

Homogenization, Americanization, and Creolization of Sport: Varieties of Globalization

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The paper explores the relationship between globalization and the concept of cultural imperialism. In addition, the paper addresses the problem of assessing the significance of particular sports and forms of organization of sport in the relationship between the global culture and recipient cultures. The paper distinguishes between the reach or penetration of the global culture and the response of recipient communities. Material is drawn from a number of countries including Ireland, Australia, and those in the Caribbean to identify six distinct patterns of globalization. The paper explores the factors that affect the extent of penetration by the global culture and those factors that produce a passive, participative, or conflictual response by local cultures.

Cette recherche porte sur la relation entre la globalisation et le concept d'impérialisme culturel. De plus, cette recherche touche au problème de l'évaluation de l'importance de certains sports et formes d'organisation du sport au sein de la relation entre la culture globale et les cultures receveuses. Une distinction est faite entre la pénétration de la culture globale et la réponse des communautés receveuses. À partir de matériaux provenant de plusieurs pays, y compris l'Irlande, l'Australie et les pays des Caraïbes, six patrons de globalisation sont identifiés. Les facteurs qui affectent le degré de pénétration de la culture globale ainsi que les facteurs qui résultent en réponses passives, participatives ou conflictuelles de la part des cultures locales sont également examinés.

It can be argued that a worldwide organizational infrastructure for sport has existed for some time and that, superficially at least, this has facilitated the development of a global sporting culture. Key features of the global sports infrastructure include, first, the emergence of unified international sports federations as the arbiters of the rules of individual sports and as the agents of sports development. Increasingly, it is the international federations that coordinate policy regarding broadcasting fees and antidoping through liaison with other global sports bodies such as the International Olympic Committee (IOC) and the General Association of International Sports Federations (GAISF). Governments have also developed an international framework for discussing sports issues, most fully developed in Europe through the European Union and the Council of Europe. Second, there are now a number of firmly established global sports events, either

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single-sport world championships and professional circuits, or major multisport events such as the Olympic Games and the Commonwealth Games, organized by both governments and the global sports bodies. Finally, the infrastructure of globalization is completed by the rapid development of a major international sports goods industry and the enthusiastic embracing by sport of the media and of television in particular. Sponsors can feel confident that when the World Cup final or one of the blue riband Olympic events is being broadcast something approaching a quarter of the world's adult population will be watching.

However, being able to point out the major features of a global organizational infrastructure for sport is a long way from being able to claim that sport is part of a process of cultural globalization, for although there has been much discussion of the attributes and nature of globalization in relation to sport, progress toward a consensus about the nature and significance of the process has been slow. In order to assess the utility of the concept for the study of sport three key aspects of the globalization debate are explored: first, the problem of treating culture as a totality; second, the variety of conceptualizations of globalization; and third, the impact of globalization and the reactions of recipient local cultures to exposure to the global culture.

Disaggregating Culture

Many anthropological and most sociological definitions of culture tend to stress the ideational aspect of behavior with custom, those traditional and regular ways of doing things, being a central facet of the definition. Culture may therefore be defined as an integrated set of values, practices, and attitudes that give each community its distinctiveness. For students of the interaction between an emergent global culture and a series of local cultures, a key definitional problem must be addressed, namely whether the culture of a community (local or global) can be disaggregated or must be treated as a totality. If valuable insights into the relationship between sport and globalization are to be drawn there is a need to attempt to distinguish between core and peripheral elements of culture. This discussion is important, not just in order that major events such as the soccer World Cup or the Olympic Games can be evaluated, but also so that trends such as the increased popularity of particular sports or particular forms of sports events can be adequately assessed. In other words, we need to have some criteria by which we can determine whether the fact that many Iranian youths, for example, will wear brand name sports shoes, compete in track and field, and watch the soccer World Cup is a sign of global penetration of the core values of a local culture or is a much more superficial engagement.

Among the attempts to narrow the focus in the study of culture there are those who assert that culture can be distinguished from the economic sphere. Tomlinson, for example, treats culture as "the context within which people give meaning to their lives" (1991, p. 7) and distinguishes it from economic practices (how people satisfy their material needs) and also from political practices (the distribution of power within and between collectivities). Tomlinson admits that this level of distinction is "crude and problematic." The main difficulty with this approach is that it does not help in the identification of the significance of particular elements of culture unless one accepts a simple base/superstructure dichotomy. Said (1994), adopting a very similar approach to Tomlinson, implies

that those "practices, like the arts of description, communication, and representation, that have relative autonomy from the economic, social and political realms" (p. xii) constitute the essence of a community's culture. None of these distinctions is particularly useful partly because the attempt to isolate culture from politics and economics is not convincing, partly because of the implicit assumption that the various elements of a community's culture, however demarcated, are of broadly equal significance, and partly because the relationship between culture and the reproduction of structural aspects such as gender inequality receives such scant attention.

Hannerz provides one of the most interesting attempts to disaggregate culture, although also making use of economic, political, and social reference points. Using the notion of "cultural flows" Hannerz distinguishes three key flows. The first concerns cultural commodities that circulate within the marketplace and would include sports goods and fashionwear as well as televised sport. The second flow is located in the political sphere and is centered on the actions of the state as an organizational form, but also as a manager of meaning. Developing, maintaining, and refining national identity are key responsibilities for any state and a process in which the role of sport is widely acknowledged. Hannerz's final cultural flow is the "form of life," which he uses to refer to the "habitual perspectives and dispositions" (1990a, p. 114) that define everyday life and would include such elements as gender relations. This cultural flow is relatively insulated from other cultures.

