gives the impression that the process is relatively new, and yet most analysts tend to agree that globalisation has, in fact, been under-way for centuries. Some go as far as to say the era of globalisation has ended, while some argue that global forms of inequality are increasing.

Possibly the central argument has been whether globalisation actually promotes or produces economic well-being throughout the world. Its critics argue that its emergence is one of the key causes of increases in poverty and inequality. The volume of research on global sport produced by Maguire (1999, 2005) and Jung Woo and Maguire (2009) helps to provide an overview of some of the key questions that face researchers attempting to explain global sport. They may include those already outlined in Chapter 1, but also the following:

- Are globalisation processes one-dimensional or multidimensional?
- What is the main dynamic behind globalisation in terms of monocausal or multicausal factors?
- Does globalisation lead to unity, a perception of unity or fragmentation?
- Are globalisation processes intended or unintended?
- To what extent does global sport actually exist?
- Does globalisation make world sport more or less democratic?
- Is global sport merely Western imperialism in a new form?
- Is sport a globalising or anti-globalising force in itself?

One of the most popular arguments supporting the notion of global sport has been the increasing global media coverage of international sports events, such as the Olympic Games. But a closer examination of the content of television coverage of events may suggest that the commentary is based upon not so much internationality as nationality and forms of subtle cultural nationalism. Television companies such as the American networks traditionally have attracted viewers to their Olympic coverage by stressing political controversies, along with asserting national interests and symbols. The globalisation of sport has often been closely associated with economic interests, and the differences between national interests and identities, and corporate interests and identities, are often blurred and contradictory.

It would be misleading to suggest that the notion of globalisation remains unchallenged. For those on the left, the sharing and cross-fertilisation of different sporting cultures is something to be celebrated. Sporting culture is richer, more diverse and caters for different lifestyles and tastes. Those on the right tend to argue that globalisation poses a threat to traditional, in particular national, sporting heritage, and it has weakened the position of national or even local sporting traditions that have been marginalised, at best, and eradicated, at worst. There has also been opposition from other parts of the world; they argue that the notion of global sport in terms of the governance of world sport tends to conceal traditional Western, or even colonial, power bases that need to be replaced by representatives of a post-colonial world of sport.



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The table below shows the concentration of sport across different regions and seasons. The table is spread across the right page.

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SPORT IN FOCUS 5.1: THE GLOBAL NATURE OF FORMULA ONE

The table below shows the circuits used in each round of the 2012 Formula One season. The races are split across five separate continents. While there is a concentration of circuits in Europe, with the exception of Africa the circuits are well spread across the globe. This displays the global appeal of the sport.

<i>Round</i>	<i>Circuit</i>	<i>Grand Prix</i>	<i>Continent</i>
1	Bahrain International Circuit, Sakhir	Bahrain GP	Asia
2	Albert Park Grand Prix Circuit, Melbourne	Australian GP	Oceania
3	Sepang International Circuit, Kuala Lumpur	Malaysian GP	Asia
4	Shanghai International Circuit, Shanghai	Chinese GP	Asia
5	Korean International Circuit, Yeongam	Korean GP	Asia
6	Istanbul Park, Istanbul	Turkish GP	Europe
7	Circuit de Catalunya, Barcelona	Spanish GP	Europe
8	Circuit de Monaco, Monte Carlo	Monaco GP	Europe
9	Circuit Gilles Villeneuve, Montreal	Canadian GP	North America
10	Circuit of the Americas, Austin	United States GP	North America
11	Valencia Street Circuit, Valencia	European GP	Europe
12	Silverstone Circuit, Silverstone	British GP	Europe
13	Hockenheimring, Hockenheim	German GP	Europe
14	Hungaroring, Budapest	Hungarian GP	Europe
15	Circuit de Spa-Francorchamps, Spa	Belgian GP	Europe
16	Autodromo Nazionale Monza, Monza	Italian GP	Europe
17	Marina Bay Street Circuit	Singapore GP	Asia
18	Suzuka Circuit, Suzuka	Japanese GP	Asia
19	Buddh International Circuit, Greater Noida	Indian GP	Asia
20	Yas Marina Circuit, Yas Island	Abu Dhabi GP	Asia
21	Autódromo José Carlos Pace, São Paulo	Brazilian GP	South America

WHEN DID GLOBAL SPORT START?

