

SPORT AND GLOBALISATION

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OVERVIEW

- Globalisation as a process: Dimensions and flows
- Globalisation as an outcome
- Reach and response

The concept of globalisation has become part of everyday conversation with the consequence that it has lost what little conceptual clarity it had when it first emerged as part of the debates within the social sciences in the 1980s around macro-level social change. The problems arising from the popularisation of the use of the concept have not been helped by the over-extension and casual use of the concept within the social science community and consequently it has not had the impact within the analysis of the contemporary development of sport that it might have had. There are three aspects of the concept of globalisation in the study of sport that require consideration before the concept can be used with confidence. The first is the need to distinguish between different dimensions of globalisation, particularly the political, economic and cultural, and consider their interrelation and relative significance as well as distinguishing between globalisation as a process and globalisation as an outcome. Second, there is a need to specify how globalisation as an outcome would be recognised and specify the criteria that would have to be fulfilled before we could confidently state either that we now live in a globalised world or that the world was becoming more or less globalised. This is a problem

not only of definition but also of calibration and measurement. The third aspect concerns exploring the reach of globalising forces and the response of the 'receiving' nation/community.

Globalisation as a Process: Dimensions and Flows

Political scientists make the important distinction between *democratisation*, which is the process of making progress towards democracy, and *democracy* itself, which is the outcome of the process. There is a need to be aware of a similar distinction between process and outcome when considering globalisation and sport. If we use the term 'globalisation' primarily to refer to the *process* of movement away from a world of discrete states and their social systems, cultural patterns, political systems and economies, then there is still the problem of defining the outcome of the process. More will be said about the outcome of globalisation in the next section with the focus in this section remaining on an examination of globalisation as a process.

Scholte (2005) identifies five common uses of the term globalisation, namely as internationalisation, liberalisation, universalisation, Westernisation/Americanisation and deterritorialisation (see Box 24.1). Each usage of the term is based on a different balance between economic, political and cultural processes. Some definitions give priority to one process: liberalisation gives clear priority to economic forces whereas universalisation focuses more on the role of culture in globalisation. Other conceptualisations of globalisation, such as Westernisation/Americanisation, reflect a combined emphasis on economic, political and cultural factors.

BOX 24.1

VARIETIES OF GLOBALISATION

Globalisation as a process of:	Examples from sport
<i>Internationalisation</i> , reflecting greater cross-border exchanges, especially trade, but also people and ideas, between countries	Trade in athletes; an increase in the number of international competition circuits
<i>Liberalisation</i> , whereby government restrictions on cross-border business are removed and to a large extent reflect the efforts of the World Trade Organisation and at a regional level the European Union and the North American Free Trade Area	The impact of the European Union ruling regarding the transfer of players, the number of non-national players that a team may field (Bosman ruling), and also the liberalisation of cross-border TV media ownership and broadcasting

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Globalisation as a process of:

Examples from sport

Universalisation of culture, a synthesis of existing cultures producing a homogeneous cultural experience

The global coverage of the Olympic Games both in terms of the number of countries participating (more countries than are members of the United Nations) and the number of countries receiving television broadcasts, contributing to an increasingly homogeneous sports diet

Westernisation/Americanisation whereby the social structures of modernity, capitalism, rational-bureaucracy, industrialism and representative democracy, are spread throughout the world

Rational-bureaucratic sports structures (written rules, leagues and records of achievement), a scientific approach to talent identification and development, specialisation both on and off the field of play (physiotherapists, psychologists and dieticians, etc.), and commercialisation

Deterritorialisation whereby the spatial organisation of social relations is altered as a result of a dramatic change in our perception of space, location and distance

The development of large fan groups for English and Scottish football teams not just outside the locality but outside the national state boundaries; the live transmission of international sports events

Source: adapted from Scholte, 2005

Because so much of the discussion of sports globalisation focuses on sport as an element of culture, it is important to consider, if only briefly, the relative importance of the various dimensions of globalisation. For most Marxists the answer is fairly clear: economic factors dominate, with cultural practices being broadly a reflection of the underlying mode of production. In relation to sport, Marxists would emphasise the commodification of sport and athletes, the domination of sport by powerful media interests which increasingly determine what sport is practised, especially at the elite level, and what sport will reach a global television market. Thus media interests, especially television and newer social media, and the major international federations (football, cricket, Rugby Union/League and athletics) share a common concern to produce a marketable global product. Sport is no different from any other product in the capitalist economy where markets are carefully managed and where labour is exploited as the primary source of profit. The spectacular wages of footballers such as Ronaldo, Messi and Rooney, detract attention from the more modest wages and short careers of most footballers and the ruthless exploitation of footballing talent of many poorer nations, particularly in Africa (Darby, 2007). Support for this argument comes from the work of Klein (1991), who demonstrated how the United States Major League baseball teams undertook a crude form of asset-stripping of talent in the Dominican Republic. Although a number of players

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from the Republic became major stars in the United States, most of the talented young players who were exported to the US were abandoned when they did not 'make the grade'. However, such was the exodus of talent that the domestic Dominican Republic league was systematically undermined (see also Tiesler and Coelho, 2008).