Undoubtedly Hannerz's typology can be challenged particularly with regard to the boundaries between cultural flows. Hannerz's work is important in the questions it raises about the relative significance of particular cultural elements and the implications that this has for the engagement of local cultures with global culture. In essence the problem is one of being able to specify the core elements of a local culture. For example, is the recent popularity of American football in Britain (cf. Maguire, 1990) an invasion of, and challenge to, the nation's core identity or merely an example of cultural ephemera confined to the marketplace and the cultural periphery? A similar problem arises when sport in Ireland is considered. Is the apparent decline in the popularity of traditional Irish sports, which were so important in defining Irish national identity during the anticolonial struggle, and the rising popularity of (the English game of) soccer evidence of successful penetration by global culture? Finally, how does one assess the relative significance of particular sports as opposed to the pattern of sports organization found in local cultures? In other words, is the success of globalization to be measured in terms of the spread of leagues, functional specialism among players, complex rules, and other features of organizational rationality, or in terms of global adoption of particular sports?

While the analysis and disaggregation of local cultures into core and peripheral elements are important, so too is the need to identify the central features of the global culture. Although there is a degree of consensus concerning the broad ingredients of the global culture, there is significant variation depending upon the extent to which the process is seen as primarily bilateral and imperialistic or multilateral and possibly participative.

From Cultural Imperialism to Globalization

At the heart of much writing on the spread of capitalism throughout the world is the argument that its increasing ubiquity is facilitated by the spread of

a supportive "consumer culture" that is frequently imposed upon and deliberately undermines the local culture. Writers such as Dorfman (1985), Dorfman and Mattelart (1975), Mattelart (1983), and Schiller (1976, 1985) have extended to the cultural sphere the analyses of modern imperialism provided by Franks (1969, 1979) and Wallerstein. In a frequently quoted passage, Schiller defines cultural imperialism as the "sum of the processes by which a society is brought into the modern world system and how its dominating stratum is attracted, pressured, forced and sometimes bribed into shaping social institutions to correspond to, or even promote, the values and structures of the dominating center of the system" (1976, p. 9).

The maintenance of political collaboration through the manipulation of cultural dependence is at the heart of Wallerstein's world-system theory. The modern global economy has resulted in the emergence of a series of geographical divisions focused on nation-states. Core, periphery, and semiperiphery nation-states consequently have defined positions in the global class structure of nations. Culture plays a crucial role in reconciling the tension within an economic system that requires on the one hand the elimination of all social barriers to commodification and on the other the unequal distribution of surplus value integral to the process of capitalist accumulation (Wallerstein, 1990a). Schiller sees the mass media fulfilling a central role in the manipulation of local cultures, acting as capitalism's Trojan horse and "saturating the cultural space of the nation" (1985, p. 18).

Although there are variations within the dependency-based analysis of the development of global culture, there is also a high degree of agreement that, in a modern world typified by persistent interaction and exchange, the result has been the creation of a relationship "structured as an asymmetry of centre and periphery . . . the periphery out there in a distant territory, is more the taker than the giver of meaning and meaningful form" (Hannerz, 1990b, p. 107). However, Hannerz's observation indicates a high degree of unease with the simple functionalist assumptions of much of the neo-Marxist theorizing of cultural imperialism. A particularly acute weakness of the concept of cultural imperialism as an appropriate description of cultural interaction in the late 20th century is its association with the notion of coercion and the imposition of an alien culture. As Tomlinson notes, "What dogs the critique of cultural imperialism is the problem of explaining how a cultural practice can be imposed in a context which is no longer actually coercive" (1991, p. 173).

It is far more plausible to acknowledge that the interaction between the global and local cultures over what is worth knowing is highly contested and too complex to be reduced to a unidirectional process. As a result there are a number of writers who prefer to use the term *globalization* as an alternative to cultural imperialism. If cultural imperialism is characterized by an emphasis on the intended diffusion of one culture across the globe, then globalization suggests an "interconnection and interdependency of all global areas which happens in a far less purposeful way" (Tomlinson, 1991, p. 175). The net effect is the weakening of the cultural coherence of all individual nation-states including the current major capitalist centers and the former imperial powers. The cultural stability of the "imagined community" of the imperial nation-state has been undermined and replaced by a growing sense of cultural insecurity.

Featherstone (1990, p. 9) takes the argument even further by suggesting that a global "third" culture is emerging which, for Wallis and Malms (1984,

1987), is essentially transcultural, and for King (1990, p. 4) a-national. In discussing the way in which globalization is reflected in sport, Wagner argues that "what we are seeing around the world, and this is perhaps most evident in Asia and Africa, is a blending of many sports traditions" (1990, p. 400). Controversially, he suggests that the end result of this process is greater homogenization but that this is not imperialistic; it is explained as reflecting the "will of the people" (p. 402).

The Impact of Globalization

While the literature on globalization and cultural imperialism is already large and rapidly increasing only a portion of it attempts to establish the consequences of engagement with the global culture for the recipient local cultures. Much closer attention is frequently paid to cataloging the quantity and range of cultural products transferred from the rich, mainly western states. At worst this results in sweeping conclusions usually based on little more than an eclectic accumulation of anecdotes often underpinned by the patronizing assumption that no members of a local culture would embrace western global culture except under duress or as a consequence of trickery. For some observers the playing of western Olympic sports in preference to local sports is, like eating at McDonald's, rarely, if ever, the result of free choice. However, more recently there has been a greater concern to analyze systematically the impact of global culture and, in particular, establish whether there is evidence to sustain claims of global cultural homogenization. In addition, and equally important, is the concern to establish whether the capacity or desire of recipient communities to resist the imported culture is weak, or whether globalization is a more participative process where negotiation and accommodation are possible if not, in fact, the norm.