Sport in Focus 5.1 considers some contemporary evidence from one sport and asks whether this sport is global.

Globalisation is not a new phenomenon. The process of globalisation has been ongoing throughout human history but the rate of progress and effects of certain actions have accelerated and decreased the process at various periods in its development. Critics of globalisation insist that the process and development of global sport has neither been created completely, nor has it produced a world that may be defined by rampant free markets or passive nation states. Some have suggested that, although the global era may not have been completely created, it has come to an end as the more local, fundamental and international forces such as the United Nations or religious fundamentalist groups increasingly assert their influence today. Maguire's (1999: 75–94) classic study and discussion of the complex process of development of global sport identifies five stages in what is more specifically referred to as phases of global sportisation, none of which are historically concealed periods of time. They rather refer to phases of development, some of which may overlap at the edges of the beginning and ending of certain phases. This simply asserts that processes of development do not suddenly stop at one period and begin at a certain date, but are more fluid in the transition from one phase to the next. It remains the most comprehensive study of global sport.

Phase one refers to an initial sportisation phase from about the 1550s to the 1750s, during which many of the antecedent folk origins of modern sport emerged alongside the incipient growth of national communities. The initial sportisation process involved the emergence of sport as a form of physical combat, primarily in England, not Great Britain or Alba or Ancient Caledonia, or other ancient societies. Phase two refers to the period from about the 1750s to the 1870s when the processual nature of sportisation involved the formation of voluntary associations or sports clubs. The patronage bestowed upon sports such as cricket, boxing, folk football, fox hunting, association football and rugby led to a calming down of violence compared to the previous period, as well as a spurt in the shift towards modern male achievement sport. Folk games became less widely practised. Phase three refers to the period from about the 1870s to the 1920s, when the diffusion of English sports and pastimes to continental Europe also involved the export of the amateur ethos and notions of fair play. These commingled with other European forms of achievement sport. The last quarter of the nineteenth century witnessed the international spread of sport, the growth of competitions between national teams, the establishment of international sports organisations and the international acceptance of rules. Phase three, in essence, entailed the differential diffusion of sport and the emergence of inter-state competition between nations. Phase four, from 1920 to 1960, is when, according to Maguire *et al.* (2002: 365), sport can be seen to have become a global idiom. English-speaking peoples dominated international sporting governing bodies. Non-Western peoples not only resisted and re-invented forms of Western sport, but increasingly challenged the Western domination of global and/or male sport. The further phase Maguire refers to as a period from about 1960 to 1990 is a time when Cold War Olympic politics between capitalist sport and communist sport diminished with the collapse of the Berlin Wall and the fragmentation of the former Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR); women secured further changes and recognition in world sport; former colonial

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nations defeated the former colonial masters at their own game, as evidenced by the West Indian dominance of world cricket in the 1960s and 1970s; Anglo/Euro and American control of global sport was challenged, with African and Asian countries securing more power in FIFA and the IOC; and a resurgence of European traditional sports and games served as a reminder that residual forms of sport in different parts of Europe have a strong traditional base – in Catalonia, France, Germany, Belgium, Switzerland, Ireland, Spain and Switzerland, to name but a few places where there is a strong regional/national affinity for indigenous forms of sport. All this can be alluded to without forgetting the global power of the media and the mass consumption of international and local sporting tastes and preferences.

GLOBALISATION: WHAT IS IT?