For Marxists and others who prioritise economic processes, culture is either a tool for incorporating economies through the manipulation of values and attitudes – cultural imperialism – or it is mere froth and not worthy of serious consideration. Examples of the former include Hamelink, who refers to a process of worldwide 'cultural synchronisation' (1983: 3), and Levitt who refers to the world's preference structure becoming relentlessly homogenised (1983). Scholte summarises the arguments as follows: 'Globalisation introduces a single world culture centred on consumerism, mass media, Americana, and the English language' (2000: 23) and one might add a diet of Olympic sport and Western-defined world championships in sports such as soccer, Formula One, athletics and swimming. Rather more bluntly, Brohm argues that global sport:

ideologically reproduces bourgeois social relations ... spreads an organisational ideology specific to the institutions of sport and ... transmits on a huge scale the general themes of the ruling bourgeois ideology like the myth of the superman, individualism, social advancement, success, efficiency etc. (1978: 77)

According to Brohm, the value of sport to capitalism is not just as a source of profit but also as a subtle vehicle for infiltrating capitalist values into a society because awareness of the manipulative capacity of sport is so low. Adopting a slightly different view, David Harvey (1989), also arguing from a Marxist standpoint, retains confidence in a traditional base-superstructure relationship between economic processes and cultural forms and rejects the suggestion that the cultural dimension of globalisation – prominent though it undoubtedly is – requires a new conceptual language for its analysis: modern culture including sport is essentially epiphenomenal. Wallerstein (1991) is equally dismissive, viewing the cultural dimension as a slight ideological impediment to socialism by comparison with the underlying economic relations.

Priority to the economic dimension draws attention to the commodification of sport, the creation and management of global markets for sports products, and the increasing vertical integration between television media companies and the sports they broadcast. Christian Aid (Brookes and Madden, 1995) provided a powerful indictment of the practices of sports goods companies. They found that the manufacture of sports shoes was located in the lowest labour cost countries where employment conditions, especially for children, were very poor and, perhaps most damning of all, that less than 5% of the final retail price was received by the factory workers in South East Asia (see also Merk, 2011). As regards the role of both sports clubs and sports media in furthering the vertical integration within the industry,

companies such as BSkyB, Canal+ and NTL have all sought to purchase football clubs or at least a shareholding (Brown, 2000), thus enabling them to exercise greater control over their key product while many of the most successful clubs have become media entities by establishing their own television companies to attract subscribers. As Evans and Kefever (2011: 38) note 'By producing their own content, sports clubs have become "media clubs" as a resistance to media's domination in order to have their own voice in the global sport market'.

Events such as the Olympic Games are also examples of the careful development of sports products and more importantly the extent to which even an event as profitable as the Olympics is so heavily dependent on American corporations. Around 60% of all income to the Olympic movement comes from US businesses either in the form of sponsorship or in the income generated from the sale of broadcasting rights. It is no wonder that the Games have been awarded to US cities four times since 1980 and that a recurring preoccupation for the local organising committee for the Games is how best to schedule events to meet the requirements of US east coast television viewers.

Such is the interconnection between economic power and sport that it should come as no surprise that, with a small number of notable exceptions, the same countries that dominate the world economy also dominate international sport. The six largest economies (USA, UK, France, Germany, China and Japan) won 39% of all medals at the 2012 Olympic Games in which 205 countries participated. In the SPLISS study (de Bosscher, 2007) of the range of structural factors that might account for success in Olympic competition, the author found that 50% of variation was explained by population size and wealth.

In the study of the globalisation of sport, economic processes are clearly of central importance. However, this does not mean that culture should be written off as a mere cipher for more significant economic processes. There are a number of students of globalisation who are willing to grant the cultural sphere a substantial degree of autonomy. Hall (1983), for example, arguing from a broadly Marxist position, suggests that despite the clear power of business interests, there is still scope for a reconstruction of everyday practices and a rearticulation of cultural practices, such as in the area of sport. For Hall, capitalist power determines culture in the first, rather than the last, instance. Hannerz (1990) provides a useful attempt to disaggregate dimensions of globalisation and to investigate their inter-relationship which can also be applied to sport. He identifies three cultural 'flows', namely: (a) that of cultural commodities which circulate within the marketplace to include sports fashionwear and individual sports or competitions; (b) that which concerns the actions of the state, to include decisions about funding for sport; and (c) that which concerns the 'form of life', which refers to deeply embedded patterns of behaviour, attitudes and values. What is especially significant about this conceptualisation is, first, that it does not suggest that cultural phenomena are only to be found at the superficial or superstructural level and, second, that in order to ask significant questions about global sport, we need to be able to disaggregate culture and distinguish between levels or depths of embeddedness.

