

Sport, Identity Politics, and Globalization: Diminishing Contrasts and Increasing Varieties

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Attention is given to a series of conceptual issues associated with understanding global sport development. Several weaknesses are identified. The figurational approach to the study of sportization and globalization is then outlined. Associations between sport, habitus, identity politics, "willful nostalgia," and globalization are examined, and a case study of nostalgia and male sporting and political disaster discourse in the British media over the past 2 years is used to highlight some of the issues involved in global sport development.

Cette étude porte sur une série de questions conceptuelles associées au développement du sport global. Plusieurs faiblesses sont identifiées, puis est discutée l'approche figurative pour l'étude de la sportivisation et de la globalisation. Les liens entre le sport, les habitus, la politique identitaire, la nostalgie et la globalisation sont examinés. Une étude de cas de la nostalgie et du discours sur le sport masculin et les désastres politiques dans les médias britanniques est utilisée pour éclairer certaines des questions concernant le développement du sport global.

The application of the concept of globalization to sport is still in its early stages. Yet, if its value to an understanding of local-global sport development is to be realized, some of the perceived weaknesses in approaches examining globalization processes need to be avoided. Discussion of the concept has been marked by a degree of confusion, and it is appropriate to clarify some specific features. In conducting this clarification, I extend and refine aspects of the figurational/process approach, especially as it applies to an understanding of global sport development.¹

The first part of this work, then, focuses on conceptual issues and attempts to outline, in preliminary form, a framework by which to understand global sport development. In the second part of the paper I concentrate on the interconnections between globalization and national habitus/identity. While this issue, and its relationship with globalization, has been considered elsewhere (Maguire, 1993a), in the present discussion I focus on one specific aspect, namely identity politics. In doing so, I structure my discussion around a series of issues that act as building

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blocks in the overall argument being presented. Associations between sport, identity politics, "willful nostalgia" (Robertson, 1990), and globalization are then examined. Although several general observations about sport are made, I anchor my comments with reference to one specific case study of nostalgia and *male* sporting and political disaster discourse in the British media over the past 2 years. Through this strategy, several apparently unconnected strands of globalization processes are brought together. These strands include diminishing contrasts between, and increasing varieties of, ethnic, gender, and national identities; invented traditions; habitus; waves of nostalgia; and global sportization processes.

Understanding Globalization Processes: Snares and Misinterpretations

Several competing traditions have sought to compare and contrast the development of different societies. These traditions include the modernization perspective, theories of imperialism, dependency theory, world system theory, and globalization research. More recently, these traditions have found expression in the study of sport, and several competing claims have been made regarding their adequacy (cf. Jarvie & Maguire, 1994, Chapter 10). I do not intend to evaluate the degree to which these traditions—or specific pieces of work within them—have variously advanced our collective fund of relatively adequate social scientific knowledge regarding the emergence, diffusion, and globalization of sport cultures. It is important, however, to take stock and to consider how the research agenda for the study of global sport might be and is being conceptualized. I am more concerned with avoiding some of the conceptual snares evident in the debates that have been generated by the antagonistic claims of the various traditions. These include, first, the recourse to dichotomous thinking; second, the use of monocausal logic and explanation; third, the tendency to view these processes as governed by either the intended or the unintended actions of groups of people; and fourth, the lack of an adequate account of gender power as it is represented and expressed in global processes.

If the recent literature in the sociology of sport is examined, several binary oppositions can be identified that structure debates about global sport developments. These include universalism versus particularism; homogenization versus differentiation; integration versus fragmentation; centralization versus decentralization; and juxtaposition versus syncretization. Further, the monocausal logic that has been evident centers variously on the technological, the economic, or the political. These tendencies are vividly evident in the recent debate published in the *Sociology of Sport Journal* (Guttmann, 1991; Kidd, 1991; Klein, 1991; Maguire, 1990; McKay & Miller, 1991; Wagner, 1990). More recently, Tomlinson (1993) has argued that globalization processes "are a lot more planned or intended" (1993, p. 40) than I have allegedly suggested. Unfortunately, such thinking remains locked in a 1970s conceptual time warp and fails to understand that an either/or resolution of this complex structured process is not adequate. Put simply, a balance or blend between intended ideological practices and unplanned sets of interdependencies structures globalization processes. The precise pattern must be studied empirically.² In addition, Wolfe (1991) has cogently argued that the omission of gender issues is a serious failing in globalization

research, and so I attempt to link aspects of globalization and nostalgia with gendered notions of national identities.

There is one further conceptual snare that must be avoided. The use of the globalization concept has prompted accusations from some quarters that analyses using the term *globalization* are automatically and/or implicitly emphasizing a homogenization thesis. Such analyses are then alleged to suggest that a global culture will, or has, emerged that will suspend or end conflict. But to associate the term *globalization* exclusively with such a modernization thesis, confirming the "triumph of the West" in some simple sense, seriously misunderstands a range of perspectives examining global development. Further, to suggest that such an approach assumes that all parties contribute equally in this global process is itself a parody of a set of complex arguments. If a closer inspection of globalization research is undertaken, several areas of agreement stand out (cf. Giddens, 1991; Harvey, 1989; King, 1991; McGrew, 1992; Robertson, 1992; Sklair, 1991; Smart, 1993).

Analyses deal with processes that transcend the boundaries of nation-states. These processes are not of recent origin; they involve an increasing intensification of global interconnectedness and are very long-term in nature. While they have not occurred evenly across all areas of the globe, the more recent history of these processes would suggest that the rate of change is gathering momentum, and despite the unevenness of these processes, it is more difficult to understand local or national experiences without reference to these global flows. The flow of leisure styles, customs, and practices from one part of the world to another, "long-haul" tourism, and global events such as music festivals and the Olympic games are examples of these processes at work. In addition, people's living conditions, beliefs, knowledge, and actions are intertwined, to varying degrees, with unfolding globalization processes. Such processes include the emergence of a global economy, a transnational cosmopolitan culture, and a range of international social movements.

Studies also identify a multitude of transnational or global economic and technological exchanges, communication networks, and migratory patterns that characterize this interconnected world pattern. People, and nation-states, are woven together in a tighter and deeper interdependency network. These globalization processes also appear to be leading people to experience spatial and temporal dimensions differently. There is a speeding up of time and a shrinking of space. Modern technologies enable people, images, ideas, and money to cross the globe with great rapidity. Finally, while these processes lead, as noted, to a greater degree of interdependence, and also to an increased awareness of a sense of the world as a whole, we also see a concomitant resurgence of the local/national. These elements are two sides of the same coin. People become more attuned to the notion that their local lives, and national place of living, are part of a single social space—the globe.

Diminishing Contrasts, Increasing Varieties, and the Commingling of Global Cultures

The representatives of cultures communicate and compete with each other in a more interdependent manner than was previously the case. For figurational

sociology such long-term globalization trends involve broad, multifaceted processes where no single causal factor predominates. These processes are the result of a complex interweaving of intended and unintended sets of interdependencies. A set of shifting power balances of class, gender, and ethnic allies and foes contour such global interchanges. Ideological practices by individuals, key state officials, and the representatives of transnational corporations, organizations, and capitalist classes figure strongly in this. Aspects of global sport development may be understood in these terms (cf. Gruneau & Whitson, 1993; Kidd, 1992; Klein, 1989; McKay & Miller, 1991). There are, however, dangers in overstating the knowledge and power of established groups and underestimating the knowledge and power of outsider groups (Elias & Scotson, 1965). At worst this leads to crude ideas of global conspiracy and to notions of cultural dupes.

The irony is that while these various elements do interweave to produce something that was neither planned nor intended by any single party, as groups they also retain a degree of relative autonomy from each other and from the general dynamic. The interweaving of these themes of societies, individuals, international relations, and humankind does not follow any single inexorable path (Mennell, 1990).³ Many different variants to the existing global pattern were possible in the past, and the making of future global patterns is also open-ended and subject to different permutations. The type of retrospective knowledge provided by such process sociology is a powerful corrective to those who claim to know the present (although without doing substantive research) and thus to be able to predict the future.⁴

Understood in this light, then, globalization processes involve multidirectional movements of people, practices, customs, and ideas. Yet, although the globe can be understood as an interdependent whole, in different figurational fields there are established (core) and outsider (peripheral) groups and nation-states each vying for position. Global processes are multidirectional, involve a series of power balances, and have *neither* the hidden hand of progress *nor* some overarching conspiracy guiding them. Thus, globalization processes have a blind, unplanned dimension to them and a relative autonomy from the intentions of specific groups of people. These processes are bound up in a multiple set of "disjunctures" (Appadurai, 1990). Given this perceived growth in the multiplicity of linkages and networks that transcend nation-states, it is not surprising that some writers identify a concomitant development of transnational cultures or, indeed, a unitary global culture. This process is seen to entail a shift from ethnic or national cultures to "supranational" forms based either upon the culture of a superpower or upon cosmopolitan communication and migrant networks (e.g., Americanization). But for figurational sociology, homogeneity, at least in any simple sense, is not a sufficient explanation of observed events.