Globalisation has been described, at one level, as the widening, deepening and speeding up of world interconnectedness. Sceptics of global sport would not regard global interconnectedness as evidence of globalisation and, therefore, the key issue remains the extent to which the term is understood and/or accepted. Realists, liberals, Marxists and constructivists all testify to having different theories of globalisation. For realists, while an increasing interconnectedness between economies and societies might be a trend, it does not, for realists, alter the most significant feature of contemporary global organisation, namely the territorial division of the world into nation states. For liberals, globalisation undermines realism since it undermines the role of the nation state. The increased interconnectedness between societies is both economic and technological, and has advanced to such an extent that it is impossible to view nation states as concealed units, but rather to see them as part of a cobweb of social relations. Marxists argue that globalisation may be the latest stage in the development of international capitalism in which global forms of inequality are increasing rather than decreasing. Finally, for constructivists, the act of intervening or moulding globalisation provides a great chance to create cross-national social movements aided by modern technology and social networking. They argue that other theories underestimate the possibilities that exist to shape globalisation.

The term has been used to reflect the compression of the world and the intensification of the world's consciousness as a whole. The term has become ubiquitous because there is no agreed definition of its meaning. This, in part, explains the extent to which it has figured within many international public debates, including debates about the nature and ethics of international sporting organisations and the power of international sporting finance to determine sporting practices, such as the timing of Olympic competitions or World Cup finals, or where major sporting events are placed. There is little point in seeking to deny the fact that global capitalism has affected the way sport is administered, packaged and watched, but this has not been an even process. For some, globalisation and global sport is nothing more than neo-liberalism and equates to market forces controlling sport, minimising the role of the state in terms of sports provision and inequality within sport being non-problematic. Critics of this agenda denounce global sport and globalisation as being a vehicle of global exploitation that has produced sports goods on the back of cheap labour, helped to maintain global poverty levels and maintained different levels of inequality in sport, particularly in terms of access of women and ethnic minority groups to positions of power in global sport.

SPORT, GLOBALISATION AND OTHER COMMUNITIES

There are primarily two competing approaches to globalisation. One encompasses a community of human citizens and is worked for, for instance, by environmentalists who talk in terms of thinking global and acting local. The other is of an unregulated free market where capital is king or queen and international corporations leave the poor to struggle with the consequences of deregulation, privatisation and international plundering. Proponents of globalisation typically argue that we live in an age in which a new kind of international world has emerged, one that is characteristic of global competition for markets, consumers and culture. A facet of the free-market driven form of globalisation has been that markets have decided whether we will have pensions in our old age, whether people suffering from ill health in Africa will be treated, and what forms of games and sports will be supported or even whether certain regions will have football clubs or not.

It is worth asserting at this point that globalisation is a highly uneven set of processes whose impact varies over space, time and between groups. Global forces and many international sports bypass many people and places. In many localised parts of the world, the development of sport is for local or national consumption and not for global or international consumption. Even within many international sporting cities or places where sporting mega-events are held, certain neighbourhoods within these cities or places where poverty or disadvantage prevail will, at one level, remain peripheral to the event itself and, at another level, to the working of the international sporting economy. It should be recognised that the current situation of social and economic disadvantage in many parts of the world has been triggered on a macro scale by the actions of transnational corporations based in a city or place often on the other side of the world. The uneven penetration of global sporting markets and sports is not simply a question of which sporting institutions, industries, people and places are affected, but how they are affected. The unevenness of globalisation and global sport is, therefore, apparent at all levels of society and culture. Sport in Focus 5.2 attempts to outline some of the key characteristics of globalisation and sport.

LEVELS OF CONTEMPORARY GLOBALISATION

Functional descriptions of global sport have a tendency to isolate particular elements of globalisation processes without relating them to one another. In what follows, the relationship between sport and globalisation is articulated at a number of different levels, but very rarely do these levels operate in isolation from one another. Ultimately, any strategy that is aimed at producing change needs to be unitary and totalising in nature rather than being fragmentary and locked into a form of dualism that views globalisation as simply good or bad, monocausal, deterministic, or in terms of the relationship between core and peripheral nations within the global economy. At a minimal illustrative level, globalisation can be articulated at the level of politics, culture, economics, technology and society.

