'Every once in a while a book comes along and you have to say to yourself, "finally"!'

Michael Atkinson, Associate Professor in Kinesiology and Physical Education, University of Toronto, Canada

GLOBAL SPORTS POLICY

CATHERINE PALMER

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ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

ACF: Advocacy Coalition Framework

AFL: Australian Football League

AIGCP: Association International des Groups Cyclistes Professionels

AIS: Australian Institute of Sport

ATHCOS: Athens Olympic Games Organizing Committee

BOCOG: Beijing Organizing Committee of the Olympic Games

BRIC: Brazil, Russia, India and China

CPSU: Child Protection in Sport Unit

CSO: civil society organizations

CSR: corporate social responsibility

DCMS: Department of Culture, Media & Sport

EMAS: Eco-Management and Audit Scheme

ETA: Euzkadi Ta Askatasuna

EU: European Union

FARE: Football Against Racism in Europe

FFC: Fédération Française de Cyclisme

FIFA: Fédération International de Football Association

FLEC: Front for the Liberation of the Enclave of Cabinda

GEO: Grupo Especial de Operaciones

GRAPO: Grupo de Resistencia Antifascista Primo

HECTOR: HEritage Climate TOrino

IAAF: International Association of Athletics Federation

ICC: International Cricket Council (originally the Imperial Cricket Council)

IOC: International Olympic Committee

LOCOG: London Organizing Committee of the Olympic Games

MCG: Melbourne Cricket Ground

NADO: National Anti-Doping Organization

NEC: Norwegian Environmental Organization

NGB: national governing bodies

NGO: non-government organization

NOC: National Olympic Committee

NSB: National Sporting Body

NSO: national sports organization

NSPCC: National Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children

OCIEP: Office of Critical Infrastructure and Emergency Preparedness (Canada)

OCOG: Organizing Committee of the Olympic Games

OECD: Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development

PLO: Palestine Liberation Organization

PPG 17: Planning Policy and Guidance – Open Space, Sport and Recreation

SSC: Swedish Sports Confederation

TOROC: Torino Organizing Committee for the 2006 Olympic Winter Games

UCI: Union Cyclistes International

UNESCO: United Nations Education, Scientific and Cultural Organization

UN: United Nations

UNEP: UN Environmental Programme

VANOC: Vancouver Organizing Committee for the 2010 Olympic Winter Games

WADA: World Anti-Doping Agency

WTO: World Trade Organization

ABOUT THE AUTHOR

Catherine Palmer is Associate Professor in Sociology at Deakin University, having previously held posts at Durham University, Flinders University and the University of Adelaide. Her research principally explores the relationships between sport and social policy, where her focus is on sport-related social interactions, the consequences that might follow from those interactions, and their implications for policy and practice.

Catherine serves on the editorial boards for the *International Review for the Sociology of Sport*, the *Sociology of Sport Journal* and *Qualitative Health Research*, and is a frequent reviewer for a number of international social science and health journals. Catherine has served as a member of the College of Fellows, Economic & Social Research Council (UK), the Executive Committee, Social Policy Association, UK, the Social Exclusion Board, South Australia, and has acted as a reviewer for the Austrian Science Fund, the Israel Science Foundation, the Economic & Social Research Council (UK), the Australian National Health & Medical Research Council (Population Health Grants), the Human Services Research Initiatives (Large Projects) South Australia and the South Australian Department of Health's Strategic Health Research Priority.

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INTRODUCTION

The idea for this book was prompted by what I saw to be a gap in how we think about sports policy. Despite cross-border travel, communication and consumption being key parts of our everyday lives, and despite sport itself being an increasingly global phenomenon, there has been no real attempt to locate the study of sports policy within a broader consideration of global processes, practices and consequences. It is this gap that this book takes as its point of departure.

The central argument developed is that in the last two decades in particular, several key events and societal shifts have occurred which now play important roles in the development, implementation and analysis of sports policy. The events on September 11, 2001, for example, have profoundly shaped the policy and practice aspects of ensuring safety and security at sporting mega-events. The emergence of a 'risk society' has influenced the nature of sports policy as it relates to child protection, public liability, risk management and the welfare of athletes. The movement of particular population groups across the globe has seen policy responses develop in relation to athletic migration at the elite level, while those fleeing persecution and abuses of their human rights have created a need for more inclusive, culturally aware, sports policy and provision for refugees, asylum seekers and other displaced persons. Following the Beijing Olympic Games in 2008, and the emergence of BRIC (Brazil, Russia, India, China) countries on the global mega-events circuit, there has been a growing questioning of the notion of sport in the context of social justice and human rights. Equally, growing environmental concerns have prompted the 'greening' of sport in relation to the hosting of sporting mega-events such as the winter Olympics and the growing popularity of outdoor sports, leisure and recreation worldwide. An examination of this interplay between sport and globalization at the policy level is the focus of the next ten chapters.