The danger of overemphasizing the knowledge and power of more established groups has already been noted. Indigenous peoples from different cultures have a range of power and other resources available to them when their cultures communicate with and interact in various figurational fields of human interchange. Indeed, some cultures are so outside the global core that they either remain relatively unaffected or cannot interchange. Yet, even where more insider—or less outsider—cultures become the target of the conscious, and very powerful, attempts by representatives of transnational corporations and organizations to incorporate them into a global consumer marketplace, we should not overlook issues of interpretation, resistance, and "recycling."

These issues lie at the heart of identity politics. In the global flow of goods, services, and culture, indigenous groups are active in interpreting what they receive. People—whatever the unequal power relations—are not blank sheets on which transnational corporations imprint their commodified tastes. Indeed, people do not have one fixed, unchanging identity. In the multiple identities that compose a person's biography, involving class, gender, and ethnic dimensions, a dynamic interweaving occurs between the local, national, and transnational. A sense of place, of *heimat*, coexists with visions of "other" places. This interchange is itself subject to change over the life of an individual, the *longue duree* of a nation, and the expanding global fields.

There is no *single* global flow; in the interweaving of global scapes, disjunctures develop and cause a series of diverse, fluid, and unpredictable global conditions and flows. Competing and distinctive cultures are thus involved in an infinitely varied, mutual contest of *sameness* and *difference* across different figurational fields. Rejecting the idea of some global cultural homogeneity does not, however, mean accepting the idea of some haphazard, unstructured growth in global cultural diversity. In highlighting issues of homogeneity, and the mutual contest of sameness and difference in global cultural flows, the analysis can be developed with reference to the twin figurational concepts of diminishing contrasts and increasing varieties.

This has several benefits. These concepts arguably enable the analysis to steer a path between the excesses of aspects of the homogeneity thesis and the simplicities of the voluntarist assumption that individuals freely choose and cultures freely contribute, in equal measure, to global cultural diversity. These concepts also ensure that we place at the center of the analysis an issue crucial in globalization research (Robertson, 1992), namely, a serious comparison of contemporary civilizations in the context of the debate surrounding nationalism, globalization, and modernity. In a similar vein, Arnason perceptively notes, "among the identities that are thus reinforced and reoriented by the global context, civilizational complexes and traditions are not the least important" (1990, p. 224). The concepts of diminishing contrasts and increasing varieties, overlooked in Robertson's review, help in more adequately conceptualizing such an analysis and assist in making sense of the global diffusion, patterning, and differential popularization of sports.⁵ Finally, when attention is focused on these concepts, aspects of the Eliasian approach to sport can be refined and extended. I begin by constructing, in preliminary form, the conceptual structure for a theory of global sport development.

Diminishing contrasts and increasing varieties have not been given due prominence in previous figurational accounts. This may explain, in part, some of the misunderstandings and misinterpretations that have arisen over the past 3 decades. No sociological approach remains static, and highlighting these concepts makes it clear that greater common ground exists between figurational sociology and some other approaches than is perhaps realized or accepted.⁶ An important peculiarity of the European civilizing process, as studied by Elias, is that there occurred in its course a reduction in the contrasts within societies as well as between and within individuals. Despite the tendency of more powerful groups to use social customs and conduct to distinguish themselves from their social inferiors, a gradual commingling of patterns of conduct derived initially from very different social strata gradually took place. The dynamics at work within and between Western societies involved a process of reciprocal supervision of

people's behavior. Throughout these civilizing processes there has been a "double-bind" tendency at work (Elias, 1939/1982). In phases of colonization, members of the established upper class, intentionally or otherwise, interact with and colonize the culture of others. They permeate the lower or outsider class with their pattern of conduct. As this colonization process gains momentum, "phases of repulsion" occur. That is, the upper classes build social barriers between themselves and the groups they colonize and whom they consider inferiors. This strict regulation of established conduct is especially intense when the colonizers feel threatened as the colonized gain in power. Despite building social barriers and being constantly vigilant, the upper classes cannot prevent a gradual flow of "distinguished" models of conduct into other strata. Eventually, this process leads to a reduction in differences of social power and conduct.

Markedly similar processes are at work in relations between Western societies and non-Western societies. In world terms Western societies were (and still are?) the equivalent of the established groups within particular European nations. The spread of "civilized" patterns of conduct occurred through the settlement of Occidentals or through the assimilation of the upper strata of other nations. Crucially, the same double-bind tendencies that marked the upper classes' colonization of outsiders within the West were evident and remain so in the West's dealings with outsider (non-Western) nations and peoples. With this spread came a particular contested view of civilization—of humanity as a whole. In this connection Western societies were acting as a form of established group on a world level (Elias, 1939/1982, p. 255). Their tastes and conduct, including their sports, were part of this, and these practices acted in ways similar to the elite cultural activities within Western societies. They were signs of distinction, prestige, and power. Just as the established groups within Western societies found that their distinguishing conduct flowed, intentionally or unintentionally, across social strata, so the Occidentals of the colonies also discovered that a similar process occurred in their dealings with their colonial social inferiors. Indeed, as a result of this cultural interchange, non-Western codes and customs began to permeate back into Western societies.

These cross-cultural processes were characterized by a combination of intentional and unintentional features. The manner and form of these processes of commingling were dependent on several factors including the form of colonization; the position of the area in the large network of political, economic, and military interdependencies; and the particular region's history and structure. Processes of commingling were (and are) characterized by unequal power relations. One means by which the established Western elites maintained their status and distinction was through the exercise of specific forms of conduct. An example of this was their recourse to specific status-enhancing sporting practices. Nevertheless, the social barriers built between themselves and the native outsiders proved semipermeable.

The contrast between Western and non-Western societies did indeed begin to diminish. However, the form and extent to which Western values spread through specific regions reflect the history and structure of the areas in question. This also applies in the diffusion of non-Western conduct back to specific Western nations. Established and outsider groups were and are active in the interpretation of Western and non-Western conduct and cultural forms. Contrary to the conclusions of Robertson (1992), this recognition pointed to the possibility that existing and new varieties of civilized conduct could survive and emerge:

In colonial regions too, according to the position and social strength of the various groups, Western standards are spreading downwards and occasionally even upwards from below, if we may adhere to this spatial image, and fusing to form new unique entities, new varieties of civilised conduct. *The contrasts in conduct between the upper and lower groups are reduced with the spread of civilisation; the varieties or nuances of civilised conduct are increased.* (Elias, 1939/1982, p. 255, italics in original)

This approach rejects the idea that the spread or diffusion of styles of behavior depends solely on the activities of established groups. A two-way process of cultural interaction crosses the semipermeable barriers that established groups—both within Western societies and between them and non-Western societies—deploy to maintain their distinctiveness, power, and prestige. The more they become interconnected with outsider groups, the more they depend on them for social tasks. As this happens, the contrasts between established and outsider diminish. The power ratio between these groups moves in an equalizing direction. Concomitantly, new styles of conduct emerge (Elias, 1939/1982, p. 256). As civilized forms of conduct spread across both the rising lower classes of Western society and the different classes of the colonies, an amalgamation of the Western and the indigenous patterns occurs. Each time this happens upper class conduct and that of the rising groups interpenetrate. People placed within this situation attempt to reconcile and fuse the pattern of “occidentally civilized societies with the habits and traditions of their own society” and in this they achieve a “higher or lesser degree of success” (Elias, 1939/1982, pp. 309–314). The processes identified within the West and in the dealings between the West and non-Western societies also occur within former colonial nations. As the rising classes of these nations become more independent they too attempt to distinguish their behavior. This attempt reflects not only the history and structure of the region in question but also the specific dynamics of the new amalgam that emerged between themselves and the former masters. Just as their former masters became bound to them, they become bound to the rising class situated below them in the social stratification hierarchy.⁷

In sum, four key insights can be identified: the concepts of diminishing contrasts and increasing varieties, the idea of the commingling of Western and non-Western cultures, the subsequent emergence of a new amalgam, and the ongoing attempts by established groups to integrate outsiders as workers and/or consumers. This is the conceptual framework within which I consider sportization, globalization, nostalgia, and national habitus/identities.