For example, within the realm of social relations, we could ask whether sport globalisation is evident 'merely' at the commodity level or has penetrated to the level of deep structural values and practices. A number of the major European football clubs have extensive worldwide networks of supporters' clubs with their own local fan magazines and club products. While such a phenomenon is evidence of some form of globalisation, we might be tempted to dismiss it as functioning only at the surface of society as a fashion. Like all fashions, it will exhaust itself and be supplanted by a new passion for a different team, sport or other cultural product and be remembered in later years with a degree of fond embarrassment. However, if the support for European clubs were to be extended through the emulation of some of the less attractive patterns of fan behaviour such as hooliganism and racism, it might prompt the government to regulate fan behaviour. The intervention of the state would indicate that the degree of cultural change was of a more significant kind. If the growing popularity of football led to the establishment not only of national men's leagues, but also of leagues for women and, more significantly, to a decline in local or regional sports, then we might have evidence of cultural change of a far more profound kind.

Similarly, if we were to focus on the political dimension of culture, we would be rightly sceptical of bestowing too much significance on the attendance of politicians, even from countries with a strong football tradition, at major football matches, as this is likely to be an aspect of the froth of electioneering and cheap populist politics rather than an indication of deeply rooted state commitment. However, if the popularity of football were to prompt the government to reorder its funding priorities for sport with the intention of establishing a national professional league or strengthening the chances of the national team qualifying for the World Cup, we would be right to see this as a change of deeper significance. Furthermore, if the state began to undermine the traditional autonomy of sports clubs in order to pursue its policies, then the degree of cultural change would be far more significant. As should now be clear, there is a danger of reading too much significance into the fact that such a high proportion of the world's population watch some part of the Olympic Games or the football World Cup. What is more significant is when the state intervenes to support, suppress or impose emergent cultural trends. More significant still is when there is evidence of changes to long-established sporting traditions or to deeply embedded societal attitudes and values in relation to patterns of social deference, gender roles or intergenerational relations, such as a move closer to the rational-bureaucratic model of sports organisation or an acceptance of women's participation in the same elite competitive sports as men.

There are two conclusions that emerge from the discussion of globalisation as a process. The first is an acknowledgement that the significance of cultural change must be conceptualised in terms of depth of social embeddedness and that we must be wary of granting too much importance to shifts in the popularity of particular teams, sports or events. The second conclusion is that while the political and cultural dimensions have a degree of autonomy from economic processes, it is

years as major sports and sports events have become increasingly a focus for private profit rather than state subsidy.

Globalisation as an Outcome

In the opening section of this chapter an analogy was drawn between democratisation and democracy on the one hand and globalisation as process and globalisation as outcome on the other. What was not made clear at the time is that while there is a reasonable degree of agreement about what might constitute evidence of democratisation, there is far less agreement about the grounds for declaring that a country qualifies as a democracy. There is disagreement about the criteria for democracy and the relative weight each criterion should be given. It should come as no surprise that there is an equal degree of uncertainty regarding the threshold for a globalised world and the form that that world would take.

The contemporary complex mix of globalising pressures and their ebb and flow over time make it extremely difficult to predict the precise trajectory of the process of globalisation. From the point of view of sport globalisation, there are at least three fairly clearly observable trajectories of globalisation visible in contemporary sport (see Table 24.1). The first is a globalised sporting world where nation and nationality mean little in terms of defining identity, the provision of funding or the regulatory framework within which sport takes place. Sports teams, leagues and events are deterritorialised and no longer defined primarily by national affiliation, but structured according to some other principle such as commercial opportunity, religion, sexuality or ideology. Professional road cycling, where multinational teams compete in a global competition circuit, is probably the best example of organisation around a commercial principle, although it is interesting to note the extent to which regional and national communities adopt teams as their own, even though the link with the territory is often tenuous.

The second trajectory of globalisation leads to an outcome which is characterised by a pattern of intense *international* sporting competition. In other words the *internationalised* sporting world is defined by the volume of competition between athletes, squads and teams drawn from clearly defined nation states and where these international competitions are considered, by regional and national communities, to be more important than domestic competitions. Whether Liverpool FC beat Everton FC and whether Liverpool FC win the Premier League would be clearly of less interest to their fans than whether Liverpool FC won the European Champions League. A third possible outcome is best described as multinationalised sport, where the nation is still an important reference point for identity and the state a key source of resources for sports development, but the pattern of sports participation and fan identification reflects the increasingly common multiple or nested identities that a growing proportion of the world's population experience, especially in the industrialised countries. In the UK, for example, there has long been a capacity among Rugby Union supporters to support the England team in the Six Nations championships and also the British and Irish Lions (a team drawn from the four

Table 24.1 Sport and the outcomes of globalisation

Characteristic	Globalised sport	Internationalised sport	Multinationalised sport
Nation as the defining unit of international sport and nationality as the defining characteristic of sportsmen and sportswomen	Multinational/nationally ambiguous teams the norm, as in Formula One motor-racing and professional road cycling	Teams defined by their country of origin, e.g. as in the Olympic Games, and international soccer club competitions	The nation is an important, and perhaps primary reference point for team/athlete definition. However, athletes/teams will represent their nations, but also other politically defined unit whether sub-national (Quebec's participation in the Francophone Games or the participation of Scotland in the World Cup) or supranational (European team in the World Athletics Championships or the Irish rugby or hockey teams which comprise players from Northern Ireland and the Irish Republic)
Extent of global diversity in sport	Diminishing diversity and/or the overlaying of regionally/nationally distinctive sporting traditions with an increasingly uniform pattern of Olympic and major international team/individual sports	Maintenance of a vigorous national/regional sporting culture which exists alongside or takes precedence over Olympic and major international team/individual sports	Increasing diversity in terms of opportunities for competitions, although there may be a decline in diversity among sports themselves with those without an international stage being especially vulnerable to marginalisation through the adoption of governments of selective funding policies
Extent of state patronage of elite sport	Minimal, sports are either financially self-sufficient or attract commercial patronage	Substantial, most Olympic and major international sports depend on state subsidy	Substantial, although some wariness regarding the allocation of national funds to support supranational teams