Political globalisation

Political globalisation might refer to the increasing number and power of international sporting organisations that influence or govern international sport. Prime among these bodies would be the International Olympic Committee (IOC) or the Fédération Internationale de



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SPORT IN FOCUS 5.2: SOME CHARACTERISTICS OF GLOBALISATION AND SPORT

- Globalisation and sport is not a new phenomenon. The processes of sports globalisation have been ongoing throughout human history, but the rate of progress and effects have accelerated since at least the 'early modern' period of the late sixteenth century.
- Globalisation involves both an intensification of *worldwide* sporting relations through time-space compression of the globe, and local sporting transformations involving enhancement of local sporting identities, as well as of *local* consciousness of the world of sport.
- In the global-local sporting nexus, global forces are generally held to be most powerful and their control more spatially extensive.
- Global sporting forces are mediated by locally and historically contingent forces as they penetrate downwards, coming to ground in particular places.
- A number of 'trigger forces', such as technology and social networks, underlie sporting globalisation but the dominant force is generally regarded to be economic.
- Globalisation reduces the influence of national governing bodies of sport.
- Globalisation through sport operates unevenly, bypassing certain institutions, people and places. This is evident at the global scale in the disparities between booming cities of sport and declining sporting regions.
- The differing interests of actors means that global sporting forces are sometimes embraced, resisted or exploited at lower levels.
- The mobility of capital diminishes the significance of particular sports places, although it may also strengthen local sports identity by occasionally engendering a defensive response by local actors.

Football Association (FIFA). Alongside these increasingly genuine world sporting organisations might be the establishment of a number of national or continental sports organisations, such as the European Traditional Sports and Games Association or the American Baseball Association. The very spread of international sports organisations can also be seen as a response to the process of political globalisation whereby the types of problems confronting national sports organisations can no longer be addressed locally or nationally. Political globalisation is seen in arrangements for the concentration and application of power in sport.

In discussions of globalisation at the political level, one question that has tended to predominate has been that of the nation state. What kind of national autonomy do nations and national sporting organisations or cultures lose under any contemporary or new world order? Is it really not merely a new kind of domination or colonisation? In particular, when the term globalisation is used contemporaneously, are we not really referring to the spreading political

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and economic power of the US or China? Are we not really discussing the subordination of nation states indirectly or directly to American or Asian power? Discussions of global sport rarely acknowledge the existence or impact of any international order or hierarchy of states that make up the globalised interdependent world in which we live in. Not all cities can be Olympic cities, not all regions want to or have the capability to compete or host international sporting mega-events and, even if they did, power in world sport is still exercised by the few. More generally, in the place-bound daily lives of ordinary sportspeople, particularly those outside the mainstream of global sport or advanced capitalism, global sport may promote a search for local identity in a mobilised international world. This element of sport in an internationalised society is considered further in Chapter 6 and one of the key issues is the extent to which the principles of international order reflect the contemporary reality of globalised states.

Economic globalisation

Economic globalisation refers to the increasing occurrence, speed and intensity of production of trading and financial exchange across national boundaries. This includes the trading of sports personnel and, for example, increasing rates of labour migration within and across national boundaries. Indeed, economic globalisation might be taken to refer to a series of linked phenomena that have emerged over the last 30 years or more. The increasing flow of sporting finances would include the international flow of finance brought about as a result of trading of players, prize money and sporting endorsements. Economic globalisation is seen in arrangements for the production, exchange, distribution and consumption of sport. The underlying assumption that supports the reality of globalisation is that the pace of economic transformation and, in some cases, recession has been so great it has created a new world order in which states cannot control their economies and the world economy is more interdependent than ever. While some have tried to define globalisation as simply time-space compression, others prefer to refer to it as the integration of the world economy.

Globalisation as a force is, in varying degrees, evident in all the principal sectors of social activity, including sport. In the economic sphere, patterns of worldwide trade, finance, production, governance and labour migration are all supporting at least an international, if not global, capitalist economy. The operation and control of sporting finances and the informal and formal sporting economy contributes to which countries are sporting winners and which countries are sporting losers. Such a principle has led to such questions as when an African nation will win the FIFA World Cup. Economics and technology remain key engines of global sport.