Sportization, Globalization, and National Habitus/Identities: The Commingling of Global Sports Cultures

In drafting a preliminary schema of global sport development I focus on the connections between sport, nostalgia, and identity politics. Figurational sociologists have for some time used the term *sportization* to describe aspects of the process of the emergence and initial intra-British state diffusion of modern sport. Sportization and parliamentization, as they emerged in the 18th century, were both characteristic of the same change in the power structure of England and in the social habitus of that class of people who emerged from antecedent

struggles as the ruling group. The initial sportization of pastimes occurred in two main phases: a 17th- and 18th-century phase in which the principal pastimes that began to emerge as modern sports were cricket, fox hunting, horse racing, and boxing, and a second, 19th-century phase in which soccer, rugby, tennis, and track and field began to take on modern forms.⁸

More recently, Dunning (1992) has argued that in the European case there are several principal requirements for such an analysis: (a) Very long term structured processes are involved; (b) there is a varying balance of centripetal and centrifugal forces involved in the developing chains of interdependence; (c) there is a need to examine the changing balance of power between those groups and institutions that benefit and those that lose out at various stages in this process; and (d) there is a need to avoid both natiocentrism and Eurocentrism and to view the emergent European sport figurations in the context of a wider, and increasingly global, network of interdependencies. These observations have been complemented by other figurational work that also sheds light on the European and international expansion of sports (Maguire, 1988, 1990, 1993a, 1994; Stokvis, 1989; Van Bottenburg, 1992) and has begun to provide the empirical underpinning to more general statements about the phenomenon. For present purposes it is sufficient to note that Stokvis, for example, points to the status competition between social groups within specific societies to account for the differential popularization of sports within European nations. In some ways this complements the points made using the twin figurational concepts of diminishing contrasts and increasing varieties.

This argument may be developed by proposing a third sportization phase during the late 19th and early 20th centuries overlapping with a fourth phase that lasted from the 1920s to the 1960s. In this fourth phase, sportization processes were powered by Western notions; struggles between the Western core and non-Western nations were, however, evident. In addition, there were also struggles for ascendancy between the core nations themselves. More recently, beginning in the late 1960s, a fifth phase of sportization processes began to unfold (see Figure 1). The emergence and diffusion of these modern sporting forms on a global scale are closely connected to broader globalization/civilizing processes.

The third sportization phase entailed the differential diffusion of "English" sport forms to continental Europe and to both the formal and informal British Empire. The remarks made by one historian, Ensor, highlight the British perception of this diffusion. In commenting on "the development of organised games," Ensor observed that "this . . . may rank among England's leading contributions to world culture" (1936, p. 164). Whatever the merits of this evaluation, such diffusion was closely connected to two interrelated processes: the emergence of intense forms of nationalism, and a spurt in globalization processes. During this period we see the intensification of national sentiment, the emergence of ethnic nation-states, and the invention of traditions. Sport played a crucial role in this connection. Hobsbawm, for example, noted that "the last three decades of the nineteenth century marked a decisive transformation in the spread of the old, the invention of the new and the institutionalization of most sports on a national and even international stage" (Hobsbawm, 1983, p. 298).

In this way, sport synthesized people's habitus with the ongoing invention of political and social traditions to provide the medium for and barometer of national identification and competitive community struggle. Although Hobsbawm is correct to point out that the "rise of sport provided new expressions of

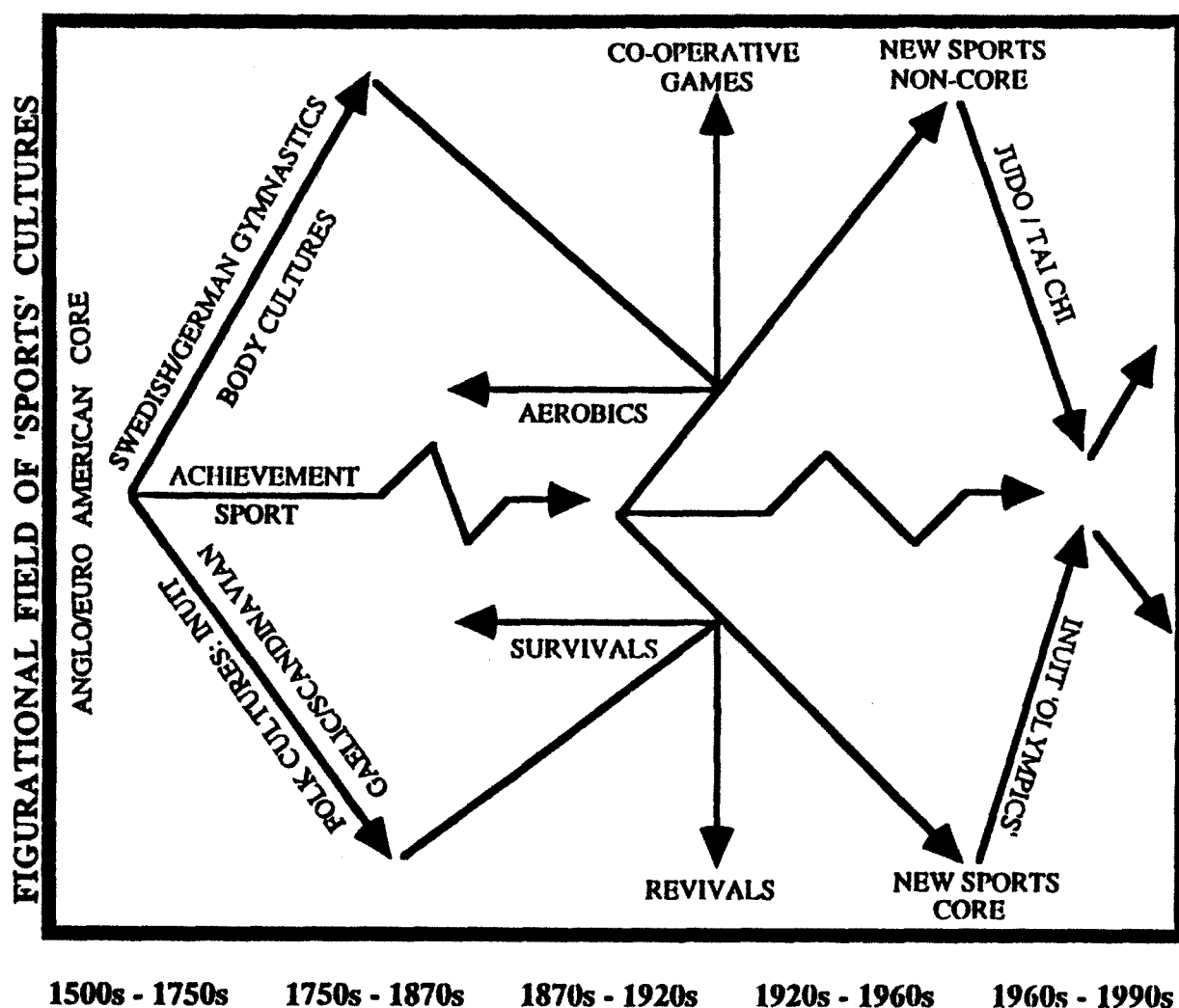


Figure 1 — Preliminary model of diminishing contrasts and increasing varieties in global sportization processes.

nationalism through the choice or invention of nationally specific sports'' (1983, p. 300), for example, Welsh rugby, it is also important to note that such nations were doing so in the context of the dominant standard setter, the English. Equally, while Hobsbawm observes that ''international contests served to underline the unity of nations or empires much in the way inter-regional contests did'' (1983, p. 300), this formulation overlooks the connection between the sportization process, national habitus/identity formation, and globalization.

During what Robertson, borrowing from W.W. Rostow, terms the ''take-off'' phase of globalization—the 1870s to the mid-1920s—''the increasingly manifest globalizing tendencies of previous periods and places gave way to a single, inexorable form'' (Robertson, 1992, p. 59). When this statement is viewed from the vantage point of diminishing contrasts and increasing varieties, there is some room to doubt its unilinear and absolute nature. Nevertheless, several indices of this takeoff phase can be identified: an increase in the number of international agencies, the growth of increasingly global forms of communication, the development of global competitions and prizes, and the development of standard notions of rights, citizenship, and humanity that are increasingly standardized internationally. It is suggested here that the third phase of sportization connects to this takeoff phase. Several aspects of sports development highlight these interconnections. The last quarter of the 19th century, for example, witnessed the emergence and spread of sport, the establishment of international sports

organizations, the growth of competition between national teams, the worldwide acceptance of rules governing specific sport forms, and the establishment of global competitions such as the Olympic games. The 20th-century establishment of world championships in many sports is also indicative of the occurrence of globalization processes in the sports world.

Several important issues are raised by these interconnections. In this phase of sportization, Westerners, and in particular the English, were the dominant "players." But they were not alone: Danish and Swedish gymnastics, the German *Turnverein* movement, and the spread of *skiidraet* from Norway to North America, and beyond, are all examples of the Europeanization phase in global sport development. Though the diffusion of sport personnel, forms, ideologies, and images was not part of some global marketing ploy, at this stage it did reflect the prevailing balance of power in cultural interchange. Increasingly, however, North American sport personnel, forms, ideologies, and images began to compete with and supersede their English equivalents. During the 1920s and 1930s, sports such as baseball, basketball, ice hockey, and volleyball diffused to those parts of the world more centrally linked to the American sphere of influence—Europe, South America, and parts of the Asian Pacific rim. Again to use Robertson's phrase, there has been a "struggle for hegemony" since the 1920s, but in sport this occurred not only between the West and the rest, but also within the West itself.