Hamelink, for example, argues strongly that globalization results in homogenization, or cultural synchronization, as he prefers to describe the process. For him "the impressive variety of the world's cultural systems is waning" (1983, p. 3) due in large part to the spread of western capitalism through the activities of transnational corporations. Brohm, also arguing from a Marxist perspective, articulates the global significance of modern sport in the following terms:

It ideologically reproduces bourgeois social relations such as selection and hierarchy, subservience, obedience etc.; secondly, it spreads an organizational ideology specific to the institution of sport; and thirdly, it transmits on a huge scale the general themes of ruling bourgeois ideology like the myth of the superman, individualism, social advancement, success, efficiency etc. (1978, p. 77)

The implications of Brohm's analysis are clearly that the scope for cultural resistance is slight and, more importantly, that awareness of the manipulative force of sport is also slight. Yet this position is weak, relying as it does on two assumptions: first, that conscious acceptance of capitalism is unlikely if not impossible, and second, that the weakness of resistance is a consequence of false consciousness. Both these explanations need more support than Brohm provides, and any attempt to build an argument around the fragile concept of false consciousness is never going to be convincing.

Hall, while presenting, superficially at least, an argument similar to Brohm's, is much more subtle and persuasive. He suggests that global mass culture is "a particular form of homogenization . . . [which] is not absolutely complete, and it does not work for completeness. . . . It is wanting to recognise and absorb those [cultural] differences within a larger overarching framework of what is essentially an American conception of the world" (S. Hall, 1990, p. 28). Thus for Hall, globalization does not equate with the destruction and replacement of local cultures; rather it is the manipulation of local culture. In other words the reach is selective though still largely uncontested. Following Hall, one could argue that the persistence of local, culturally distinct sports is evidence only of a superficial heterogeneity that disguises the impact of Americanization and homogenization on a community's core values, reflected in, for example, the acceptance of a patriarchal rational bureaucratic form of organization within which these local sports take place (A. Hall, 1993). The homogeneity of organizational form is assumed to be evidence of a much deeper cultural penetration, and crucial to the spread of capitalist values.

Stuart Hall's analysis is vulnerable on two counts. First, the emphasis on Americanization is challenged by those who argue that there are powerful competing cultural flows such as Japanization and Europeanization "which occur within but are not determined by the global capitalist system" (Maguire, 1993b, p. 42). Hall's analysis is also weakened when one attempts to explain the process and source of resistance of local cultures to the global invader, or the capacity of local cultures to absorb major elements of the global culture, adapt them to the local context, and redefine them in a way that is supportive of local values. Recent ethnic, nationalist, fundamentalist, and feminist movements all provide examples of the acceptance and later resistance to the cultural invader (A. Hall, 1993; Lechner, 1985; Maguire, 1993; Zayed, 1987). However, Beyer (1994) among others argues that particularistic resistance might be more apparent than real. Referring to the Islamic revolution in Iran he claims that not only was the revolution achieved using modern and globalized tools but that the "revitalization of their cultural difference" was a means of gaining access to "the perceived material and cultural (such as prestige, recognition) benefits of globalised systems" (1994, p. 174).

Examination of feminist critiques of culture and sport suggests strongly that globalizing processes are also directed toward marginalized social groups, particularly women, within culturally powerful states. Integral to the establishment of global capitalist cultural hegemony are the confirmation and reinforcement of patriarchal civil order and gender relations. Within feminist debate there is an attempt to characterize the dominant realist view of international relations as patriarchal and contrast it with a feminist internationalism based upon "an unacknowledged principle of co-operative autonomy" (Sylvester, 1993, p. 77).

Tickner goes further and argues that the hegemony of a realist perspective in international relations derived from masculine principles weakens a nation's capacity "to tolerate cultural differences and to seek potential for building community in spite of these differences" (1988, p. 433). However, this normative theorizing receives mixed support from empirical research, with the work of Colley (1992) and Anthias (1989) demonstrating the similarity in conceptualizations of nationalism between European men and women. Nevertheless, the emergence of a strong feminist critique of nationalism generally, and the pattern of sports organization and cultural practices in particular, must be acknowledged as a significant challenge to the theorization of global culture.

There is also much recent research into the adaptive capacity of local cultures, especially in the area of media discourses. Ang (1985) suggests that the consumption of global cultural products is frequently undertaken with an acute awareness of the underlying ideology, while Morley (1986) has shown how the "decoding" of television programs varies according to the social position of the receiver. Katz and Liebes (1985) demonstrated the variation among different ethnic groups in their response to the American television program "Dallas" and concluded that the meaning of a program is a negotiation between the producer of the story or message on the screen and the culture of the viewer.

In the context of sport an interesting example is the attempt by the Gaelic Athletic Association, in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, to prevent the spread of rugby union in Ireland because it was defined as an attempt by Britain (specifically England) to undermine the local culture; (white) South Africans, who also fought against British imperial power, redefined the same cultural product so that it symbolized the Afrikaans character and Afrikaner resistance (van der Merwe, 1985). There is an increasing body of empirical research which suggests that global sports may be played with local meanings attached to them (e.g., An & Sage, 1992; Cantelon & Murray, 1993; Stoddart, 1990).