Cultural globalisation

Cultural globalisation refers to the growth and exchange of cultural practices between nations and peoples. Many researchers point to the way in which new technologies, such as commercial television, the Internet and other forms of mass communications, have created a world that increasingly consumes identical products. The Internet is central to democratic

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international cultural exchange in that shared sporting interests and enquiries can be accessed internationally between people involved in sport. Thus, there are now specific sports websites and email networks that individuals from different cultural backgrounds share, which represent facts, meanings, beliefs, preferences, tastes and values. Sport itself has been viewed as a cultural product that lies at the heart of the telecommunications attempt to attract international audiences. Cultural globalisation is also seen in arrangements for the production, exchange and expression of sporting symbols. Patterns of cultural globalisation are complex, given the international diffusion of culture, global media networks and social networks. Few cultures, if any, are hermetically sealed off from cultural interaction.

Social globalisation

Shifting patterns of migration from North to South, East to West to East, from peripheries to centres have turned patterns of migration, immigration and social welfare into a major global issue. Movements of sporting personnel and patterns of labour sports migration from place to place are not immune. Patterns of global income inequality also impact upon sporting choices and options for some people. There are several main concepts of global sporting inequality, all of which have social consequences. Furthermore, sport has been identified as a powerful and cost-effective tool to help achieve international development goals, including the Millennium Development Goals that aim to eradicate or reduce poverty, hunger, child mortality and disease, and to promote education, maternal health, gender equality, environmental sustainability and global partnerships by 2015. SportAccord, the umbrella organisation for all Olympic and non-Olympic international sports federations, recently established a sports social responsibility agency. It would seem that an increasingly recognised obligation of some international sports agencies is to care for society.

Sport in Focus 5.3 is illustrative of five different cultural, social and/or economic flows that may help to characterise the development of contemporary globalisation processes: ethnoscaping, technoscapes, financescapes, mediascapes and ideoscapes. All these processes develop at different speeds and have impacted upon global sport at different rates.

CHALLENGES TO GLOBALISATION

While global sport, as illustrated in this chapter, may have developed as a result of different stages of development, it has also been suggested by Gray (2001: 25) that the era of globalisation has come to an end. The dozen years between the collapse of the Berlin Wall and the al-Qaeda attack on the twin towers of the World Trade Center in New York on 11 September 2001 might have marked the end of an era. The West greeted the collapse of communism – though it was itself a Western utopian ideology – as a triumph of Western values. The end of a way of life was welcomed as an opportunity to further develop a global free market. This part of the world was to be made over in an image of Western modernity – an image deformed by a market ideology that was as far removed from any human reality as Marxism had been. Following the attacks on New York and Washington, the conventional view of globalisation as an irresistible historical trend seems to have changed. It may be that



SPORT IN FOCUS 5.3: GLOBAL SPORT – FLOWS AND PROCESSES

- Sporting ethnoscares might involve the migration of professional or non-professional sports personnel through player, manager or coach transfers.
- Sporting technoscares would include sports goods, equipment, landscape-building for golf courses and transporting of sports technology, which is now a multi-million pound business.
- Sporting finanscares refer to the global flow of finance brought about through the international trade of players, prize money, endorsements and sporting goods.
- Sporting mediascares refer to the sports-media complex that transports sport across the globe at different times in different countries, and delays events and recordings to suit viewing times of international and national audiences.
- Sporting ideoscares are bound up with the ideologies or philosophies expressed by, in and through sport: professionalism, amateurism, sport for all, liberal notions of integration, and critical notions of exploitation. All these different ideologies compete in the battle for how world sport is, should be or could be.

we are back on the classical terrain of history, where international conflict is waged not over ideologies, but over religion, ethnicity, territory and the control of natural resources. The attempt to force life everywhere into a single mould was bound to fuel conflict and insecurity. Perhaps if sport is to develop a greater degree of social currency, then the notion of international sport should be considered in place of global sport, not least because the values associated with global sport and globalisation seem to have melted down as sporting markets, as well as financial markets going into free fall during the economic recession that occurred during 2008.

Certainly, a number of alternatives to the notion of global sport have emerged more recently. These are outlined in more depth in subsequent chapters within Part 2, but also Parts 3 and 4. These alternatives are not exhaustive but several are worth briefly introducing at this stage.