While there were intended and unintended aspects to this process, the main long-term effect was a reduction in the contrasts between global sports cultures. In addition, some of the more recent aspects of global sport development had their equivalents in the third and fourth sportization phases. For example, during earlier phases, attempts were made to establish transnational teams to compete against what was rapidly coming to be the most powerful sporting nation, the United States of America. This is evident in the attempts to form a British Empire team for the 1912 Stockholm Olympics. Given the concern here with identity politics, it is significant that, as Jobling notes, difficulties arose with regard to "the definition of a nation" (1986, p. 102). This attempt to form a transnational team parallels the efforts, in the fifth sportization phase (since the 1960s), to form "European" teams to play the U.S. in sports such as golf and tennis. During the 1991 Ryder Cup golf competition between the U.S. and Europe, several American players took to wearing "Desert Storm" caps, embracing the flag, and engendering a strong sense of insider American identity and establishing the Europeans as the outsiders.

More recently, European Union flags adorned the British venue of the 1993 Ryder Cup competition and the 1994 European track-and-field championships held in Helsinki. Yet, traditional sports bind people to those dominant invented traditions associated with "nation"/sport formation in the third sportization phase. Just as a British Empire team was not formed because of assertive colonial nationhood, the European Union's own proposal regarding the entry of a common European team for future Olympic competitions was firmly rejected by community citizens. Indeed, the national Olympic committees of the 12 nations that then made up the European Union also rejected these overtures. Folk games survive, but not as exemplars of postmodern culture, and both regional and national identity politics are still a crucial part of European life (Nelson, Roberts, & Veit, 1992).

From the 1920s to the late 1960s, then, the West regulated the field of play, sport organizations, the surplus value associated with sporting festivals, and the ideological meanings associated with such events. Western and non-Western people

actively—as opposed to passively—embraced some aspects of the sports that diffused out of the Anglo/Euro-American core. Galtung is right to assert that sport was and is a “carrier of deep culture and structure” (1982, p. 136), and in the fourth phase this culture was Western in orientation. Indeed, sport can be said to have become a “global idiom” in this phase. Globalizing sport also entailed a specific type of Western masculine culture. More recently, Galtung correctly argued that sport is “one of the most powerful transfer mechanisms for culture and structure ever known to humankind,” but in suggesting this he overstates the extent to which Western domination of global sport cultures was and is complete (1991, p. 150). As Said noted, “It was the case nearly everywhere in the non-European world that the coming of the white man brought forth some sort of resistance” (1993, p. xii). On occasions, not only do non-Western people resist and reinterpret Western masculine sport personnel, forms, models, and marketing, but they also maintain, foster, and promote, on a global scale, their indigenous recreational pursuits.

While Galtung may be correct to suggest that competitive sports carry a “message of western social cosmology” (1982, p. 137), this does not mean that people from nonoccidental or indeed occidental cultures accepted them uncritically between the 1920s and the late 1960s. Studies of Trobriand cricket (Cashman, 1988), baseball in Japan (Snyder & Spreitzer, 1984), the diffusion of sport to Papua New Guinea (Seward, 1986), and the early 20th-century development of “Finnish baseball” (Meinander, 1992) all highlight the dynamic interchange between the local, the national, and the global. Indeed, indigenous cultures have proved adept at embracing a sport form, reinventing it, and then recycling it back to the country of origin. Ironically, American football is a prime example of this (Maguire, 1990).⁹ In turn, the core country also embraces cultural flows from the outsider culture, and the reinvented sport form diffuses further around the core. The diffusion of Canadian ice hockey illustrates the processes involved. It should also be observed that this phase of sportization/globalization witnessed the slow decline of modern sport’s founding nation. In the emerging global sport figuration, Englishmen were being beaten—in the early stages of this fourth phase, by fellow Occidentals—at games that they felt they had, by birthright, a god-given right to win.

Whereas the fourth phase of sportization clearly involved an elaborate political economy in which hegemonic control of sport lay with the West, control was never complete. Resistance took a variety of forms such as the cold-war rivalry that was also played out in the sports world. There also occurred the slow assertion of women’s rights and the challenge to hegemonic masculinity. The latter stages of this fourth phase were also characterized by the rise of non-Western nations to sporting prominence and, sometimes, preeminence. Non-Western nations began to beat their former colonial masters, especially the English. This process has intensified in the fifth phase of sportization beginning in the late 1960s and is apparent in a range of sports including badminton, cricket, soccer, table tennis, and track and field. Here, African, Asian, and South American nations were and are increasingly to the fore.

Anglo/Euro-American control of global sport has also waned off the playing field. The control of international sport organizations and the Olympic movement is beginning, although slowly and unevenly, to slip out of the exclusive hands of the West. These trends are being reinforced by the accelerating commingling process occurring between sport cultures. Eastern martial arts as well a range of

folk games are diffusing into and around the Western core. The media sport production complex markets "sameness"—especially in the form of American sports—and the global political economy that regulates global flows ensures that the "local" does not freely choose which cultural products are consumed (Maguire, 1990, 1993b). Yet, this should not lead the analysis to overlook the point that global marketing strategies also celebrate difference (Hall, 1991a). That is, the cultural industries constantly seek out new varieties of ethnic wares. These ethnic wares are targeted at specific niches within a local culture. The spread of Japanese Sumo to Britain is an example of this. There is also reason to suggest that national cultures and identities most affected by these processes appear to be those at the center, not the periphery, of the global system. Globalization processes are also unevenly distributed within central regions.

Just as in music (Hall, 1992, pp. 38-39) and food (Mennell, 1985), so too in sport, this fifth phase of global sportization involves the creolization of sports cultures. When both national identity itself and the sport forms of the culture as a whole are undergoing a pluralization process, it is increasingly difficult to sustain the notion that a single sport represents the nation. The global movement of sport labor reinforces the problems of multiculturalism and polyethnicity (Maguire, 1994). With these trends in mind, perhaps it is less surprising that Western sport personnel and administrators may be experiencing aspects of the self-doubt and uncertainty that Robertson detects in Western nations in general in the most recent globalization phase. These sport processes may parallel what Hall, discussing culture more generally, has termed the "decentring of the west" (Hall, 1991a, 1991b).

While the contrasts between cultures may have diminished, there has also been an increase in the varieties of habitus/identity available. The involvement of Swedes, Spaniards, Italians, and Germans in both the men's Ryder Cup and women's Solheim Cup golf competitions also illustrates growing sport culture diversity. In a recent Wales B versus Japan rugby international, for example, at least seven of the players were born in nations other than those competing. This, in microcosm, highlights the more general issues underpinning sports labor migration. The marketing of difference, unintentionally or otherwise, reinforces these processes. Again, this marketing strategy is unevenly distributed within and between regions in the global system. In the wake of these processes, a degree of pluralization has developed. This is hardly surprising if one bears in mind the idea of a commingling of cultures. These commingling processes involve the movement of people as well as of styles, images, commodities, and consumer identities. As these processes gather momentum new power balances have emerged and new identities have been forged.

Globalization, Identity Politics, and "Willful Nostalgia"

If this overview of sportization/globalization processes has any adequacy, it still leaves an immense amount of further clarification and empirical work to be done. I concentrate on one aspect of this process by examining some connections that can be made between sportization, globalization, and national identity politics. This issue concerns the construction and representation of willful nostalgia. Through examination of links between nostalgia, globalization, and the dislocating elements within British society, aspects of the theoretical position can be extended and the case study that follows contextualized. This case study

links political and sporting discourses evident in the British media over the past 2 years. It focuses on a sense of national angst, malaise, and a longing for some mythical golden age and what might be termed "homefulness." Underpinning the construction and representation of national identities is a sense of nostalgia that is engendered, represented, and embodied. The question concerns how people who compose societies remember (Connerton, 1989). One dominant way is through embodied male sport habitus/identity practices.

Identities are not natural, nor are they fixed. Rather, identities are socially constructed and are subject to change over time and across place. People have multiple identities that are formed and transformed in social interaction. That is, people's identities are composed of a set of interwoven features that have, as Smout (1993) notes, both territorial and nonterritorial aspects. He views these elements in terms of a set of concentric rings, with the family at the core and the supranational at the periphery. This tends, however, to perpetuate an egocentric view of identity and society. For figurational sociologists, it is more appropriate to view people's multiple identities as expressed in terms of networks of interdependencies, with aspects of identity intersecting across time and space (Elias, 1978, pp. 14-15; Mennell, 1994).

Multiple identities—of which national identity is a key feature—are constructed by a process of cultural representation. In this interchange, there are dominant, emergent, and residual notions of identity. The dominant view of identity tends to invent a specific origin and tradition, recount common experiences, and emphasize a view of who belongs and who does not belong. These are crucial issues in identity politics. Questions such as, Who am I? Who is like me? and, Where do I belong? are central to notions of self and group identity politics (Gitlin, 1993). Key themes that arise based on these questions include the recognition of difference, the contestation of dominant notions of sameness, and an emphasis on historically silent self and group identities finding their voices and recording multiple, not singular, views of history.