Robertson (1987), in similar fashion to Morley (1986) and Katz and Liebes (1985), rejects simplistic models of globalization. Although he recognizes the constraints that arise from the unequal distribution of power in the international system, he stresses the importance of choice in cultural change. For him global culture is a 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" (Robertson, 1987, p. 38). Globalization consequently involves the reconciliation of an apparent paradox, namely 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, p. 9, quoted in Beyer, 1994, p. 28).

In terms of sport, Maguire points to the way Australians, for example, have used both modern and traditional sports to establish an independent national identity, leading him to conclude that globalization leads on the one hand to diminishing cultural contrasts, but on the other to an increasing variety of sports cultures (Maguire, 1993a, p. 310). Taking a slightly different line, Hannerz suggests that the process of interaction between the global and local culture is best described as one of "creolization" where when "the peripheral culture absorbs the influx of meanings and symbolic forms from the centre [it] transforms them to make them in some considerable degree their own" (1990b, p. 127).

The assumption that meaning is negotiated rather than determined is undoubtedly an attractive hypothesis yet is far from convincing as a full explanation of the interaction between global and local culture. To conclude that culture is negotiated begs a series of questions such as who sets the limits of negotiation and who is negotiating from the position of greater strength. In other words, what is the nature of the power relations that provide the context and limits to the negotiating process?¹

In practice it is likely that for some local cultures the awareness and acknowledgment of a global culture are important elements in defining their own

¹See Feld (1988), Rutten (1991), and Roncagliolo (1986) for analyses of the international media that explore this question.

identity and distinctiveness. Thus watching the same sporting event or playing the same sport may highlight the essential (and distinctive) qualities of local cultures. But while the superficial cultural products of globalization may be malleable by local communities, the context of interaction between the local and global cultures is set by deeper ideological forces more attuned to the prevailing pattern of economic power distribution.

However, there is a paradox in the relationship of local communities to aspects of the global culture. Wallerstein (1990b) has noted how states use a very similar repertoire of cultural reference points to assert and demonstrate their particularity. Thus the cultural distinctiveness of the nation-state is expressed in profoundly uniform ways, including forms of political decision making such as a legislature and a constitution; economic organization; and artistic forms such as a national anthem and a flag, and sports participation in the Olympic Games. What is implicit in Wallerstein's observation is the layered nature of globalization whereby the prime effect of globalization is the establishment of a homogeneous frame of reference within which local particularity is constructed.

This development has a clear parallel in sport. When globalization of sport is discussed, what is most often referred to is the spread and adoption of certain events or particular sports, such as the Olympic track-and-field events and soccer, rather than the ideology of organizational rationality as reflected in a concern with rules of competition, timing, record keeping, and, more nebulously, standards of play. What is important here is the analytical separation of the globalized cultural products from the underlying ideology that smooths their flow. Only by acknowledging the existence of distinctive layers of global culture can we attempt to reconcile the apparent paradox between claims to globalization and the ability of states to use sport to demonstrate cultural diversity.

Pursuing this line of argument suggests that many of the states and substate cultural groups who use sport as a tool of cultural, and often explicitly political, resistance do so in terms that merely reinforce the dominant global culture. Thus the investment in sport in East Germany, Cuba, and the Soviet Union was partly justified in terms of demonstrating the superiority of the socialist way of life; sport success was achieved by being more competitive than western teams or athletes, more determined to win medals, and more concerned with record times. In addition, Soviet and East German athletes in particular were granted privileged status and substantial financial rewards for success that was often the product of drug abuse. The broad similarity of organization of modern sport in both communist and capitalist states raises the question of whether it is possible to insulate the symbolism of sporting success from the way in which it is achieved. The same may also be true of the Gaelic sports movement in Ireland, where the cost of undermining local interest in English sports was the necessity to imitate the organizational features of English sport such as leagues and competitions. To paraphrase Wallerstein, what was intended to be a difference of substance was little more than a difference of form (1990b, p. 101).

The emergence of rationality as the dominant form of organization in sport is undoubtedly an important element in the argument concerning globalization. While Weber saw bureaucracy as largely neutral in ideological and interest terms, Marcuse (1955), by contrast, saw bureaucratic rationality as an organizational imperative that is ideologically hegemonic. The emergence of bureaucracy in sport has been the product of the same forces that promoted it in work and other areas of society, namely the growth in size of administrative units, the

development of a money economy, the increase in occupational specialism, and the dominance of the profit principle (Blau, 1956; Ingham, 1975). The process has been referred to by Elias as the "sportization of pastimes," the transformation of pastimes where the "game and the players were still largely identical" into sports where the establishment of regulating bodies endows "the game with a measure of autonomy in relation to the players" (1986, p. 39). The impetus for this process was the ruling class and their desire to control and centralize.

However, while this line of argument is persuasive it should not lead to a devaluing of the apparently more superficial layer of culture concerned with, for example, the playing of particular sports. As shown subsequently, the acceptance of a common pattern of sports organization may indeed signal the global spread of an important ideological imperative but this should not lead to a failure to recognize that profound differences will nonetheless still divide states and that these differences might be reflected in the sports they play or the significance attached to particular competitions. As a result, while conceptualizing culture in terms of layers or flows is attractive, it might also be misleading if it were assumed that the gap between the deep structure/core values of a culture and the more superficial was great. The latter may be less important but are still politically significant.