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Characteristic	Globalised sport	Internationalised sport	Multinationalised sport
Extent to which sports businesses and organisations operate within a national framework of regulation	Self-regulation by the industry or no regulation	National framework of regulation, e.g. licensing of clubs, coaches, sports venues and television broadcasting or supranational framework of regulation, for example, by the European Union	National regulatory frameworks important but both businesses and sports organisations operate within multiple regulatory frameworks, especially within the European Union
Extent to which international sports federations and the IOC are subject to domestic control	Immune from domestic regulatory and legal systems or in countries where the legal system is 'protective' of corporate/organisational interests	Subject to legal challenge and regulatory oversight at state level, but also at supranational level	Subject to legal challenge and regulation at both national and supranational levels

Source: Adapted from Hirst and Thompson, 1999

home countries plus Ireland, a foreign country) who compete against southern hemisphere countries such as Australia and New Zealand. England supporters seem quite able to cheer on the Irishman Brian O'Driscoll when he was playing for the Lions even though he regularly played against England in the Six Nations competition. Furthermore, English football supporters of Irish descent seem quite capable of supporting both England and Ireland in international matches and coping with the split loyalty when the two teams have to play each other.

Split, hybrid, multiple or nested loyalty in sport is not the only dimension of an increasingly fragmented identity. Previous generations in the early and mid-twentieth century inhabited societies, in Western Europe in particular, in which identity was subject to powerful homogenising forces of class, religion and nationality. Since then identity has become more multifaceted with an increasing range of dimensions which now include gender, sexuality, ethnic origin and education, and a fragmentation and decline in significance of traditional homogenising forces. The rapid decline of the industrial working class, the rise of new Christian churches and the import of eastern religions through immigration, and the effect of European Union membership on national identity have all contributed to a much more complex and heterogeneous social fabric which is reflected in sport. When the Conservative Party MP Norman Tebbit questioned the 'Britishness' of Asian immigrants who supported touring Indian or Pakistani cricket teams, he failed to appreciate the extent to which the concept of 'Britishness' had changed.

Taking each criterion identified in Table 24.1 in turn, the first is the role and significance of the nation as the defining factor or reference point in international sport. The extent to which a nation was ever a clear and unambiguous concept is often exaggerated, but it is undoubtedly the case that the reality underpinning the 'imagined community' of the nation is often both frail and pragmatic. On the one hand governments have frequently been enthusiastic in allowing applications for naturalisation from elite athletes and have, on occasion, actively 'bought' elite athletes from other countries. For example, the American basketball player, Becky Hamman, obtained Russian citizenship in time to be eligible for selection for the Russian team for the Beijing Olympics. Similarly, American born ice dancer Piper Gilles, was granted Canadian citizenship to enable her to compete with her Canadian partner Paul Poirier. Governments have also bought athletes with Qatar's purchase, at a reputed cost of \$500,000 per man, of eight Bulgarian weight-lifters in time for the 2000 Olympic Games being one of the most notable examples. However, approximately 11% of Team GB at the 2012 Olympic Games were not born in the UK and many countries out-sourced their table tennis to athletes born in China: four of the American table tennis team at the Beijing Olympics were born in China.

Furthermore, there are many examples of athletes who have sought to maximise their opportunity to compete at the highest level by changing sporting nationality. Athletes can thus retain legal nationality with one country while adopting the sporting nationality of another by virtue of ancestry or even residence. For example, the Canadian tennis player Greg Rusedski adopted British sporting nationality; many

British-born footballers are always a substantial part of the England cricket team as players.

Merged, blurred and globalised sport. By the time of the 2000 Olympics, sport would be protected by the nation as an organisation of the state with which it has a not symbiotic relationship. In sport, the state would be of international significance and exclusivity. Increased globalisation based on supranationalism, with the increase in that competes against the team, alongside the Commonwealth Championships).

The second criterion is Maguire (1999) regard to sport, the nation as producing a conclusion would be new contexts, but the decline of the nation is attributed from the state and bare-knuckled.

Though Maguire is problematic; it is easy. Nevertheless, the conditions of globalisation forms were redefined as a major component of a 'third culture'. In essence, federations and momentary international sports might be a coercion. Moreover, the new competition is available at

British-born footballers have opted to represent the Republic of Ireland; and there are always a substantial number of non-English-born members of the England cricket team as players from Wales, Ireland and South Africa have joined the squad.