For figurational sociologists the use of personal pronouns (I, you, he, she, we, they) can help in unlocking these sets of interchanges. A person's identity is closely connected with the "we" and "they" relationships of one's own group and with one's position within those units of which one speaks as "we" and "they" (Elias, 1978, p. 128). But figurational sociologists are not only concerned with how identities are related to the ongoing invention of traditions. The latter deals with identity at a higher level of consciousness. Of equal concern is a person's habitus and how this is interwoven with long-term societal processes. Mennell rightly notes that the "various layers of habitus simultaneously present in people today may be of many different vintages" (1994, p. 178).

Clearly, sport is an arena where processes of personal habitus/identity testing and formation are conducted. Sport plays an important role in embodying multiple notions of identity. Different sports represent individuals, communities, regions, and nations, and a key feature of the sports process is that it is used by different groups, established as well as emergent or outsider groups, to represent, maintain, and/or challenge identities. Sports have performed this role since they became important national practices in the 1880s (Maguire, 1993a). During the takeoff phase of globalization that witnessed, as noted, an intensification of national sentiment, various practices came to symbolize national identity and sovereignty. These include the use of the national flag, anthem, and emblem (Hobsbawm, 1983, p. 11; Smith, 1991, p. 77). Significantly, all three symbols

became central in many sport practices during this period. Sport practices became occasions for competitive national self-assertion. Discussing the role that sport plays in this regard, Hobsbawm notes,

What has made sport so uniquely effective a medium for inculcating national feelings, at all events for males, is the ease with which even the least political or public individuals can identify with the nation as symbolized by young persons excelling at what practically every man wants . . . to be good at. The imagined community of millions seems more real as a team of eleven named people. (Hobsbawm, 1983, p. 143)

There is much that is of interest in these observations. For example, feminist scholars have contributed greatly to our collective stock of social scientific knowledge of how sport acts as a male preserve. Historically, modern sport was formed by and for men. Sport embodied male values and its practices expressed male identities. When some Victorian Englishwomen entered this domain they had to “play like gentlemen, and behave like ladies” (Hargreaves, 1994, p. 68). Sport, along with other daily practices and rituals, contributed in an unnoticed way to a process by which Victorian Englishmen and Englishwomen imagined themselves as gendered and ethnic subjects. If a person’s habitus is the site of social memories, then clearly the legacies of Empire are still alive, if not well. For the practices of nationhood and national identity are also the expression of male identity. Little wonder then that sports play such an important role in representing these embodied identity-forming traditions.

It is clear, therefore, as Wolfe remarks, that “identity is always gendered” (1991, p. 169). Global flows and practices are also bound up in questions of gender identity—family, sexuality, desire, and male power (Wolfe, 1991). The phenomenon of sport labor migration is a case in point. The movement of sport labor is predominantly, though not exclusively, the preserve of men (Maguire, 1994). Their ability to move over time and across space is based on a patriarchal structure that ensures that it is usually women who perform domestic labor, whether in the company of their traveling partners or waiting at home (Gulati, 1993; Massey, 1994). For Wolfe, the task in globalization research is to connect this domestic sphere and the sexual division of labor with the global/public world of politics, economics, and institutions. It therefore becomes crucial to trace the interconnections between these spheres in the context of globalization processes. For Rose (1993), examination of the gendered body is crucial in this connection. The following case is illustrative of the issues involved.

Welsh rugby is seen by some observers as embodying the “nation.” But whose nation? Clearly, the sport highlights the distinctive Welsh flag, anthem, and emblem. Through the team the (Welsh) “dragon” lives on.¹⁰ International matches highlight the choral skills of the men. On the field, a tough masculine sport—echoing the manly codes of the once mighty mining industry—is played against outsiders. Match day is a male occasion, with the players depicted as representing a people whose nationhood has been denied them by the English. Victories on the field symbolically right the wrongs that have been done to the Welsh over time. The comments by Phil Bennett, then Welsh captain, addressing his players in 1977, illustrate what is at stake:

These English you’re just going out to meet have taken our coal, our water, our steel: they buy our houses and live in them a fortnight a year. Gareth,

they're taking your very life, your fishing, boy, by buying up all the fishing rights on our beautiful rivers. Down the centuries these English have exploited and pillaged us—and we're playing them this afternoon boys. (*Guardian*, February 2, 1993, p. 18).

With comments of this nature, it is less surprising to find that matches between the English and Welsh are fierce, tough, masculine affairs. Whereas in the 1970s the Welsh were the dominant rugby nation—at least in the northern hemisphere—by the late 1980s and early 1990s the English were in the ascendant. In the buildup to one of the most recent confrontations in February 1993, the players were again depicted not only as men standing in a long line of fellow players who had repelled “perfidious Albion” but also as men whose deeds would echo the masculine courage displayed by Welsh regiments who had fought for the British (English) Empire. The three-quarter line wearing the red shirts of the Welsh were represented as the equivalent of the thin redcoat line that held Rourke’s Drift against the Zulus in the 1880s (*Independent*, February 8, 1993, p. 21). As in this famous battle, the Welsh rugby team won against the odds. Celebrating this unexpected victory over the English, rugby correspondent Clem Thomas noted,

Once it has sunk in today, the singing in the chapels will be heavenly and afterwards the pubs will be joyfully overflowing and the Welsh womenfolk will be baking their Welsh cakes and taking their men to their bosoms. Which is what rugby is all about. (*The Observer*, February 7, 1993, p. 63)

Here, in cameo, are gendered notions of sport and national identity vividly displayed in what Schwarz has termed “daily unnoticed practices” (1992, p. 203). Further, these references to the role that Welsh regiments played in forging the Empire connect to the interrelated issues of masculinity, imperialism, and identity. Said’s recent study of culture and imperialism alludes to the gendered nature of the processes involved. Discussing Rudyard Kipling’s novel *Kim*, Said observes that

We should not be mistaken about these boyish pleasures. They did not contradict the overall political purpose of British control over India and Britain’s other overseas dominions: on the contrary, *pleasure*, whose steady presence in many forms of imperial-colonial writing as well as figurative and musical art is often left undiscussed, is an undeniable component of *Kim*. (Said, 1993, p. 166)

Just as Said demonstrates how the study of novels can reveal aspects of the relations between imperialists and colonials, so sport can also be used to highlight the issue of identity politics.¹¹ Confirmation of this comes from Birley’s discussion of cricket. In this regard he notes that the code of sportsmanship was what “distinguished British imperialism from other brands” (Birley, 1979, p. 71). Advocates of such beliefs could still be found in the 1920s (and perhaps today?). Emphasizing the “leadership by men whose character and hearts have flourished in the sunshine of . . . fair play,” Sir Theodore Cook observed,

The code . . . which is common to every true subject of the British Crown; the arguments which are native to the English because they are drawn from the most deep-seated instincts of the English race—the instincts of sportsmanship and fair play. (Cook, 1927, cited in Birley, 1979, p. 72)

Cook's work was an elaboration of Newbolt's *Vitai Lampada*. Weaving together sport, (cricket) notions of masculine chivalry, and national identity, he concluded, "It is almost tempting to try and discover whether the sporting instinct that brought us safe through the Great War was not the offspring of a far older racial characteristic which had been in the English fibre ever since England was a nation that could hold her own abroad" (Cook, 1927, cited in Birley, 1979, p. 72). Here, writ large, we have the links between gendered identity, sport, and nationality displayed in a clear-cut manner. Such sentiments have not simply withered away with the end of the Empire but survive at various sporting bastions of invented Englishness. At Wimbledon, for example, the entrance to center court is adorned with a line of verse from Kipling (often considered the poet of Empire). The verse exhorts the players to "treat those impostors triumph and disaster just the same." Such sentiments still guide aspects of current sporting and political discourse (Maguire, 1993a) and are all too evident in the nostalgic response of sections of English society to the political, economic, social, and sporting disasters that befell the nation over the past 2 years.