Picking a way through these layers of debate and ambiguity is difficult, but two fairly coherent positions on the issue of globalization can be identified. In the first, globalization is a conceptual extension of the longer established notion of cultural imperialism. In this conception the cultural relationship mirrors the economic power relationships in a capitalist world; the driving forces of globalization are exploitation and ideological manipulation of communities and people as markets, consumers, and workers. Similar views to this have been referred to as Americanization and commercialization. This view is much more closely associated with the matrix of interests that ties capitalism to particular states, most obviously the U.S. The second position defines globalization as an outcome that requires a reorientation by both the developed and developing worlds. Here the global culture is less confidently associated with an identifiable source such as the U.S. or capitalism. In the words of Hannerz, "The world culture is created through the increasing interconnection of varied local cultures, as well as through the development of cultures without a clear anchorage in any one territory" (1990a, p. 237).

In evaluating these different conceptualizations of globalization the remainder of this paper examines a range of cultural relationships, between developed world states and also between developed and developing world states. If one were seeking confirmation of the cultural imperialism hypothesis one of the most promising starting points would be an examination of the relationship between Britain and its ex-colonies such as the Irish Republic or those in the Caribbean. A second focus for examination would be the relationship between the U.S. and its Caribbean "colonies" such as the Dominican Republic.

A number of writers who have explored Britain's relationship with its former colonies in the Caribbean have argued forcefully that the relationship remains highly exploitative, both economically and culturally, and that the sporting relationship provides ample confirmation of a center-periphery axis. At one extreme there are those who argue that the culturally imperialist nature of the relationship is clearly reflected in cricket, where the former colonies' assets are stripped through the export of their most talented players to play in the English County League.

In addition it is argued that the relationship as demonstrated in cricket results in the cultural subordination and denigration of Caribbean peoples or at best "the opportunity to be as good as [their] master" (Tiffin, 1981, p. 187). For Patterson, cricket reflects the hegemonic position of British culture in many islands of the region and the consequential undermining of any attempt to establish an autonomous Afro-Caribbean culture. "Cricket is the game we love for it is the only game we can play well, the only activity which gives us some international prestige. But it is the game, deep down, which we must hate—the game of the master" (Patterson, 1969, pp. 23-24). A similar conclusion is reached by Stoddart (1987), who views the cultural legacy of cricket in Barbadian society as the perpetuation of a high degree of deference and conservatism among the island's poor.

Klein's detailed study of baseball in the relationship between the U.S. and the Dominican Republic paints a similar picture of exploitation and imperial cultural hegemony (1989, 1991a, 1991b). He demonstrates how the large North American clubs foster, trade, and discard Dominican baseball talent while simultaneously undermining the development of a strong baseball league in the Republic. Constantino raises similar issues regarding the relationship of economic and cultural dependence between the Philippines and the U.S. For Constantino, "Filipino consciousness under the Americans was a further deepening of the colonial consciousness that the Spaniards had implanted" (1978, p. 79). Sports such as basketball were seen as part of the apparatus that helped to instill and support an Americanized culture.

Despite the seeming cultural dominance of the central state there are a number of writers who argue that, the cultural power of the U.S. or Britain notwithstanding, the peripheral states are not passive recipients of the imported culture but are in a participative relationship. Joseph (1988) argues that the strength of support for baseball in the Yucatán province of Mexico was based on its symbolic role as a rallying point for the local socialist party. Klein suggests that the American game of baseball has been metamorphosed; rather than simply reflecting American cultural hegemony it has become a demonstration of Dominican excellence. Klein suggests that Dominicans have infused the game with distinctive characteristics and qualities, which implies a capacity (even if only to a limited degree) to import, redefine, and reexport a cultural product such as sport.

As regards cricket, St. Pierre and James make similar claims. James (1963, 1977), for example, draws attention to the significance of cricket in establishing a West Indian identity. St. Pierre goes even further and argues that cricket "has been re-shaped 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, p. 23). St. Pierre's view is supported by Burton, who argues that while the form is still English the sport has been "injected with a new and specifically West Indian content and meaning. . . . [it] has been comprehensively creolised" (1991, p. 8). The new content and meaning emphasize style, panache, and flamboyance and are in marked contrast to the perceived dominant norms of seriousness, respectability, and moderation.

In the case of cricket it would be possible to take this argument even further. Not only has the success of the West Indies cricket team challenged the dominant style of play, it has also challenged the form of play through the establishment of four fast bowlers as the core of a team's attack. However, the

impact of the West Indies on the overall style of play and tactics is arguably superficial and does little to undermine the organizational form of the game or the power relations that control the sport. The following brief examination of the relationship between Australia and the domestic and international governing bodies of cricket provides the necessary support for this assertion.

Australia shares with much of the Caribbean a long imperial association with Britain, but unlike the Caribbean ex-colonies Australia had a large settlement of British migrants and, in the 20th century, has achieved considerable wealth through the successful exploitation of its mineral and agricultural resources. In addition, until the middle of the 20th century, sport was used to maintain a cultural identification with Britain. However, in recent years sport has ceased to be primarily a confirmation of cultural links and has become a measure of the nation's maturity. Although the cricketing rivalry between Britain and Australia has been as intense as that between Britain and the West Indies, Australians of British origin have less ambiguity about being successful at British sports because cricket was part of the culture migrants brought with them. As Mitchell observes, "Australian cricketing nationalism was like the rivalry of a loving child, a sign of a continuing loyalty to Britain" (1992, p. 290). This is not to say that success at English sports did not pose problems for nascent national identity, but it is clear that a common sporting heritage was seen as an important reference point for establishing separate identity (Harriss, 1986). Also, Australia had little hesitation in deviating from English views on amateurism in particular and the relationship between commerce and sport in general.