Merged, blurred and ambiguous national identities would be expected in truly globalised sport. By contrast, under conditions of internationalised sport, the nation would be protected as the defining unit of international sport. The status of the nation as an organising concept for sport is intimately linked to the significance of the state with which it has, in the vast majority of cases, a mutually dependent if not symbiotic relationship (see Houlihan, 1997). Under conditions of multinational sport, the state would retain a central role as a reference point for the organisation of international sport and for the identity of athletes, but it would lose a degree of exclusivity. Increasingly, other geo-political reference points would emerge either based on supranational organisations (such as the European Union) or on geography, with the increasing construction of 'continental' teams (e.g. the European team that competes against the USA in golf's Ryder Cup; the presence of a European team, alongside other national and continental teams, in the IAAF Athletics World Championships).

The second characteristic is the extent of sports diversity throughout the world. Maguire (1999) refers to 'diminishing contrasts and increasing varieties' with regard to sport, while Hannerz (1990: 237) identifies a major impact of globalisation as producing the 'organisation of diversity'. An illustration of Maguire's conclusion would be the increase in the variety of running events (new distances, new contexts, or new combinations of running with other sports, e.g. triathlon) but the decline or exclusion of events and sports that are more sharply differentiated from the dominant Olympic programme, such as dog-fighting, bear-baiting and bare-knuckle fighting.

Though Maguire's conclusion is a compelling one, the measurement of diversity is problematic; indeed, determining when a variation becomes a contrast is far from easy. Nevertheless, the conclusions of both Maguire and Hannerz suggest that under conditions of globalised sport, one might expect to find that local/regional sporting forms were retreating in the face of a largely European diet of Olympic sports and major commercial sports and the rational-bureaucratic form of organisation with which they are underpinned. At the very least, one would expect to find evidence of a 'third culture' (Featherstone, 1991) which overlays more localised sports cultures. In essence it would be the national holders of power, such as the international federations and transnational sports businesses, that would provide the direction and momentum for change at the domestic level. By contrast, under conditions of internationalised sport, the dynamics of change in sporting culture would be substantially national. Moreover, while engagement with, and adoption of, non-traditional sports might be common, it would be the result of choice rather than imposition or coercion. Multinationalist sport would result in an increasing diversity of competition opportunities with, for example, the European Union providing a context for new competitions, but not necessarily any increase in the diversity of sports available at the elite level.

Third, under conditions of globalised sport, one would expect the role of the state as a patron of, and organisational focus for, elite sport to be slight, by comparison with commercial patrons for example. The influence of the state in determining the pattern of engagement with global sport would be minimal. Internationalised sport would be characterised by a key role for the state, which would be central in funding and organising elite sport, reflecting a situation where engagement with global sport is determined significantly by nationally set priorities. Under conditions of multinational sport, state patronage would remain important, although supranational state organisations would provide both an additional source of patronage and a further set of constraints on the decision-making freedom of sports governing bodies.

The fourth characteristic refers to the degree to which commercial sports organisations, including professional football clubs, broadcasting companies, and event organising bodies, operate within national frameworks of regulation. Globalised sport would be typified by minimal regulation or a pattern of self-regulation while under conditions of internationalised sport, national or regional (e.g. European Union) systems of licensing, certification and training would create a mosaic of distinctive regulatory systems and consequently of sports practices. The conditions of multinationalised sport would be similar to those of internationalised sport, except that there would be clear evidence of dual regulation from the domestic and the supranational levels.

The final characteristic is the degree to which international sports organisations, such as the Commonwealth Games Federation, the IOC and the international federations, are subject to control by the domestic political/administrative/legal system. Under conditions of globalised sport, one would expect these engines of globalisation to be substantially immune from domestic systems of regulation or to be located in countries traditionally protective of corporate interests, such as Switzerland and Monaco. Within an internationalised system, international federations and the IOC would be open to legal challenge and interest group lobbying and enjoy no privileges arising solely from their status as global sports organisations. Multinationalised sport would be characterised, in Europe at least, by dual-level oversight and regulation.

A cursory reflection on the pattern of engagement between sport in the UK and international sport would quickly indicate that it corresponds neatly to none of the three ideal types, but rather exhibits a hybrid profile. The nation clearly remains the primary reference point for sports identity, but paradoxes and ambiguities abound. Chelsea FC still attracts passionate support from over 40,000 fans for each home game as well as from the many thousands who are not able to attend matches. Yet Chelsea regularly field eight or nine non-English players and on one occasion fielded a team that had no English players. Moreover, its current and ten previous managers, with the exception of two very short-term English caretaker managers, have been foreigners. The lack of any depth of association between the team members and England, let alone West London, has done nothing to undermine the intensity of support. In marked contrast to this apparent embrace of cosmopolitanism

and globalisation, the move Wimbledon to move Wimbledon to a parochial opposition British public is more than Greg Rusedski fact that many of them is not British. Thus in affecting the public for some sports (e.g. strong identification at least accent, re-

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and globalisation, the proposals to merge Oxford FC with a neighbouring club or to move Wimbledon FC out of London to Milton Keynes were met with passionate parochial opposition. In tennis and boxing there is the strong impression that the British public is more at ease supporting Andy Murray, Tim Henman and Amir Khan than Greg Rusedski and Lennox Lewis. Similarly, in Formula One motor racing the fact that many of the top teams are based in Britain is given little weight if the driver is not British. Thus it appears that for some sports (e.g. football), place is important in affecting the public's sense of identity, while for others (Formula One) it is not; for some sports (e.g. club football) the nationality of the players does not prevent strong identification while for other sports (e.g. tennis and boxing), nationality, or at least accent, remains important.