The book is also, although less so, concerned with the shifting nature of the relationship between research and policy. Although the potential for sport to contribute to social interventions such as crime reduction, community cohesion and urban regeneration is widely (although not uncritically) acknowledged, the increasing public scrutiny of government investment in sport demands robust evidence to ensure the delivery of a government's policy goals. Despite this, there remains a critical lack of research evidence through which to inform policy and practice. The aspirational claims that the London 2012 Olympic Games will leave a tangible, sustainable legacy for current and future generations provides an obvious example of the need for an improved evidence base in the field of sports policy. In the context of increasing spending cuts, a global economic downturn, and public scrutiny and accountability for the deliverables of sports policy, the issues for evidence-based and evidence-informed policy-making are particularly important.

The role of new technologies in the development and dissemination of sports policy is something I address. New forms of communication enable the rapid dissemination of research findings, and the wide availability of policy documents and data from all continents enables the comparative study of sports policy on an unprecedented scale. Equally, consumers of policy decisions, as they relate to sport or anything else, have adopted new technologies, which enable the global sharing of resistant and subversive critiques of – most notably – the human rights and environmental track records of cities and nations in relation to the hosting of sporting mega-events. The place of public resistance and new technologies in policy critique is also discussed in the ensuing chapters.

STRUCTURE AND ORGANIZATION

Given the kinds of issues the book engages with, I haven't written a book about comparative sports policy. That is, I am not concerned to compare and contrast particular domestic policy issues (e.g. elite sport or sport for all) across different countries. Rather, my focus is on the effects of globalization on the policy landscape, and the possibilities that a study of sports policy open up for us to engage with broader debates about globalization. My interest, fundamentally, is in taking the debates about the impacts of globalization on social life that are prevalent in the social sciences more broadly and applying these to analyses of public policy as they relate to global sport. That is, I am concerned to foreground the *social* aspects of globalization in the context of sports policy. Adopting a 'production of consumption' approach, the book is informed by debates about the political economy of sport and the socially constitutive and constructed nature of both sport and sports policy.

With this as background, the book is organized into two sections. The chapters in the first section – Key Debates in Globalization and Sports Policy – explore the theoretical and conceptual issues that relate to the nature, structure and governance of sports policy in a global context. The chapters variously introduce the key terms and definitions encountered in the rest of the book and offer an overview of the main organizations and institutions responsible for the delivery and governance of sports policy at supranational, national and subnational levels. The chapters in this section also explore the tensions between 'the local' and 'the global' – a key debate in studies of globalization – and their effects on the ways in which sport, and policy, is understood and interpreted. In addition, this section examines our changing relationship to policy, particularly the ways in which opposition to and critiques of policy have opened up through the emergence of anti-globalization and related social movements and the use of new, mediated mechanisms through which to harness and express dissent.