The relationship between commerce and cricket caused the most serious dispute between the two countries. The cause of the dispute was a proposal to launch World Series Cricket in direct competition with the Test Match series organized by the sport's international federation, the International Cricket Conference (ICC). In 1977 Kerry Packer, the owner of Australia's Channel 9 television company, announced that he had recruited enough first-class cricket players to enable him to organize the rival international cricket competition. He proposed that World Series Cricket would, not surprisingly, be broadcast on Channel 9. The response of the ICC to this challenge was to ignore the threat, ban players who had signed up with Packer, and challenge his proposal in the courts. None of these strategies worked; virtually an entire West Indies team signed for World Series Cricket, and the legal challenge in the British courts failed. The agreement that eventually emerged was more a capitulation than a compromise. Packer got everything he wanted: exclusive broadcasting rights for 10 years, an increase in the number of one-day matches, day/evening matches, colored uniforms, and a say in which teams toured Australia. Packer's goal was to influence the development of cricket so that it was a more attractive television spectacle. As Whannel noted, "Packer . . . had no interest in running cricket, but merely wanted to clinch the television rights. He did" (1992, p. 76).

If the West Indies players were successful in altering the style of play, Packer can claim that he was able to change the power relationship between the international federation and the media in favor of the latter and force changes in the basic structure of the game (shown in the rise in importance of the one-day game). This episode highlights the distinction between changes in style and changes in substance, and it suggests that merely being good, or even being the best, at the sport is an insufficient resource on which to build a case for creolization or more extensive involvement in the process of globalization. It also adds weight

to the argument that within the debate over globalization of sport it is important to distinguish between the globalization of particular sports and the globalization of the organizational processes and values of modern sport and competition. Thus, whether or not the West Indies or Australia beats England at cricket, or even plays cricket, has little or no effect on the cultural power relationship between these states.

This view, which emphasizes the values embedded in the organizational basis for sport, suggests that conflicts over the playing of particular sports and who wins particular competitions are tensions confined to a more ephemeral and insubstantial layer (or flow) of a community's culture. In contrast, the transformation of informal village sports by the introduction of codified rules, formal patterns of competition, and governing bodies affects values at a much deeper societal level. The history of modern sport in Ireland provides an opportunity to examine this hypothesis.

The ambiguities surrounding the significance of sport in Ireland were amply highlighted in 1994. While none of the four countries of the United Kingdom qualified for the soccer World Cup, the Irish Republic was successful and progressed to the second stage of the competition. Ireland's progress generated huge interest among the Irish community in the U.S., the nationalist community in Northern Ireland, and in Ireland itself. Yet Ireland was achieving success at an English sport, with a team managed by an Englishman, and with a number of team members born outside the Republic of Ireland. This enthusiastic acceptance of English sports culture seems paradoxical when the recent history of sport in Ireland is examined.

The intertwining of cultural/sporting, military, and political opposition to English rule in Ireland has been intense for well over 100 years. Not only is sport significant as a symbol of resistance in Anglo-Irish relations, it has also been a locus for the organization of political opposition and, at least in the early part of this century, a source of paramilitary recruits.² The focus for Irish opposition to the English sporting tradition was the Gaelic Athletic Association (GAA), established in 1884 with the express aims of rescuing traditional Gaelic sports such as hurling and Gaelic football from obscurity and actively resisting English sports such as rugby, soccer, and cricket. An aggressive campaign, closely linked with the militantly nationalist Irish Republican Brotherhood, resulted in a revival of the moribund sport of hurling and was instrumental in defining Gaelic football and distinguishing it from English rugby. The revival of Gaelic sports was partly the recovery of lost traditions, partly a recognition of the consequences of the unchallenged attraction of Anglo sports, and partly a process of cultural invention and mythologizing.

Whatever the motives behind the Gaelic sports revival, the success of the GAA in orchestrating Irish cultural resistance is impressive. Success was largely based on the strong emotional appeal to nationalism and the strict enforcement of rules that restricted members to playing Irish/Gaelic sports and also prohibited contact with clubs subscribing to English sports. Consequently, during the first half of this century sport was both a potent symbol of resistance to English rule and a key element in the political and military campaigns to oust the English

²See Mandle (1987) for a fuller examination of the GAA and Irish nationalist politics.

from Ireland. Even today, the significance of sport in the politics of Northern Ireland is great, and the GAA remains central in the definition and promotion of Irish nationalism (Knox, 1986; Sugden & Bairner, 1986).

To be consistent with the analysis of Caribbean cricket and Dominican baseball we need to ask whether the achievements of the GAA were similarly superficial. At first glance the answer would be no; the Irish Catholic majority, through the GAA, was able to define and then reject "alien" English sports and replace them with traditional sports that subsequently put down deep roots. In addition, and at a more profound level, one could also argue that the GAA was able to challenge effectively the organizational assumptions of English sport, particularly regarding notions of professionalism and middle-class exclusivity. However, Mandle (1987) makes clear that a similar process of challenge was taking place at roughly the same time (late 19th century) in England, with both soccer and rugby dividing over the issue of payment of athletes. More importantly, Mandle argues that despite the aggressive anti-English foundation of the GAA, and the success of the rejection of English sports, the GAA was operating within a definition of sport that was essentially English:

While adopting hostility to all England, and particularly English sport, stood for, the Association was forced, unconsciously as it may be, to imitate the features of Victorian sport—its emphasis on morality, on health, on organization, codification and competition. Much of what the GAA regarded as distinctive about the meaning of its games was merely the result of the substitution of the word "Ireland" for "Britain" or "England." (1987, p. 14)

But as Mandle noted it is not surprising that Ireland and the GAA followed the rest of the industrialized world in adopting English sports and the attendant underlying values. While each country may play each sport in its own style, "the purposes behind the games revolution—the philosophic heightening of their meaning, the moralising . . . were everywhere the same order. . . . Even the use of sport to proclaim national distinctiveness was a British invention" (Mandle, 1987, p. 14).