In considering the extent of sports diversity in the UK, the role of the state becomes sharply apparent. The Conservative government of John Major reshaped the National Curriculum for physical education to ensure that traditional British sports were embedded in the education system and it initiated the reorientation of elite funding policy to prioritise the major traditional team sports and Olympic sports. Given the relative poverty of most sports governing bodies, the power of state patronage is of considerable if not defining importance although it must be acknowledged that much elite sport policy is strongly influenced by the decisions of the IOC regarding the content of the Summer and Winter Olympic Games. The importance of the state and supranational state organisations in shaping the UK's engagement with globalisation is further emphasised by an examination of the regulatory framework within which sport operates. While at the national level, state regulation is still modest, it is undoubtedly growing in areas such as the vetting of coaches who work with children, the licensing of major sports grounds, and the integration of coach training into the national system of vocational qualifications. At the European Union level, where a regulatory culture is more deeply entrenched, the impact on sport has been substantial particularly in relation to the movement of players and the control of sports broadcasting.

If the evidence so far seems to be indicating that the current trajectory of globalisation is toward internationalised or multinationalised sport, the relative immunity of international federations and the IOC from domestic state or supranational state regulation and oversight provides contrary evidence. However, the capacity of the United States to call the IOC to account over the Salt Lake City bribery allegations and the role of countries such as Canada, Australia and the UK along with the European Union in forcing the IOC to agree to an independent anti-doping agency (the World Anti-Doping Agency) both demonstrate the capacity of states to challenge the transnational status of international federations and the Olympic movement.

From the foregoing discussion of the three-fold ideal typology, it should be clear that, as in the discussion of the process of globalisation, the state commands a central position in any discussion of the outcome of globalising processes. Whichever examples of globalisation are selected, anti-doping efforts, the development of sports broadcasting, the movement of sportsmen and women between clubs and countries,

or the response to football hooliganism, the state is of central significance in determining the pattern of engagement between national and global sport and is far from the residual institution that is sometimes suggested (see Houlihan, 2003). This is not to argue that the state is a natural adversary of globalisation. Indeed some states, especially those with an ideological commitment to liberal economics, may well be the primary source of momentum for the intensification of flows between the national and the international. Moreover, it is argued that the capacity of the state to adapt to a changing global environment should not be under-estimated. Any cursory review of the nature of globalisation in sport will provide ample examples of the close relationship between globalisation and regulation by the state or by international governmental bodies. As Vogel (1996: 2) argues, 'the rhetoric of globalisation ... serves only to obscure what is really going on ... [L]iberalism requires reregulation'.

In summary, it can be argued that sport globalisation as a process has no pre-determined outcome. Indeed there are a variety of possible outcomes which would conform to the conventional definitions of globalisation, which stress the more extensive and intensive connections between people and places due to the increasing transnational flow of people, ideas, information, commodities and capital. However, a significant determinant of the trajectory of globalisation in general and of sport globalisation in particular is the behaviour of states.

Reach and Response

In the wake of the US-led invasion of Afghanistan and the defeat of the Taliban following the 11 September attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon, the Western press was keen to produce stories and pictures of the return to 'normal' life within the country. Two stories that received wide coverage were, first, the contact between the Afghan sports authorities and the IOC concerning the future involvement of the country in the Olympic Games and, second, the revival of a local sport (involving a headless goat and teams of horsemen) previously banned by the Taliban. The celebration of local sporting culture and the conscious embrace of global sport is by no means unusual. Many, perhaps most, countries can provide examples of dual sporting cultures sitting comfortably alongside one another. The Irish have various Gaelic sports yet participate enthusiastically in the football World Cup and the Olympic Games; Australia has its parochial sport of Australian Rules Football, but is also active across a wide range of Western team and individual sports; and the USA seems unconcerned that few other countries play American football or baseball.

Just at the time when we are coming to terms with the impact of globalisation, there appears to be a contradictory phenomenon emerging, namely that of localisation. If globalisation reflects the power of universalistic socio-cultural flows, then localisation emphasises spatial definition and socio-cultural specificity. This phenomenon is evident in politics, especially in Europe, where the enlargement of the European Union has been paralleled by the creation of 16 new states since 1989.

For Rosenau (1994) 'framgregation' aims at fragmentation and integration and is referred to as 'what is taking place where' 'what is taking place' which is constructing societies to maintain Globalisation involves of universalism (the notion of particular distinct identities).

The capacity for what is less clear writers, the impact of Americanisation perspective, this oppressive impact on the impact of In contrast to the project' (Brown compatible with heterogeneity).

Underlying that the basis of accepted that so far as identity can be argued also important has to position as distinctive more significant Nations, particularly global 'principles' Meyer et al national sports common people.