Nostalgia as a concept has a long history in western traditions. Persons so afflicted are seen not to feel comfortable in their time/space, with their world. As Turner remarks, "For the nostalgic, the world is alien" (1987, p. 149). The same can be said for sections of the English today. Closely linked to nostalgia is a sense of melancholy, a longing for a time, a place, or, sometimes, a person. These embodied feelings can affect us in different ways. Some individuals, and people in some societies, may be more nostalgia prone than others. Four main dimensions of nostalgic discourse have been identified (Turner, 1987), and each is evident in the discourses underpinning media reporting of sporting and political disasters in British society over the past 2 years. The first includes a sense of historical decline or loss, a departure from some mythical golden age of homefulness evident, for example, in the problems created by the loss of the British Empire. Second, there is a sense of the absence or loss of personal wholeness and moral certainty. In this regard, the pluralization of morals, the questioning of religious certainty, and the emergence of multiculturalism affect British society in a variety of ways. The third involves a concomitant sense of loss of individual freedom, autonomy, and personal authenticity. The perceived threats posed by European integration to national sovereignty and the liberties of the "free-born" English are to the fore in this discourse, exemplified by Prime Minister Major's address to the Conservative party conference in 1992:

I will never, come hell or high water, let our distinctive British identity be lost in a federal Europe. . . . And if there are those who have in mind to haul down the union jack and fly high the star-spangled banner of a United States of Europe, I say to them: you misjudge the temper of the British people. (*Guardian*, October 10, 1992, p. 2)

The fourth links this nostalgic discourse with the perceived and actual loss of rural life, traditional stability, and cultural integration. This is vividly encapsulated

in speeches by John Major that evoke a specific aspect of the British past and emphasize the “essentials” of Englishness. Addressing the same party conference, Major concluded with an assurance that Britain would survive, 50 years hence, in its unamendable essentials. It would remain “the country of long shadows on county [cricket] grounds, warm beer, invincible green suburbs, dog lovers and pools fillers” (*Guardian*, April 23, 1993, p. 1). These elements were captured in a cartoon in the *Independent on Sunday* (April 25, 1993, p. 24) 2 days later (Figure 2).¹²

Such rhetoric overlooks the contested gendered nature of being British and collapses the notion of being a Briton with being English. The discourse evident in some English sport forms (e.g., cricket) reinforces such sentiments. Yet, in other sports (e.g., rugby union) the contentious nature of identity is only too evident. In this respect, Britain appears to be a culture that is particularly prone to intermittent nostalgic crises. While these insights are fruitful, there is also a need to explore the sociogenesis of nostalgia in a broader manner that explores the circumstances that both generate periodic bouts of nostalgia and are currently engendering a sense of dislocation in the English. We need a developmental account that places the processes of national habitus/identity on a broader canvas. During the takeoff phase of globalization, corresponding with the third phase in sportization processes, a tide of embodied nostalgia swept across established and



Figure 2 — Cricket, Major, and English identity. From the *Independent on Sunday*, April 25, 1993, p. 24, with permission of the *Independent on Sunday* and Chris Riddell.

emergent Western nations. The interwoven processes that globalization entails set in motion a form of cultural politics that found expression in willful nostalgia. Britannia was seen to rule the waves.

In this period there was a clear connection between nation-state formation, cultural identity politics, and the global diffusion of sport. Since the late 1960s humanity has experienced, to a greater or lesser extent, another major phase of globalization. There is a connection between this and the fifth phase of sportization processes. The accelerating speed and changing form of globalization have led to an exacerbation of the tendencies, in some cultures more than others, toward the construction and representation of nostalgia. This is evident in the discourse underpinning commentary on English sporting and political disasters. In the new global figuration, Englishmen were and are being beaten at their own games. Their refuge is nostalgia; their last bastion is patriotism.

This more recent phase of globalization also involves the reconstruction and problematization of the four key reference points of globalization identified by Robertson (1990; 1992, p. 27). With regard to each reference point, Britain and its citizens provide an ideal typical exemplar of the processes at work. At the level of national societies, for example, problems of heterogeneity and diversity have arisen. Internal and external pressures have developed that seek to reconstruct collective identities along pluralistic lines. Closely connected to this is the process by which individuals have become subject to competing ethnic, cultural, and religious reference points. The system of international interdependency chains in which Britain is located has also become more fluid, multipolar, and dynamic. European, Commonwealth, and United Nations networks are undergoing processes of rapid change. The loss of positions of power in sporting politics coincides with decline in global political terms. The idea of humankind has also become more contested and open to critical scrutiny. Perhaps it is less surprising to observe that, in some societies, nostalgic resistance to globalization processes has grown more intense. In the identity politics of modern Britain, the fragile male "little Englander" wrestles with more fluid, more pluralistic, and less male-defined global identities. In the male versions of sports such as cricket, rugby union, and soccer this struggle is most evident.

Sporting Disasters, National Malaise, and the Identity Politics of Willful Nostalgia

"Our streets are no longer safe, we're giving up power to Brussels, we can't even win at cricket anymore. Whatever happened to the English?" (*Guardian*, July 28, 1993, p. 2). This observation links a set of sociocultural and political problems that have been perceived as besetting Britain especially over the past year or so. Though contoured by short-term dynamics, they are also part of the long-term dislocating trends evident in that society. They include but are not means exhausted by the following: economic decline and the attendant problems of mass unemployment; the loss of Empire and the failure to embrace the notion of European integration; the ongoing tensions associated with the aspirations of the various nations and peoples that compose the United Kingdom; and the changing social mores, the seemingly inexorable rise of crime, and the perceived increase in violence. Short-term calamities, such as the effective devaluation of

the currency, become portrayed as a litmus test by which this decline and dislocating trends can be judged. Several of these themes were portrayed in a cartoon published in the *Daily Telegraph* in which Britannia is being assailed by several threats including sporting disasters (Figure 3).

Media reporting of these issues was incessant. The general tenor of reports centered on a sense of pessimism, a lack of national cohesion and direction, and a longing for a time when things worked and people felt more secure. Discourse of this kind was repeatedly linked to a series of sporting disasters:

The grief-stricken tributes of the past two days to the former England football captain Bobby Moore represent something more than a general mourning for a great sporting hero . . . detectable within them is another kind of mourning: for a world as it seems looking back, when things sometimes used to go right. . . . Our streets are less safe than they were 30 years ago, our world reputation less glowing, our monarchy less revered, our sportsmen less sporting. . . . The word of an English gentlemen [*sic*] is no longer his bond in the way it was when England conquered the world. What this evidence really describes is a nation ill at ease with itself. . . . That made the pictures of Moore yesterday . . . especially poignant. They belonged to an age, as it seems in retrospect, when we still seemed to win. The reverse of our present predicament—losing on the economy, losing on jobs, losing on law and order—even losing to India: unshaven despondent Gooch, in brutal contrast to clean-cut triumphant Moore. (*Guardian*, February 26, 1993, p. 20)

Several issues are raised in this editorial. In particular, the recent defeats by the English men's cricket team in India and Sri Lanka and the death of an



Figure 3 — Political and sporting disasters. From the *Daily Telegraph*, February 22, 1993, p. 18, with permission of Darius Gilmont/Peter Waddington.

Englishman, Bobby Moore, captain of the 1966 World Cup winning soccer team, were connected to broader social ills. Notions of "England's agony" and "England's sadness" were also evident:

That word again. The death of Bobby Moore, *England's* hero. Golden-haired, a gentle giant, a great *Englishman*. Sport, where Britain supports different national teams, has become one of the few areas where an uncomplicated celebration of Englishness is permissible. It is only a mild exaggeration to call England the submerged nation. . . . So England becomes a country that exists on the sports field, but not elsewhere. (*Independent*, February 26, 1993, p. 19)

A mood of moral despondency was said to have gripped the country (*Daily Telegraph*, February 23, 1993, p. 16). During late 1992 and early 1993, the male English cricket team was easily beaten by both India and Sri Lanka, the latter for the first time. This was "another day of English shame" (*Daily Mirror*, March 18, 1993, pp. 46-47). Complaints also surfaced in the media that the players were not acting like gentlemen! Unshaven appearance, bad manners, and a lack of sporting attitude were all highlighted: "If the England team cannot win, they should at least behave in a way that does not bring them—and this country—into disrepute" (*Independent*, March 12, 1993, p. 24). Such defeats then were viewed as "England's considerable fall from Grace" (*Independent*, March 23, 1993, p. 21). Terms such as *humiliation*, *disgrace*, *shame*, and *calamity* were used to conjure up the scale of the debacle. The press urged the team to salvage some honor and do their duty, and if not, do the decent thing, in this case resign!

The England cricket team—failing, morally shifty, globally insignificant, distracted by irrelevant attention to demeanour, run by discredited leaders insolently continuing in office—may not be a credit to the nation, but is a perfect reflection of it. (*Independent*, March 23, 1993, p. 21)

This fall from grace and the engendered sense of angst dovetailed well with the rhetoric surrounding the death of Bobby Moore. Again the discourse centered around a sense of loss and regret that times had changed—for the worse. Britain was no longer at ease with itself. Moore was juxtaposed with the present sports stars and represented as a "heroic symbol of a golden age" (*Observer*, March 28, 1993, p. 23). Reference to Moore and soccer is connected to another disaster in that sport, defeat in a World Cup qualification match in Oslo. Media reporting dwelled on the "country's day of sporting shame" (*Daily Mirror*, June 3, 1993, p. 1) and, in the rhetoric of the tabloids, the defeat was viewed simply as the "end of the world" (*Daily Star*, June 3, 1993, p. 1). The Oslo debacle was represented as a "symptom of a deeper crisis," and the media launched into a critical review of the perceived malaise:

Where are our heroes now? The national disillusion about English football and cricket goes beyond disappointment at humiliating defeat. The heart of the matter is the failure of England's sporting stars to inspire, either by their talent or their behaviour. (*Independent*, June 12, 1993, p. 16)

These sporting disasters were also linked to the defeats that the sports-loving, cricket fan Prime Minister John Major was having. Ironically, Major himself highlighted the link between sport and national identity when he commented, "People like sport and they enjoy it. It is part of our national psychology. . . . I think we have undervalued sport and the place it has in our national life" (*Daily Telegraph*, August 23, 1993, p. 34). Cartoons depicted a hapless Major trying to deal with an assorted range of issues. In one cartoon Major is an embattled goalkeeper with soccer balls highlighting the political problems besetting his administration (Figure 4). Following the Norwegian defeat, the *Sun* explicitly made this linkage when commenting on the general state of sport and politics:

Whether it is football, cricket or politics, we seem to be on a losing run. Graham Taylor manages a football team that doesn't want to play for him. Ted Dexter runs a cricket team so uninspired it probably wouldn't survive on a village green. John Major is not only failing to lead the country . . . he also heads a Tory party more divided than at any time for twenty years. Why is Britain playing below form, why are our heads down? Because we are not being led. (*The Sun*, June 11, 1993, p. 40)

Other parallels were also made between the fortunes of the prime minister and the English soccer team manager. Such sentiments also found expression in editorials:

The morale of the British people is at a low ebb. A range of unrelated misfortunes . . . coalesce to create a sense of national failure: lost football and cricket matches, strife in the schools system, recession, impotence in



Figure 4 — Premier league? From the *Observer*, May 9, 1993, p. 20, with permission of the *Observer* and Trog. Trog ©

the face of horror in Bosnia, terrorist attacks and crime on the streets at home. (*Daily Telegraph*, June 11, 1993, p. 22)

Reinforcing this imagery, cartoons questioned the competency of the nation's leaders. John Major was depicted in a cricket context with a headline asking "Follow What Leader," and in a cartoon he was pronounced "Out" by public opinion (Figure 5).

During the period in which this political commentary was being expressed, English sporting disasters continued. For example, the Australians were beating the male English cricket team. The success of the women's national cricket team in the World Cup competition being held in England was largely overlooked and certainly was not represented as relevant to the fortunes of national identity. This was a male-defined affair. This angst about the fortunes of the cricket team spread to a general examination of the state of British sport and the leadership provided: "a lack of character has caused England's current dismal standing in modern sport" (*Guardian*, June 23, 1993, p. 15). In an article entitled "Sport in Crisis," on the failure of political and sporting leadership, the writer concluded,

We gave the world most of its greatest games and many of those we did not invent, we codified and regulated. The story of sport in the past half-century is symptomatic of the state of the nation. We are not as influential as we once were and when things go wrong rarely does anyone do the decent thing. . . . There is little honour and a lot of greed. . . . Why has our sport turned so sour in this summer of discontent? (*Observer*, June 27, 1993, p. 41)

This sense of decline, crisis, despondency, and malaise was compounded by further defeats for the English soccer team against the United States of America

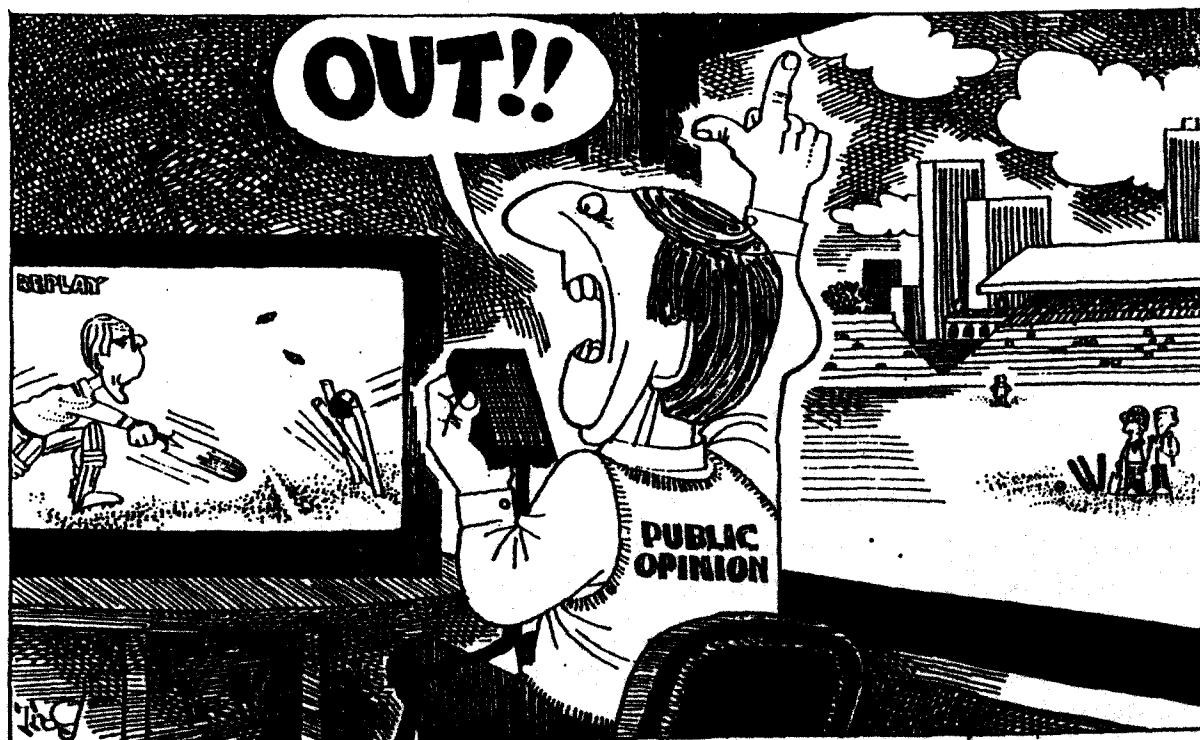


Figure 5 — "Out." From the *Observer*, May 16, 1993, p. 22, with permission of the *Observer* and Trog. Trog ©

and, in late 1993, against the Netherlands. A series of vitriolic headlines called for the manager to be fired and again declared that defeat against the U.S. was a national disgrace, a humiliation, and a stain on national honor (*Guardian*, June 11, 1992, p. 20).¹³ Defeat was again represented as indicative of the nation's decline. One commentary highlights both the reaction following the defeat against the U.S. and the more general issues raised in this case study:

We lose to America in football; to Brussels in European policy; to Japan in industry; to secularism in the church; our economic policy has been a disaster. When the time comes to choose successors to these leaders I expect we shall be looking for birds of a brighter feather. (*Daily Mail*, June 12, 1993, p. 9)

Defeats in the male versions of soccer, rugby, and cricket were then represented in the media as something of greater significance than sport, and these representations both reinforced and reflected a range of emotions said to be at play in the nation as a whole. These sporting disasters were paralleling the perceived decline in the nation as a whole. Discussing this "crisis of self confidence," Rees-Mogg returned to the nostalgic theme when he concluded,

The British who are about 1% of the world's population ran the world for about 100 years, from the defeat of Napoleon to the outbreak of the First World War. . . . Before we ran the world we produced Shakespeare, who is the world's greatest poet and Isaac Newton, who may be the world's greatest scientist. . . . We play a not unworthy part in world trade, world communication and world defence. But it would be good for our national morale if our cricketers recovered their belief in themselves. (*Times*, August 12, 1993, p. 16)

During the autumn of 1993, John Major again gave his annual address to the Conservative Party conference. Two dominant themes of the speech were, as noted, an advocacy of "back to basics" and an assertive Englishness. "Back to basics" became both a slogan and a set of policies that emphasized a return to the values of 1950s England. Unfortunately for such a strategy, political and indeed sporting woes continued to beset the nation. Defeat in soccer was matched by political scandals. The nation was seen to be delivering its verdict at the Christchurch by-election. Yet further sporting disasters were to befall the male English cricket team. During their Caribbean tour, the English team were "bowled out" for a record low score. This defeat—coupled with John Major's continuing difficulties over majority voting with the European Union—prompted the following editorial in *The Times*:

New habits die hard. Taking their cue from the John Major Ramblers, England capitulated yesterday at the Queen's Park Oval in Port of Spain. But at least they had an excuse. Unlike their counterparts in government, who faced nothing more hostile than the googlies of Jacques Delors' "French cricketers", Michael Atherton's troopers had to contend with the most dangerous fast bowler on earth. (*The Times*, March 31, 1994, p. 1)

This sense of angst, coupled with a nostalgic longing for what was presumed to be a golden age, dovetailed well with a patriotic fervor that emphasized the

virtues of Englishness and pillorying of foreigners. In a series of speeches, cabinet ministers expanded on these themes. The education minister argued that each school should "fly the flag." The sports minister argued for physical education to have compulsory games that would instill the virtues that Victorians had argued were integral to muscular Christianity and the games cult. In another *Times* editorial, entitled "The Right Kind of Basic," the writer commented on this very issue. Once more, a link between sport, the nation, and the policies of John Major was made:

Britons still care deeply about their nation's sporting performance and are unsettled by disasters of the sort afflicting the English cricket team in the West Indies. The sports in which the nation now excels tend to be those in which private schools traditionally specialise: rugby, sailing and rowing. Meanwhile, hundreds of potential sportsmen in state schools are missing their chance because of foolish ideology and misplaced priorities. Mr Major could hardly ask for a better basic to head back to. (*The Times*, April 8, 1994, p. 17)