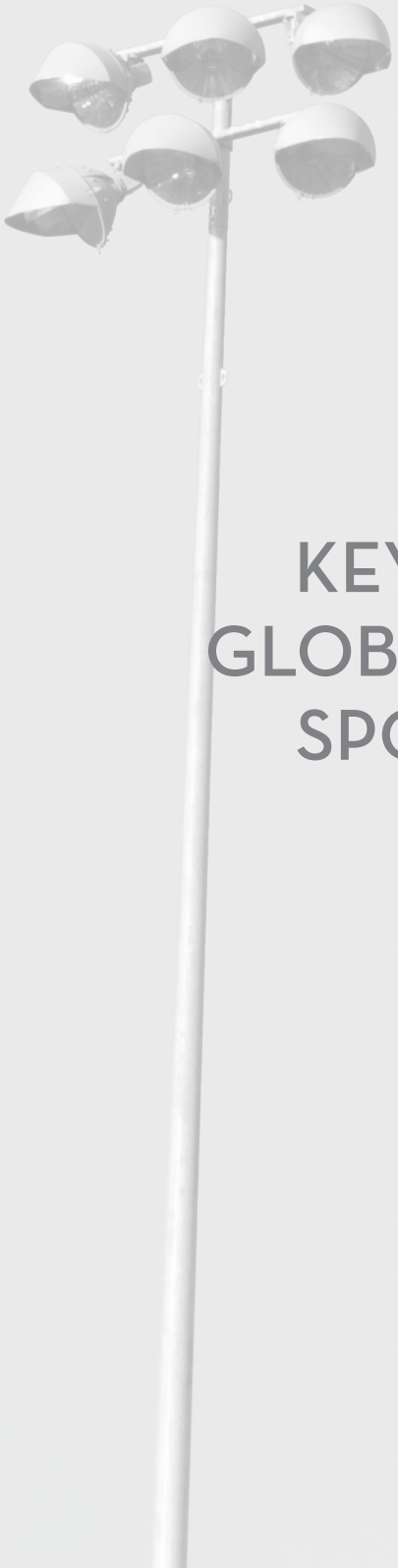
The last chapter in this first section argues for a greater, more globally inclusive, use of social theory to interpret the effects of globalization on the development and implementation of sports policy. Although the study of sports policy borrows from the political sciences and related policy analysis literature to

generate understanding of the policy process, it remains relatively bereft in its use of *social* theory to inform understandings of policy outputs and outcomes. To address this limitation, I introduce some of the theoretical perspectives from the social sciences that can be used to interrogate the impact of globalization on sports policy. I explore as well the challenges of 'doing' theory and policy in a globally inclusive way.

The second section – Globalization and Sporting Mega-events: Policy Implications – examines the policy implications of hosting sporting mega-events; undoubtedly the major global feature of sport and sports policy in the twenty-first century. Drawing on empirical case studies (the Tour de France and the Olympic Games and Paralympics, among others), the chapters in this section variously explore the sporting mega-event as a key site at which global concerns such as abuses of human rights, the impacts of environmental policy, and terrorism, surveillance and security can be played out. These chapters are principally concerned with the ways in which the movement of people across the world has pricked a global conscience that has then been incorporated into some of the key social and policy discourses that surround the staging of global sporting mega-events.

The book refers to sports policy in the plural. This is deliberate. There is no single sport that I focus on and there is no single approach to policy that I favour. That said, I cannot hope in the following pages to cover all sports, all policies or all policy issues that are implicated in the conditions of globalization. Equally, I cannot hope to cover all countries, cities or continents. Most of the chapters offer an extended case study of a particular policy issue – doping, race relations and multiculturalism, children at risk, human rights, safety and security, among others – or focus on a particular sporting event; the Tour de France and the 2012 Olympic Games being cases in point here. These case studies are offered as exemplars by which key debates can be extrapolated to other policy contexts and I direct the reader towards some of the conceptual linkages here. A further qualification is needed. Sport, and sports policy, moves fast, and there will inevitably be events that will 'break' which I cannot describe in any real detail. Where possible, I've acknowledged this and suggested further research to accommodate these emerging policy agendas.

Thus, the material covered is a deliberately diverse and eclectic selection that reflects my previous, current or emerging research interests in relation to globalization, sport and sports policy. Although a book on sports policy, it is informed by my background as a social anthropologist and I hope something of this comes through in what I've written. Because of this, I adopt a critical interpretivist approach to the analysis of sports policy and its location within a broader global social context. Following Sugden and Tomlinson, my approach is characterized by 'a healthy disrespect for disciplinary boundaries, an adventurous cross-cultural curiosity and a commitment to critical social scientific scholarship not beholden to patrons, agencies or sponsors' (2011: xiii). I have long and unashamedly admired the work and writing of Clifford Geertz and Ulf Hannerz, and I hope this influence is apparent in what follows.



PART ONE

KEY DEBATES IN GLOBALIZATION AND SPORTS POLICY

1

GLOBALIZATION, SPORT AND POLICY

THIS CHAPTER

- provides an overview of globalization and sets the context for the rest of the book;
- reviews the influence of globalization on sports policy;
- examines the relationships between sports policy, social policy and public policy.