On one homogeneous identity/nation and adapt local response 'respondents' and people.

For Rosenau (1994) the relationship between the two processes is described as 'framegration' aiming to capture, if not very elegantly, the dual processes of fragmentation and integration. Robertson (1995) identified a similar phenomenon which he referred to as 'glocalisation'. For Robertson, global culture is contested terrain where 'what is taken to be a worthy direction of societal aspiration – is something which is constructed in the global arena in relation to the constraints upon (most) societies to maintain their own identities and senses of community' (1987: 38). Globalisation involves the reconciliation of a paradox which is the 'particularization of universalism (the rendering of the world as a single place) and the universalization of particularism (the globalised expectation that societies ... should have distinct identities)' (Robertson, 1989: 9).

The capacity of globalisation to reach into every community is not denied, but what is less clear is the impact of that 'reach'. As mentioned above, for a number of writers, the impact of globalisation on culture is to lead to synchronisation, Americanisation or homogenisation and, as Scholte observes, 'Depending on one's perspective, this homogenisation entails either progressive cosmopolitanism or oppressive imperialism' (2000: 23). However, there is little evidence of a consensus on the impact of globalisation on culture generally or on sports culture in particular. In contrast to those who see only cultural homogeneity and the 'end of the national project' (Brown, 1995), there is an equally strong view that globalisation is not only compatible with continuing cultural heterogeneity but may even stimulate greater heterogeneity.

Underlying much of the discussion of the impact of globalisation is an appreciation that the basis on which national identity is defined has subtly shifted. It has long been accepted that defining national/regional identity is a mutually constitutive process in so far as identity is defined in relation to contrasts with 'foreigners'. More recently, it can be argued that there is a set of globally recognised reference points which are now also important in establishing identity and against which each nation or community has to position itself. These reference points range from the relatively mundane, such as distinctive postage stamps, military uniforms, national flags and anthems, to the more significant such as membership of the World Trade Organisation and the United Nations, participation in UN peacekeeping/making activities, and attitudes towards global 'principles' of human rights, state sovereignty and internal democracy (see Meyer et al., 1997). One of these reference points is clearly participation in international sport and the Olympic Games in particular. Sport is thus an example of the common paradox of utilising a uniform vehicle for the demonstration of difference.

On one level therefore the reach of globalisation should not be equated with homogeneity, as its 'arrival' may be a welcome opportunity to demonstrate community/national distinctiveness. At another level, the capacity of communities to modify and adapt global culture should not be under-estimated. Jensen, in a study of the local response to television news programmes in a range of countries, noted how 'respondents consistently redefined and reinterpreted the agenda offered by journalists and political actors appearing on the news' and emphasised the extent to which

'the varied local cultures manifest themselves in the interpretation of foreign as well as domestic news. Culture shines through' (Jensen, 1998: 194, 195). Hannerz reinforced Jensen's conclusion and observed that peripheral cultures have a clear capacity to absorb 'the influx of meanings and symbolic forms from the centre [and] transform them to make them in some considerable degree their own' (1990: 127). For Hannerz engagement with global culture is an active process according to which communities/groups appropriate selectively global cultural commodities and use them to refine and reform their own distinctive cultural identity.

Hannerz's marketplace model of globalisation over-emphasises the element of choice and discretion in peripheral communities but it does have a resonance in developed countries, where engagement with global culture is on more equal terms. Warde (2000) demonstrates the capacity of communities to adapt global culture in his study of eating habits in the UK. He illustrates a number of responses to non-traditional food, including the domestication of the exotic whereby previously exotic ingredients are incorporated into traditional British dishes and where foreign recipes are modified to suit British taste. These closely related processes can be seen in many British sports in recent years, where sports such as tennis, football, cricket, swimming and hockey have imported foreign elite coaches who have each brought with them 'foreign' training methods and playing strategies. Similarly, the influx of foreign players into the Premier League has required an adaptation on their part to aspects of the traditional English game, such as the pace and aggression.

There are a number of parallel examples to the British experience. In his study of baseball and the relationship between the Dominican Republic and the United States, Klein (1991) argues strongly that the game of baseball has been metamorphosed and that far from simply reflecting American cultural hegemony, it has become a vehicle for demonstrating Dominican excellence. Baseball has been reshaped to infuse it with distinctive Dominican characteristics and qualities, suggesting a clear capacity for a community to import, redefine and re-export a sports cultural product. Similar conclusions were reached by a number of writers in relation to the impact of cricket in the West Indies. James (1963) argued that cricket was significant in establishing a West Indian identity, while St Pierre suggests that cricket 'has been reshaped in sympathy with the cultural ethos of the West Indies [and] has been used as a tool to foster and further nationalist sentiment and racial pride' (1990: 23). For Burton the form of cricket might remain English but it has been 'injected with a new, specifically West Indian content and meaning' (1991: 8). The use of four fast bowlers and the panache and flamboyance of play are considered to be in marked contrast to the English playing norms of seriousness, respectability and moderation. A similar argument has been made in relation to the cultural significance of cricket in Australia where it is seen as reflecting Australian characteristics of flair and determination (Smith, 2009).