Global or international sport

Some have argued that it is necessary to distinguish between international and global sport. Are the Scottish Highland Games and gatherings that take place in different parts of the world examples of global sport or international sport, or something else altogether? There is the international and/or North American image that is presented through magazines such as *Celtic World*, which continues to report and carry stories of the Scottish Highland Games to all corners of the Celtic world and beyond. It is, in many senses, an image that contributes to an international or Celtic image of the Scottish Highland Games. If you visit the Scottish

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Highland Games 2010 website, you will be promptly transported to Scottish Highland Games in Waipu, New Zealand (1871); the Auckland Highland Games and Gathering (1980); Turakina Highland Games (1856); Highland Games Sychrov – near Prague (2001); the Tri-Annual Highland Gathering at Leeuwarden (1998); the Hengelo Scottish Games – Netherlands (2002); and the Highland Games Association of Western Australia. The language and appeal of these activities now extends around the world. The web pages of the Highland Games Association of Western Australia receive daily hits from many corners of the globe in a way that would have been unthinkable 10, 20 or 30 years ago. All of these developments are testament to the place of traditional and non-traditional Highland Games as perhaps being international, although not a global form of culture.

Is FIFA a global organisation? FIFA is undoubtedly one of the most powerful sporting organisations in the world. It controls world football and is comparable with the IOC as one of the most influential world sporting organisations. The growth of the game is such that it is estimated that, globally, the football industry is worth US\$250 billion annually, which means that it has a higher financial turnover than companies such as Mitsubishi or General Motors. If you look at the FIFA website, the organisation talks of FIFA as being the governing body of the world's most popular sport, a game played by some 200 million people throughout the world. It has more than 200 member organisations, more than any other sports organisation, including the International Olympic Committee. It talks of football moving millions on all continents; its emblem is two stylised footballs in the shape of the globe – the symbolic quotation 'of a global fraternity united in sport'. FIFA is supported by a worldwide spread of confederations that include the AFC in Asia, CONCACAF in North and Central America and the Caribbean, CONMEBOL in South America, UEFA in Europe and OFC in Oceania. Contracts for the rights to televise the 2002, 2006 and 2010 World Cups are such that television viewing in poorer regions such as parts of Africa and Asia is distributed free of charge, whereas special fees are charged to the wealthier nations of the world.

What is being suggested here is that much of the debate about global sport has tended to accept the idea of globalisation as, at least, an inexorable free-market process, which is best characterised through use of the term 'globalisation'. It might be suggested that the term 'internationalisation' is equally appropriate, if not more so, given that patterns of labour migration in sport have become increasingly international without specific trends developing along regional rather than global lines. As such, the terms 'global sport' and 'globalisation' need to be employed very carefully because of their analytical value in helping to portray a more reality-congruent picture of sport today.

The core issue is whether globalisation, and therefore global sport, can be regarded as having any defining contemporary order and legitimacy. There is reason for scepticism about globalisation as the exclusive hallmark of any contemporary world order. Rather than refer to one global order, it may be more reality-congruent to refer to global sport as being made up of an international order of globalised states. If it can be convincingly proven that global sport is not some entity that overrides the activities of states, and that globalisation is but an element of state transformation, then the notion of a globalised state can take precedence over globalisation. By extension, the notion of a more or less globalised state does not make redundant the notion of an international sporting order, or indeed an international order. Consequently, we arrive at the notion of an international sporting order consisting of global-

SPORT, GLOBALISATION AND OTHER COMMUNITIES

ised states that may provide a better normative framework for thinking about sport today. What might be distinctive about sport today is a merging of old and new international sporting orders in which the constituent actors are more or less globalised states.