INTRODUCTION

> Each year in the spring, the countries of Europe meet in a televised song contest, a media event watched by hundreds of millions of people. [In Sweden] a controversy erupted. … The winning tune was a Calypso tune with the refrain 'Four Buggs and a Coca Cola'. (Hannerz, 1992: 217)

Almost twenty years ago, the Swedish anthropologist Ulf Hannerz sketched the above scenario of a mosaic of languages, music and nationalities coming together in the Eurovision Song Contest. Along with Eurovision, a number of public events have emerged that provide important sites through which to examine the global movement of people, values, goods and experiences or what we might refer to as 'globalization'. Of concern for this book, sport provides an important and enduring backdrop against which to consider the global connections that have been created by world capitalism and then mediated by contemporary and emerging communication technologies; again, what we might also call globalization. As Giulianotti and Robertson note 'sport is an increasingly significant subject for global studies, in its dual role as a long-term motor and metric of transnational change' (2007a: 1).

While sporting events like the Olympic Games and Paralympics, football's World Cup, Formula One Grand Prix or the Tour de France, among others, provide opportunities through which to consider the production and consumption of globally circulating cultural, political, financial and human capital (still another way of describing globalization), the concerns of this book lie elsewhere. My main concern is to locate debates about globalization within a critical analysis of its effects on the development, implementation and analysis of sports policy in various contexts around the globe.

Events such as the Olympic Games or football's World Cup are, of course, fully implicated in any discussion about globalization and sport, however we cannot separate the *consumption* of these kinds of 'sports spectaculars' (Cheska, 1979) from a consideration of their *production*. As I note elsewhere:

> Too often, studies of 'the spectacular' have focused on the razzle dazzle, the pomp and the ceremony, whilst ignoring the processes of human intervention and accomplishment whereby spectacles are *made* to possess these qualities. In other words, it is not sufficient to assume that public spectacles are just part and parcel of the fall out of popular culture. As sports analysts, we need to address the role of human agency in the mounting of the mega-event. (Palmer, 2000: 366, emphasis in original)

Similarly, Carter maintains that

> Even when our critical, analytical gaze turns towards these spectacles, the emphasis is on the media imagery of said spectacles and the consumption of said vistas in particular. The tendency has been to focus on the most visible, the biggest and the best, without probing the hidden, interwoven local and global politics within the production of such events. (2011a: 132)

It is here that policy and policy-making play key roles in what sport (and sports events) looks like in this increasingly global order. A key theme developed is that sports policy is the product of considerable cultural work on the part of a whole range of individuals and organizations, and this has significant implications for the management, administration and governance of sport and sports policy. Policy and policy-making, in other words, are key to what the landscape of contemporary sport looks like in terms of tensions between exogenous and domestic sport as well as the events that are staged, sponsored and mediated on a global scale. Shifting policy agendas and competing tensions around the funding of sport also raise a number of debates about taste, culture, values and political priorities, which further makes an understanding of the 'work' of policy-making an integral part of any discussion about sports policy in the twenty-first century.

At the same time, a number of trends, developments and events have occurred that are significantly 'global' in their impact to have had a major influence on

sports policy along with social, political and economic life more broadly. Issues of risk management and public liability, for example, which are now what seem to be unavoidable consequences of the global 'risk society', have had a significant impact on the staging of sporting competitions, particularly those that rely on a volunteer base. Equally, the terrorist events on September 11, 2001, and then again in Madrid in 2004, London in 2005 and Mumbai in 2009, have profoundly shaped the policy and practice aspects of ensuring safety and security at sporting events worldwide, and a whole raft of policies have been developed in an attempt to mitigate the potential threat to human life that the spectre of terrorism now poses for events like the Olympic Games and Paralympics, football's World Cup or the Commonwealth Games. The consequences of these happenings, which are felt worldwide, also need to be considered in any critical discussion of sports policy.

It is this two-way tension between the policy dimensions that underpin the *production* of global sporting events and the *effects* or, to use Houlihan's (1994) terms, the 'reach' and 'response' that globally occurring social forces and events have on the development, implementation and analysis of sports policy more locally with which this book is centrally concerned.

This movement between a consideration of both production and effects requires some careful points of clarification, and the rest of this chapter unfolds in the following way: I provide, first, an overview of globalization and the key definitions and debates that have emerged over the past thirty years or so. I then consider the scope of global policy, and global sports policy. What do we mean when we refer to 'global' policy? Is this the same as international policy? Or transnational policy? What are the similarities and differences? While there is certainly some overlap, there are nonetheless some important distinctions in terminology as well.