If Mandle's argument is pursued, it is possible to view Irish sport in a similar fashion to that in the Caribbean as being characterized by superficial resistance within an imperial hegemony. Yet to draw such a conclusion would be to underplay seriously the importance of sport in the Irish anticolonial struggle. While it must be accepted that the underlying values and much of the organizational form of Irish sport are identical to those found in Britain, and throughout the industrialized world, the major role of sport both as a symbol of resistance and as an actual focus for the independence movement must also be acknowledged. It is therefore possible to develop a significant degree of local cultural autonomy within the broad hegemony of an imperial power and to work toward objectives alien to the interests of that power.

However, given the changing character of imperialism in the late 20th century, moving away from territorial domination to economic penetration, and the ending of the Cold War, it may be that the assertion of ethnic cultural identity is seen as less of a threat to dominant economic interests. Consequently, it is only in the declining number of states where territorial imperialism is still apparent (e.g., Northern Ireland) that expressions of ethnic cultural identity in symbolic

forms such as sport are still politically potent. For the nationalist community in Northern Ireland (and the Irish in the Republic), hurling and Gaelic football are far from being ephemeral. Both these sports and the activity of the GAA were, and to a degree still are, linked to and symbolic of the core values that define Irish identity and the "significant other," the British.

However, while Gaelic sports continue to be popular, the last 10 years have witnessed a rapid increase in the popularity of soccer, helped by strong performances by the Irish national team in the 1990 and 1994 World Cup competitions. The growing popularity of soccer might be interpreted as successful penetration by a global sport. A more plausible interpretation lies in the growing confidence of Irish national identity in the Republic and a growing appreciation of the value of a global stage on which to display that identity. While the symbolism of Gaelic sport is still acknowledged as a powerful demonstration of the particularity of the Irish nation, soccer is now able to fulfill a similar function before a global audience.

The capacity of the nationalist Irish community to maintain a degree of autonomy within the global sports culture is not unique. Examples can also be found in other communities such as Israel and Japan. Israel, which has seemingly embraced western sports with enthusiasm, has done so in a highly selective way. Although for some, such as Max Nordau, sport was promoted among European Jews as a focus for nationalism, this was not because sport in general or particular sports were seen as reflecting core Jewish values. Rather the motive for promoting particular sports was instrumental. For example, sport was used to stimulate support for domestic Israeli political parties or was valuable in demonstrating, on a global stage, the attempts by its neighbors to achieve Israel's diplomatic isolation (Hanak, 1974; Houlihan, 1994; Reshef & Paltiel, 1989; Soreq, 1984).

Despite the obvious contrast between the heightened symbolism of sport to the Irish and its culturally peripheral significance to the Jews, both showed a capacity to be selective in how sport would be used. A similar conclusion may be drawn from a study of the capacity of the Japanese to absorb the quintessentially American game of baseball into its highly nationalist culture and adapt it so that it reflected and reinforced Japanese cultural identity (Roden, 1980; Rosenstone, 1980). Whereas Americans see baseball as reflecting values of competition, determination, power, and skill, the Japanese see it as reflecting key national values of order, harmony, perseverance, and self-restraint. "Despite foreign provenance, baseball reputedly nourished traditional virtues of loyalty, honour, and courage and therefore symbolised the 'new bushido' spirit of the age. . . . While Americans in Yokohama played baseball to be more American, Japanese students . . . turned to baseball in an effort to reify traditional values and to establish a new basis for national pride" (Roden, 1980, p. 520).

Conclusion

There are two key questions that arise from the foregoing discussion: first, whether it is possible to distinguish analytically between the penetration by global culture of local core cultural values/flows and the "mere" penetration of superficial/ephemeral flow of a local culture, and second, whether there is sufficient pattern in the various relationships between global and local cultures to suggest common elements.

As to the first question, it is possible to argue strongly that the establishment of rational-bureaucratic patterns of organization in sport, as part of a wider process of rationalization in societies, constitutes a redefinition of core cultural values or, to use Hannerz's phrase, the "form of life." Thus, it would matter little which particular sports a community played, as nearly all of them would reinforce the process of socialization into a deeper value system. Attractive though this formulation might be it does not sit easily with the analysis of sport in Ireland, or indeed Australia. In light of the ubiquity of rational organizational forms in the late 20th century it may be that conflict over this element of social organization is redundant as an indicator of the relationship between global and local cultures.

For Ireland, the nationalist community in Northern Ireland, and Australia, organizational patterns associated with economic modernization were rarely, or only briefly, a point of conflict. However, while there is a common commitment to a particular form of economic organization evident across a range of communities, there are still sources of tension and conflict at the political level reflected in issues of ethnic and national identity and perceptions of military and political domination. As a result, the particular sports played should not be dismissed as simply an ephemeral aspect of local culture. For some communities who feel that they are an integral part of the modern industrial world, deep-seated perceptions of identity are reflected in the sports they play both in terms of retaining particular culturally specific sports (e.g., Gaelic football and hurling, Australian Rules football) and in terms of performing well in competition with political rivals (e.g., cricket Test Matches).