Global or anti-global sport

There is considerable evidence of resistance to globalisation. We should acknowledge that the values associated with globalisation and global sport have been subject to pressures for change. The movement for global change is most commonly referred to as an anti-globalisation or anti-capitalist movement. Other terms that are sometimes associated with oppositional threads to globalisation are 'anti-free trade' and 'anti-imperialist'. Some have argued that this movement emerged in Seattle in the mid-1990s as a result of protests against the World Trade Organization and the International Monetary Fund. Others maintain that it began more than 500 years ago when colonists first told indigenous peoples that they were going to have to do things differently if they were to develop or be eligible for trade. Whatever the point of origin, the privatisation of every aspect of life and, in particular, the transformation of every activity and value into a commodity has resulted in a number of oppositional threads that have taken the form of many different campaigns and movements.

There are two competing concepts of anti-globalisation, one termed 'radical' and one termed 'moderate'. The radical wing views globalisation as a process largely designed to ensure that wealthy elites become wealthier at the expense of poorer countries. It would argue, for instance, that globalisation undermines the working conditions and pay of sports personnel in wealthy countries, while at the same time exploiting cheap sports labour in other parts of the world. The radical wing sees transnational corporations as the main cause of the problem, in that they have so much power that international sporting organisations undermine the power and decision making of national governing bodies of sport. Furthermore, it is suggested that indigenous sporting cultures have been threatened as a result of global sport or capitalist sport, which has tended to market uniform sports products across the globe. Whereas, 20 years ago, children in local communities might have worn the sports gear of local sports teams, children today tend to wear more uniform sports brands such as Nike. The view expressed here is that globalisation, as a process, is fundamentally flawed and immoral.

The moderate wing, although more difficult to define, tends to share the view that globalisation has the potential to be good or bad. It has the potential to provide for a sharing of cultures paid for out of the economic growth provided by free trade, but because the institutions and rules that govern the world are currently controlled by wealthy elites, then inequality, instability and injustice are inevitable. In a sporting context, a corollary of this might be to argue that traditional cultural rights and sporting traditions need to be at least equally recognised as socially and culturally, if not economically, as important as market-supported forms of commercialised sport. For the moderate wing, the solution to many of the above problems lies with reforming the institutions that govern world sport. Many non-Western countries are sceptical about anti-global or social movements that are rooted in the West.

SUMMARY

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SUMMARY

There is no single theory of globalisation or global sport. The idea of globalisation and global sport has become the source of intense political dispute. Perhaps the central argument in terms of globalisation has been the extent to which it promotes economic well-being throughout the world. For its proponents, the spread of free trade encourages enterprise, economic growth, jobs and wealth creation. For its critics, globalisation is seen as a key cause of rises in poverty and inequality. Global sport, like globalisation, operates unevenly, bypassing certain institutions, people and places. The impact of globalisation processes upon sport is one of the core areas of investigation and reflection in sport, culture and society. The way in which global sport seems to be changing has been the subject of heated debate. For its proponents, the sharing and cross-fertilisation of different sporting cultures and tastes is something to be celebrated. For its critics, global sport is seen to undermine traditional sporting heritages of nations that are key to people's sense of their belonging, and these have been undermined by the commingling of diverse sporting tastes and forms. Indigenous sporting cultures have been replaced by market-driven sport that can be sold in the marketplace or prove to be popular to television viewers.

The term 'anti-globalisation' has been associated with a movement for global change that is an extremely loose network of individuals and campaigning organisations seeking to transform the way in which globalisation is proceeding. Moved by the thesis that global relations are primarily antagonistic and adversarial rather than mutually supportive, anti-global protesters often see globalisation as imposing a number of penalties, such as the failure of global force to provide a moral voice. If a summary were possible of the basic differences between radical and moderate approaches to global sport, it might be along the following lines: while the radical wing sees fundamental flaws in the whole process of global sport, the moderate wing is more open to the potential good that may be derived from all forms of globalisation. The true potential of global sport for moderates is undermined by globalisation's domination by a neo-liberal agenda and undemocratic sporting structures.

Finally, it is worth re-asserting that the world is both spectacularly rich and distressingly impoverished. There is often an unprecedented richness of sporting choice in the contemporary world and yet it is also a world of impoverished choice. Depending upon where you are born, children can have the means, facilities and capability to have a sporting way of life or face the likelihood of desperately deprived lives, and even here sport has been seen to develop capability in some of the most impoverished parts of the planet. This is explored further in Part 4.