To help frame these – and other – questions, I focus in the next sections on the concepts, definitions and debates that set the stage for understanding sports policy in the context of globalization. Given the complexity of the 'globalization debate', I do not adopt any particular theoretical or conceptual framework, but recognize a number of ways through which we might understand globalization as being a diffuse cultural phenomenon; an exogenous set of values and institutions that mediates or acts as a conduit for all kinds of social relationships. Thus, I draw (at times eclectically) upon these different conceptualizations to frame an analysis of both the *production* of global sports policy and the *effects* of globally occurring social forces, trends and events on the development, implementation and analysis of sports policy.

GLOBALIZATION

The concept of globalization is by no means new. The Ancient Greeks had the idea of 'an ecumene' or *oikoumene* (Hannerz, 1992); an inhabited earth that stretched from Atlantic Europe to the Far East. Equally, the notion of an interconnected

world has been with Western Europeans since at least the discovery voyages of Columbus and da Gama. It is the sense of urgency and speed, however, with which we now connect with one another that is perhaps the hallmark of this global, interconnected world. As I note elsewhere, 'the defining feature of the twenty-first century is that public culture is transmitted for global consumption at extraordinary speeds indeed. In the time it takes to log on, open a magazine or book a plane ticket, one can experience the constituents of popular culture across truly diverse registers of interpretation' (Palmer, 1998a: 34). Similarly, Janssen et al. write: 'globalization … is a prolonged process that has increased greatly in speed, scope, and impact in the latter half of the twentieth century' (2008: 72), while Giulianotti and Robertson (2007a) and McGarry (2010) note that globalization represents an acceleration of the intensity of forms of cross-cultural change and interactions due to the introduction and intensification of various agents of change such as communication technologies.

While we have long had a sense that we are part of a bigger, interconnected 'whole', it took until the twentieth century for us to define and debate it. The term 'globalization' first appeared in the 1980s to supplement terms like 'transnationalism' and 'internationalism' and to characterize what was then perceived to be an ever-shrinking social world where time, borders, local identities and cultural distinctiveness had all but collapsed. As Robertson rather apocalyptically put it, 'globalization is the rapidly increasing compression of the entire world into a single, global field' (1992: 174).

Globalization became a shorthand for 'cultural homogeneity', with many commentators arguing that the global circulation and consumption of goods and commodities would see those produced by culturally, politically and economically dominant nation-states (read: the United States) being introduced to local markets at the expense of 'home grown' goods, commodities, labour and services (Hardt & Negri, 2001; Ohmae, 1995; Ritzer, 2000, 2004). Alongside these arguments, debates about local resistance began to counter such fears about the homogenizing effects of globalization, with empirical research exploring concepts such as hybridization and creolization (Dirlik, 1996; García Canclini, 1995; Morley, 1992; Morley & Robins, 1995). As a counter to these arguments about perceived cultural imperialism, the activities of anti-globalization and new social movements offer highly politicized and very public critiques of the dominance of the European and Northern American metropoles on the global arena and the inequalities that are embedded within (Connell, 2007; Held & McGrew, 2007; Leite, 2005).

In an early piece, Houlihan (1994) outlines the variety of conceptualizations of globalization in the context of sport. He concludes that a fundamental dichotomy exists between a view of globalization as an extension of cultural imperialism and a more participative understanding of globalization where local culture is not merely a passive recipient but an active agent in its reception and interpretation. In short, debates about structure and agency coexist in concert, and I will return to them at several points in the book. Maguire, borrowing from Elias, also acknowledges these tensions, conceptualizing sport as

existing in the 'interlocking process of "diminishing contrasts" and "increasing varieties"' (1994: 395). For Maguire, 'global flows' are a profound feature of late-twentieth-century sport.

In light of these various ways of thinking about the transnational movement of people, objects and ideas, it is perhaps not surprising that there is little consensus as to how to define and interpret 'globalization'. Guillén notes that 'globalization has become a key concept in the social sciences, even though its meaning is contested and its systematic study has proved difficult' (2001: 235). Similarly, in his introduction to the then new journal *Global Social Policy*, Deacon notes the contested nature of globalization as well as its undeniable intersection with and impact upon policy-making:

> The scope and impact of the globalization process has yet to be subject to sufficient empirical investigation. The extent of globalization and the form it takes is open to normative evaluation and political struggle. Despite these areas of disagreement about the meaning, impact and desirability of globalization few would argue with the proposition that globalization, either as an economic reality or as a political project, is impacting on the making of social policy and the process of social development at national, regional and global level. (2001: 5)

As such, in the following chapter, I explore some of the debates – still largely unresolved – that have argued for a redefinition of the basic concepts that can help comprehend the complexities of the cultural, political and social effects of globalization, particularly as they relate to 'the local' and 'the global' in sports policy.