Another minister, Michael Portillo, mapped out what he termed "the new British disease." This he identified as "the self-destructive sickness of national cynicism" (*Observer*, January 16, 1994, p. 22). Significantly, some sections of the British press reinforced these sentiments. The *Times*, for example, noted that "the current mood of national self-doubt cannot be addressed without a comprehensive debate on Britishness itself" (*Times*, January 18, 1994, p. 19). Such self-doubt was not confined to national identity. Several newspapers continued to juxtapose the varying fortunes of English sports stars with the ill-fated premiership of John Major. The success of figure skaters Torvill and Dean in the European Championships was contrasted vividly with the problems, political, economic, and social, besetting Major's administration in early 1994 (*Independent*, January 11, 1994, p. 9), and this theme continued in 1994 with critiques of the fluctuating performances of the English national rugby team.¹⁴

Conclusion

Several general observations about sport development have been presented in broad terms in an attempt to clarify aspects of the concept of globalization. In addition, aspects of the figurational approach to sport have been revised and extended in order to emphasize that the speed, scale, and volume of sports development is interwoven with the broader global flow of people, technology, finance, images, and ideologies. This is arguably leading to the decentering of the West in a variety of contexts including sport. By avoiding dichotomous, monocausal thinking and adopting multicausal analyses, we can study the unintended basis of intended social actions that characterize this global cultural commingling. Concepts such as diminishing contrasts and increasing varieties help in the task of substantively examining global sport development. What researchers find may be more significant than a narrow natiocentric vision of the sociology of sport.

While the connections between sportization and globalization processes are at an early stage of exploration, such a line of enquiry has potential. In this

regard, I have focused on the interwoven associations between sport, national identity politics, willful nostalgia, and globalization processes. The 1880s witnessed not only a distinct phase of intense globalization and nationalistic expression, but also a burst of willful nostalgia. Sport development both reflected and reinforced these processes. In examining *male* sporting and political disaster discourse in the British media during the past 2 years, I have highlighted these linkages. Identity politics of the kind discussed here are tied to globalization and other trends that are "dislocating" the English.

The more recent acceleration in globalization has, in the case of the English, been combined with other elements. The more central of these include the failure to adjust to the loss of Empire and the concomitant failure to embrace the notion of European integration. In addition, both the nationalist assertiveness of the Celtic peoples who compose the United Kingdom (outside England), and the changing social mores flowing from pluralization trends that are also linked to globalization processes, contribute to a sense of unease among the English. In periods of intense globalization one response that is evident in the political and sporting fields is a process of willful nostalgia. Such rhetoric was evident in speeches made by Conservative politicians. These dislocating factors engendered a sense of unease and a feeling that one does not belong.

Such processes have prompted resistance by those within a national culture who still cling to more intense versions of the invented traditions that underpin their habitus and sense of identity. This may take various forms. Resistance both to pluralization processes and to the integrative tendencies associated with globalization reflects the ability of national cultures to be responsive to global flows. At its most intense, this adherence to the invented traditions associated with a national culture can lead to what has been termed "ethnic cleansing." Japanese resistance has been evident in their reactions to foreign success in national Sumo competitions and the presence of American women in the Japanese national basketball league. The defensive "little Englander" response to national decline in general and sporting disasters in particular, especially in the more recent stages of the fifth sportization phase, also demonstrates these processes at work (Maguire, 1993a). Willful nostalgia underpins the identity politics of the past 2 years.

Yet, even in this context, more broader pluralizing processes may be at work. Arguing that "golfers show Britain a way out of the bunker," an editorial advocated the demise of British teams and the development of European teams in several sports. Following the success of Jose-Maria Olazabal—which was seen to be greeted with enthusiasm by British golf fans—the *Independent* thus concluded, "Suddenly, even in the most xenophobic shire clubhouse, we are all European" (April 12, 1994, p. 15). This somewhat optimistic view overlooks, however, the role that sport plays in binding the peoples of Europe to dominant national habitus and a competitive hierarchy of nation-states. Such factors clearly underpinned the recent European Union summit, with the British holding out against the other 11 members. A cartoon in the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* (June 3, 1994, p. 8) neatly encapsulated the issues of power, nationhood, and Europe integration and, coincidentally, the role that sport plays in this regard. Both President Mitterrand and Chancellor Kohl are dressed in soccer outfits, with the latter holding a football displaying the stars of the European Union: The caption reads "Waiting for the team." These sentiments, and those highlighted earlier regarding British sporting and political disasters, are part of current

identity politics surrounding moves toward both a common European "home" and unified European sports teams.

The spread of sport from England to the "colonies" has thus proved to be a double-edged sword. While this indicates the success of the West in penetrating other cultures, during the later stages of the third sportization phase, people from former colonies have not only won their independence but have started to beat the British/English—and the rest of the West—at their own games. English sporting success, increasingly an infrequent occurrence, restores, however superficially, a symbolic sense of stability. In contrast, in the latest phase of sportization processes, increasing losses to former colonies (some of whom still regard victory over their former colonial overlords as a form of rite of passage) compound the general sense of British/English dislocation. The study of sport can provide a powerful portrayal of these interconnections between identity politics, national habitus, and willful nostalgia. Male sport appears to play a crucial role in the construction and representation of English national identity. Because of the role that sport plays in personal and national identity formation, defeats on the playing field become represented as a kind of litmus test for the nation's decline. Another consequence is the juxtapositioning of this present reality with some mythical golden political and sporting age of the past. These processes have clearly been at work in British society over the recent past. For some English, but also Celtic British people, 1993 was truly an *annus horribilis*!

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Notes

¹This paper is a synthesis of two papers given at the 1993 NASSS conference at Ottawa. This elaboration would not have been possible without the ground-clearing work conducted by Elias (1939/1982) and Elias and Dunning (1986). I am grateful for the support and advice provided by colleagues at the NASSS conference. I would also like to thank Peter Donnelly and Eric Dunning for their helpful suggestions.

²For the substantive base of these observations see Maguire (1988, 1990, 1993b). No doubt this will challenge specific theoretical perspectives. In some ways it would be more comforting to know that there is some purpose to the unplanned nature of globalization processes.

³In a manner that shares common ground with Giddens, Robertson maps out what he terms the “global field.” Concerned with the way the world is ordered, he highlights four main aspects of the global field: national societies, individuals or selves, relations between nation societies or the world system of societies, and humankind. A probing of the interconnections between these aspects helps to plot the “global human condition.” See Mennell’s (1985, chapter 11; 1990) discussion of developmental/process thinking.

⁴These students of culture are the equivalent of those writers who during the late 1960s predicted the coming of a “golden age of leisure.”

⁵Robertson (1992) considers the issue of civilizational analysis in chapters 8 and 9. I would agree that this issue is vital in globalization research.

⁶Despite what Hargreaves (1992) claims, figurational sociology does not and has no need to resort to a crude “war without weapons” thesis to explain the dynamics of the Olympic movement as part of global sport development. Such assertions not only misunderstand the connections that figurational sociologists make between sport and violence but fail to grasp that this approach studies globalization and sport development without reference to such a thesis.

⁷While it is not appropriate here to review their work, the potential of this approach has been recognized by several writers, for example, Mennell’s (1985) work on food, Featherstone’s (1991) analysis of global consumer culture, and Robertson’s (1992) general account of globalization processes.

⁸The details of these initial phases are described in Elias and Dunning (1986) and Dunning (1992) and are connected to the initial phases of globalization that Robertson (1992) outlines. Figure 1 is a didactic device that shows the competing forms that sport entailed during the 19th century. Clearly "achievement sport" has predominated, but forms of gymnastics/body cultures and folk games have survived and offer glimpses of alternative but probably not postmodern global sport cultures.

⁹For discussion of sport and national identity, see Arbena (1993), Goksoyr (1993), Kruger, (1993), and Stoddart (1988).

¹⁰The question of Celtic identity and sport has been discussed by several writers. See Andrews (1991), Jarvie and Walker (1994), and Sugden and Bairner (1993). For European issues see Blain, Boyle, and O'Donnell (1993).

¹¹See Maguire (1993a) for a discussion of the role that sport played in the representation of an invented tradition of male Englishness. See also Marqusee (1994) for a study of cricket.

¹²For an excellent discussion of the making of British identity that debunks much of what Major argues, see Colley (1992). Through the use of repeated examples of both comments and cartoons I have tried to show how the recycling of connections between sport and politics occurred during the period in question. The case study is based on a systematic content analysis of newspapers from late 1992 to June 1994.

¹³See also *Daily Express*, June 11, 1993, p. 8; *Daily Star*, June 11, 1993, p. 44; *Daily Mirror*, June 11, 1993, p. 42; *Daily Telegraph*, June 11, 1993, p. 40. Not all available material could be cited. I am also sensitive to the issue that powerful texts do not automatically produce powerful effects and that in a more embracing study examination of the reception and articulation of this media discourse is required (see Maguire, 1993b).

¹⁴All newspapers cited are London based.

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