Some have suggested that the term 'international sport' might be a more reality-congruent term than 'global sport' given the debate on whether the global era has ended or not. The ideas associated with internationalism, cosmopolitanism and sport's dynamic role in the making of nations are examined further in the next chapter.

SPORT, GLOBALISATION AND OTHER COMMUNITIES

GUIDE TO FURTHER READING

- Allison, L. (2005). *The Global Politics of Sport*. London: Routledge.
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- Jung, W. and Maguire, J. (2009). 'Global Festivals through a National Prism. The Global National Nexus in South Korean Media Challenge of the 2004 Athens Olympic Games'. *International Review for the Sociology of Sport*, 44 (1): 5–25.
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- Sen, A. (2006). *Identity and Violence: The Illusion of Identity*. London: Allen Lane.
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QUESTIONS

- 1 What are the implications of globalisation for local, national and international sport?
- 2 What do the terms 'liberalism', 'capitalism' and 'globalism' mean?
- 3 Describe and evaluate any four themes that have contributed to the debate about global sport.
- 4 When did global sport come into being and how has it progressed to date?
- 5 What criticisms have been made of the values associated with global sport?
- 6 What is the cosmopolitan and local critique of global sport?
- 7 The debate about global sport has been dominated, in the late twentieth century, by figurational or process sociology. Does this approach offer an adequate framework for analysing global sport?
- 8 What does the evidence provided in Sport in Focus 5.2 actually tell us about one global sport?
- 9 What are the anti-global critiques of global sport?
- 10 What are some of the factors that affect the migration of athletes across the globe?

PRACTICAL

- 1 Empirically of your cho sports labour
- 2 Map out th Games since truly global
- 3 Using the G be used to s
- 4 Consult the on the natu a basis for different co
- 5 Write a rep sport.

KEY CONCE

Anti-globalisati
Internationalism
■ Transnationa

WEBSITES

Focus on the G
www.focusweb.org
A dedicated res
Hemisphere.

Global Social F
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The programme
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One World
www.oneworld.org
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PRACTICAL PROJECTS

- 1 Empirically calculate the migration of players from different countries into any sport of your choice over the period of one season. Describe and interpret the pattern of sports labour migration.
- 2 Map out the names of the different countries that have participated in the Olympic Games since 1948. Use this data to argue for or against the Olympic Games becoming truly global or simply international.
- 3 Using the Google search engine, develop five detailed case studies of sport that might be used to substantiate sport as a facet of anti-globalisation.
- 4 Consult the website of any major international sports organisation to obtain information on the nature and scale of its presence in different parts of the world. Use the data as a basis for finding out more about the organisation, its objectives, its investments in different countries and its policies towards all, or some parts, of the world.
- 5 Write a report of about 1,500 words on a web-based investigation into child labour in sport.

KEY CONCEPTS

Anti-globalisation ■ Capitalism ■ Constructivism ■ Cosmopolitanism ■ Globalisation ■ Internationalism ■ Liberalism ■ Marxist ■ Nationalism ■ Neo-liberalism ■ Realism ■ Transnational corporations

WEBSITES

Focus on the Global South

www.focusweb.org/

A dedicated resource that draws attention to campaigns and issues affecting the Southern Hemisphere.

Global Social Forum 2011

<http://fsm2011.org/en/frontpage>

The programme and debates from the 2011 Global Social Forum, including a concept note on the caravan of sport.

One World

www.oneworld.net

A dedicated resource promoting the concept of One World and the issues that affect it. Look at the issues affecting your country.

SPORT, GLOBALISATION AND OTHER COMMUNITIES

Globalization 101

www.globalization101.org/

A students' guide to globalisation.

The Global Site

www.theglobalsite.ac.uk

A gateway to world politics, society and culture.

Football Against Child Labour

www.un.org/pubs/chronicle/2002/p19

The UN Chronicle provides an archived list of articles. Use the search facility to identify all the articles relating to sport.



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PREVIEW

Key terms d
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