Although no one single grand theory of globalization exists, considerable thinking has emerged over the past three decades within disciplines such as anthropology, sociology, politics, economics and international relations.[1] In crude terms, approaches to globalization tend to stem from either a world system theory, in which globalization is fundamentally seen as the product of the spread of capitalism; that is, globalization is seen in terms of *economic* determinants and consequences, or from a way of thinking that conceptualizes globalization as being fundamentally the spread of cultural relationships and exchanges; that is, as a key determinant of *social* experiences. Clearly, both approaches frame the tension between the production and consumption of global sporting events and sports policy, in different, but equally applicable, ways and I engage with each in the ensuing chapters.

World System Theory and Globalization

First conceived by the American sociologist Immanuel Wallerstein (1974) to explain development and world inequalities (Robinson, 2011: 724), World System Theory seeks to explain the dynamics of the capitalist world economy in

terms of what he called a total social system. Inspired by the work of C. Wright Mills, Wallerstein had an abiding interest in understanding 'macro-structures'; what he conceived as 'world systems'. For Wallerstein, a world system is:

> A social system, one that has boundaries, structures, member groups, rules of legitimation, and coherence. Its life is made up of the conflicting forces which hold it together by tension and tear it apart as each group seeks eternally to remould it to its advantage. It has the characteristics of an organism, in that it has a lifespan over which its characteristics change in some respects and remain stable in others. … Life within it is largely self-contained, and the dynamics of its development are largely internal. (1974: 347)

Taking this notion of a self-sufficient organic entity that is held together by competing tensions, Wallerstein went on to further conceptualize a world system as being, in essence, a 'world economy' that is fully integrated by virtue of two or more regions being dependent on one another for food, fuel or protection, as well as by competition between two or more countries for domination without any one single political or economic centre emerging as superior (Wallerstein, 2000; see also Goldfrank, 2000). For Wallerstein, the world was essentially divided into four sectors: the core (North West Europe, North America, Japan), the semi-periphery (Southern Europe and the Mediterranean region), the periphery (Eastern Europe, North Africa, parts of Asia) and the external area (most of Africa, parts of Asia, the Indian sub-continent). A country's position within this world system was determined by a combination of colonial history and economic power. More recent thinking, however, has expanded this notion of interdependence and competition into one that links many countries and regions in particular forms of supra and sub-national economic, social and political relations.

Such a focus on globalization as an economic activity has clear resonance when thinking about sport and sports policy, and World System Theory has been used to understand athletic labour migration in sport (Magee & Sugden, 2002), the global sporting goods industry (Sage, 1994, 1999) and the playing success of countries relative to their position in the world system (Darby, 2000a). More broadly, the global economics of sport are big business. The revenue generated by events like the Olympic Games, football's World Cup or the Indian Premier League, in terms of ticket prices, tourism spin-offs and media rights, among other things, means that the global circulation of capital and commodities can scarcely be avoided in any discussion of contemporary sport. The Beijing Olympics had a projected revenue of US$3 billion (*Forbes*, 31 January 2007). The men's 2010 football World Cup in South Africa raised a total of US$3.3 billion (£2.1 billion) through television coverage and sponsorship of the event. The Fédération International de Football Association (FIFA) contributed US$1.1 billion (£800 million), alongside the US$5 billion (£3.5 billion) investment from the South African government that went towards providing the

necessary infrastructure – stadia, roads, transport links etc. – for the event (Bond, 2010). At current estimate in 2011, the London 2012 Olympic Games is expected to cost £11.3 billion (City of London, 2011), but the purported benefits of hosting this and other mega-events far outweigh their costs. Despite a global economic recession and its crippling effects, sponsors continue to come on board for reasons rather optimistically summarized by Joel Seymour-Hide, director of the sports marketing consultancy group Octagon: 'sport tends to be relatively recession proof. … It's an irrational love which creates more loyalty and resilience' (quoted in Black, 2009: 40).

This, of course, has implication for the development of particular forms of policy that relate to the economic regulation of sporting activity, media acquisition of sporting content and the global transfer of players and athletes. Each of these issues is developed further in subsequent chapters.