While Hannerz's formulation of cultural flows is valuable in sensitizing us to the differential significance of elements of culture, we must acknowledge that the distribution of elements of culture between flows will vary not only between communities but also over time. Thus for a small number of communities the tension between global and local cultures will be evident in terms of the organization of sports, but for the majority the tension will manifest itself in terms of particular sports. Consequently it is important not to allocate the choice of a particular sport to the level of superficial culture and dismiss its significance. In addition, it is insufficient to note the dominance of organizational rationality as the triumph of globalization, because the main consequence may be simply to displace intercultural conflict/tension to another aspect or dimension of culture with no lessening in intensity.

Previously I suggested that two fairly coherent conceptualizations of globalization could be identified; the first was an extension of established notions of cultural imperialism, and the second was a more participative process that might impact on both the exporting and importing cultures. However, I also made clear that the attempt to impose order on the concept should not disguise the need to appreciate the complexity and variety of patterns evident in the process. The notions of "reach" and "response" help to develop a more useful conceptualization of globalization. Reach refers to the depth of penetration by the global culture of the local culture, whereas response refers to the reaction of the recipient culture. As indicated in Figure 1, reach might be total or partial and response might be passive, participative, or conflictual.

In Hannerz's terminology, total reach would imply a penetration of all three cultural flows, while partial reach would suggest that the impact of globalization could be confined to one flow. A passive response relationship implies either

Reach	Total	A	B	C
	Partial	D	E	F
		Passive	Participative	Conflictual
		Response		

Figure 1 — Patterns of globalization.

an enthusiasm for the external culture (as evident in some of the postcommunist countries of eastern and central Europe) or an inability to challenge the global culture. A participative relationship between the global culture and local cultures suggests a process of negotiation, bargaining, and accommodation and implies a sufficient control over resources to provide recipient cultures with leverage. Finally, a conflictual relationship indicates not only the possession of sufficient resources to enable resistance but also a set of values that leads to rejection or attempted rejection of the global culture.

Of the communities referred to in this paper those of the Caribbean are the clearest example of a pattern of sports globalization that is primarily both passive and total (A in Figure 1) and that comes closest to descriptions of “cultural imperialism.” The mix of a rhetoric of resistance and a clear enthusiasm for many global sports reflects the degree of ambivalence toward global sport. By contrast, the development of sport in Australia (but also in Canada, South Africa, and New Zealand), while indicating a total penetration by the global culture, also indicates a high degree of participation in the shaping of that global culture (B in Figure 1) whether through the control over media resources, as in Australia with regard to cricket, or through influence within the Olympic movement and the Commonwealth Games Federation, as in Canada. These countries are best seen not just as willing participants in the development of a global culture but as integral and defining elements of it. It is within this category that one would find examples most closely associated with Hannerz’s notion of creolization.

There are likely to be few lasting examples of situations where reach is total and the response is conflictual (C in Figure 1). However, there are a number of occasions when this combination has occurred such as the brief period in postrevolutionary Russia or, more recently, at the height of the cultural revolution in China. More recently still there are clear elements of a rejectionist response to a perceived western global culture in a number of Islamic fundamentalist movements that have also had consequences for sport, for example in terms of the participation of women in major international competitions.

Partial reach combined with a passive response (D in Figure 1) involves communities that have embraced a rational organizational basis for sport but have retained either their own distinct set of sports or a mix of local and global

sports. Examples might include some Asian cultures that have been penetrated by rational organization of sport while still retaining many local sports, such as kebabdi in Pakistan and India and martial arts in the eastern Pacific. Japan and Israel are examples of a partial reach and a participative response (E in Figure 1); both local cultures were able to exercise a high degree of choice of, and influence over, the elements of the global sporting culture they accepted. Finally, there are a number of examples where partial reach has been combined with a conflictual response. Some countries, such as the former German Democratic Republic, extended the rational organization of sport to include the state-sponsored systematic use of performance-enhancing drugs. In contrast, Ireland, in the 19th and early 20th centuries, worked within a pattern of sports organization similar to that of the British but used their choice of sports as a basis for symbolizing a wider dispute between the two countries.

Creating typologies is always a dangerous activity. The value of Figure 1 lies not in its precision but in the stimulus it gives to thinking more coherently about the process and patterns of globalization and in providing a corrective to assumptions that globalization is a unidimensional and unidirectional phenomenon. While challenging existing conceptualizations of globalization is of value, it is also important to recognize the danger of setting unrealistic expectations of the concept's explanatory power.

Downs (1972) suggested that many political issues move through an "issue attention cycle." Following a period when the issue exists but is not acknowledged or recognized, the issue is subject to alarmed discovery and euphoric enthusiasm. This stage in the cycle is followed, in turn, by a growing realization of the complexity of the issue and the cost of any solution, which leads to a gradual cooling of enthusiasm and the quiet transfer of the issue to the backburner of the political agenda. Concepts in the social sciences (corporatism is an example that comes to mind) have a habit of following a similar cycle.

It would be a great loss if globalization were to meet the same fate. There is a danger that too much will be expected of the concept and that its failure to explain adequately a wide range of issues and problems in the cultural politics of sport will lead to its premature abandonment. In addition, there is always the temptation among social scientists to overextend and overanalyze a concept until it dies of exhaustion. The interaction between one culture and another, both of which are dynamic, is not going to be amenable to tidy analysis, but the concept of globalization is extremely valuable in sensitizing researchers to the complexities of the debate.

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