Just as it was difficult to pin down the particularities of the process of globalisation, so it is equally difficult to be precise regarding the process by which outcomes are determined. Table 24.2 suggests a model for investigating the mediation of global culture at the community level (see Houlihan, 1994).

Table 24.2 Global reach and local response in sport

	Response of the local community		
	Passive	Participative	Conflictual
Reach of commodities	Unmediated reception of satellite television sports broadcasts	Gradual widening of participation in major international sports events such as the soccer World Cup and the Olympic Games through the formation/action of non-governmental sports bodies	The manufacturing of high retail value football kit and equipment in low-wage countries
Actions of the state	Ignoring the issue of doping by national athletes	Shifts in public funding to protect/promote particular sports, e.g. the arranging of sports events specifically for women in Iran	Olympic boycotts
Deep structure of societal processes	The gradual marginalisation of local sports or their repackaging for global consumption	The acceptance of women's participation in selected sports in some Muslim countries	Banning of female athletes in Olympic squads in many Islamic communities

Passivity generally implies an inability to challenge the external culture and would come close to descriptions of cultural imperialism with the relationship between the United States and the Dominican Republic being a good example. By contrast, the development of sport in much of Western Europe and in English settler states such as Canada and Australia suggests not only a deep penetration by external culture, but more significantly, a strongly participative relationship in shaping and mediating external culture through control over media businesses or through influence within international sports bodies such as the IOC. Further examples of participative relationships between the domestic and the external culture include Japan and many of the countries of South East Asia, where the depth of penetration might be lower and where cultural adaptation and reinterpretation are greater. A conflictual response to external sports culture was seen briefly in both Russia and China in the immediate post-revolutionary period and more recently in the 1960s, when a group of mainly Asian states organised GANEFO (Games of the New Emerging Forces) as a challenge to the perceived dominance by Western capitalist and pro-Israeli states of the Olympic movement and the major federations.

Conclusion

There can be no doubting the importance of current debates concerning globalisation in aiding our understanding of a number of key issues in sport, including: the significance of sport in the cultural fabric of a community; the interpenetration of sport with business in general and the international media in particular; and the significance of sport to governments and supranational governmental organisations. Yet, as this chapter has demonstrated, the analysis of globalisation and the consequent refinement of the concept is still in its infancy. As a result there is a need for caution both in the use of the concept and in the conclusions drawn about the nature and consequences of globalising trends.

This chapter has touched on three key debates over the nature of globalisation: globalisation as process; globalisation as outcome; and the reach of globalisation and the response of local communities. In all three of these areas there is a notable lack of consensus which reflects not only the shortage of empirical study, but also the complexity and multifaceted character of the processes under consideration. As regards the process of globalisation, the significance of economic power in sport must be acknowledged, but simply to treat global sport as a cipher for, or a tool of, economic interests is an over-extension of the limited evidence available. Moreover, claims that sport is capable of penetrating and altering deeply rooted local cultural practices must also await more substantial evidence. This scepticism is not to deny the possibility that sport may be a leading factor in, for example, bringing about greater equality for women, but rather to suggest that while sport may indeed be in the vanguard of cultural change, it may also be simply a highly visible reflection of change which has originated elsewhere – in the workplace for example.

The discussion of globalisation as an outcome highlighted the importance of treating globalisation as an open-ended set of processes which do not necessarily lead to a fixed destination. Globalisation is a complex and contingent set of processes within which the state plays a key role in shaping their pace, character and trajectory. The state is still the primary reference point for international sport and a central actor in determining the pattern of engagement between domestic sport and international sport. The final discussion concerned the need to appreciate the resilience, dynamism and interpretive capacity of local cultures. The language of sport may be universal but the meaning it carries is as much determined locally as it is in the boardrooms of multinational sports corporations.

CHAPTER SUMMARY

- The concept of globalisation refers to both a process and an outcome.
- Globalisation in sport has been described in relation to some or all of the following: internationalisation, liberalisation of government control, universalisation of culture, Westernisation/Americanisation and deterritorialisation.

- There is a tension between the economic and cultural basis of sport.
- As an outcome, globalisation is a process of internationalisation.
- It is valuable as a tool of internationalisation.
- Just as it is also important to be passive.

FURTHER READING

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- There is a tension between those theorists of globalisation who emphasise the economic basis of globalisation and those who emphasise the cultural basis.
- As an outcome, there is a need to specify the criteria by which a globalised sports world would be recognised.
- It is valuable to distinguish between the outcomes of globalisation, internationalisation and multinationalisation in sport.
- Just as it is important to determine the 'reach' of globalising culture, it is also important to examine the response of recipient cultures which may be passive, participative or conflictual.

FURTHER READING

Scholte (2005) provides a good overview of the debates on the nature of globalisation while Henry (2007) provides a wide-ranging analysis of globalisation in sport as do Jarvie (2012) and Giulianotti and Robertson (2007). For more detailed studies of aspects of globalisation, see Darby's (2007) examination of Africa's relationship with global football, and Klein's (1991) exploration of the relationship between the Dominican Republic and the USA in baseball. Justin Rosenberg (2005) provides a vigorous critique of much recent globalisation theory. 

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