Cultural Approaches to Globalization

While world system approaches to globalization cast transnational movement very much in terms of the circulation of goods, capital, labour and commodities (that is, the stuff of a world economy), such approaches have been criticized for failing to acknowledge the cultural or social dimensions of cross-border travel, communication and consumption (Bauman, 1998; Cohen & Kennedy, 2007; Eriksen, 2003, 2007; Featherstone, 1990, 1995; Featherstone & Venn, 2006; Held & Kay, 2007; Held & McGrew, 2007; Robertson, 1992; Robertson & Scholte, 2007; Tomlinson, 1999). As Hannerz writes, 'the world has become one network of social relationships, and between its regions there is a flowing of *meaning* as well as goods' (1990: 237, emphasis in original).

Rather than focusing on the economic nature and effects of the movement of capital and commodities, the approach espoused by Hannerz and others conceptualizes such movement as being first and foremost a cultural activity whereby people, values, attitudes and beliefs move between and across borders. As Tomlinson notes: 'globalization lies at the heart of modern culture; cultural practices lie at the heart of globalization' (1999: 1). Such an approach argues that events that occur between and beyond national borders shape the collective life of those nations, as well as the individual lives and outlooks of their citizens (Tomlinson, 1999). Thus, globalization cannot be conceived in purely economic terms; understandings of globalization must also consider the impacts of cross-border movement on the *social* lives and interactions between and within nations, states and regions.

Such sentiments resonate with the work of the sociologist Roland Robertson, who has argued for the development of a 'global consciousness'. For Robertson, globalization represents 'the compression of the world and the intensification of consciousness of the world as a whole' (1992: 8). This notion of a global consciousness understands globalization as an inherently social, reflexive process, in which there is an intensified awareness of the world at large. Robertson argues

that, as individuals living in a world in which we are connected to others at an accelerated pace, we are in a unique, historical position from which to gauge the impact of global change upon our individual and collective lives. That is, as Robertson suggests, we must identify our own social position in relation to wider global processes (1992, 1995; Giulianotti & Robertson 2007b). Such sentiments echo those of C. Wright Mills and his formulation of a 'sociological imagination' that can 'grasp history and biography and the relations between the two in society' ([1959] 2000: 20). Indeed, Robertson's formulation of the global consciousness seeks to develop a global sociological imagination that understands the historical and social contexts in which practices and experiences are located, and the impact of global events, processes and consequences on these.

It is perhaps not surprising that such cultural approaches to globalization find their ontological and epistemological origins in disciplines such as social anthropology. Over the past three decades, the Swedish anthropologist Ulf Hannerz has been particularly influential in terms of pursuing an intellectual programme that examines the cultural dimensions of globalization, a programme developed more recently by his compatriot, Thomas Hyland Eriksen (2003, 2007), who has equally been influential in 'shifting world anthropology's focus to the global dimensions of local processes' (Giulianotti & Robertson, 2007a: 2) that is elaborated further in the following chapter.

Describing his approach to globalization as a study of 'the world system of culture where the varied currents of cultural flow come together and mingle' (Hannerz, 1992: 22), Hannerz has developed a research agenda that focuses on the use of ethnographic inquiry in the comparative study of global modernities and local modernities (Eriksen, 1997; Hannerz, 2003). Central to Hannerz's (1989) interpretation of globalization is his concept of the 'global ecumeme' or 'a network of networks'. As he writes: 'now more than ever, there is a global ecumene. The entities we routinely call cultures are becoming more like subcultures within this wider entity, with all that this suggests in terms of fuzzy boundaries and more or less arbitrary delimitation of analytic units' (Hannerz, 1992: 217).

In much the same way, the terrain of sports policy can be thought of as a network of networks; as an interconnected, inhabited world. The governance of many aspects of sports policy is made up of a range of interconnected organizations and agencies – the case of the worldwide fight against doping in sport is a prime example of this. While this is a theme I develop in Chapter 3, the point here is that in attempting to develop coordinated responses to anti-doping across countries, regions and jurisdictions, policy has become uniform and fragmented in equal parts. It is unilaterally governed by the World Anti-Doping Agency yet regulated by local and national agencies, reflecting an extension on the debate about the dichotomous relationship between the global and the local elaborated in the next chapter.

Although I have posited a fairly crude distinction between globalization as being the product of the spread of capitalism or the product of the spread of cultural relationships and exchanges, this is done for reasons of analytical simplicity.