

# Chapter 1

## Culture, Politics, and Spectacle in the Global Sports Event—An Introduction

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The political exploitation of the global sports spectacle and the cultural and economic ramifications of its staging have been critical indices of the intensifying globalization of both media and sport. Sports events celebrating the body and physical culture have long been driven by political and ideological motives, from the ancient civilizations of Greece and Rome to the societies of early modern Europe, in more modern Western societies as well as less developed and non-Western ones. This is never more so than when such events purport to be spheres of neutrality and embodiments of universalist and idealist principles. Spectacles have been justified on the basis of their potential to realize shared, global modes of identity and interdependence, making real the sense of a global civil society. Understanding this form of spectacle, and the extent to which its claimed goals have been met or compromised, contributes to an understanding of the sources of ethnocentrism, and to debates concerning the possibility of a cultural cosmopolitanism combining rivalry, respect, and reciprocal understanding. Analyzing the global sports spectacle is a way of reviewing the contribution of international sport to the globalization process generally, and to processes and initiatives of global inclusion and exclusion.

The most dramatic and high profile of such spectacles have been the modern Olympic Games and the men's football World Cup (henceforth World Cup). Such sporting encounters and contests have provided a source of and a focus for the staging of spectacle and, in an era of international mass communications, the media event. In any history of globalization, it would be an oversight to omit coverage of the foundation and growth of the International Olympic Committee (IOC) and the Fédération Internationale de Football Association (FIFA), founded in 1894 and 1904 respectively. The growth of these organizations, and of their major events, has provided a platform for national pride and prestige. Greece saw the symbolic potential of staging an international event such as the first modern Olympics in 1896 to both assert its incipient modernity and to deflect domestic tensions. Uruguay, having cultivated double Olympic soccer

champions in the 1920s, helped FIFA's aspirations take off by hosting the first football World Cup in 1930. From modest beginnings, each event grew in stature and significance as more nations came to recognize the potential benefits of participation in the events and the international status that might accrue from hosting and staging them.

The growth, consolidation, and expansion of these events have been truly phenomenal. From seven founding members in 1904, FIFA has expanded its membership, over the next century (and depending upon suspensions and the state of applications), to more than 200 national associations. From the first World Cup in 1930 at which only sixteen nations competed, and for which there was no real qualifying stage, the tournament has expanded to include thirty-two teams in its quadrennial final, based upon worldwide qualifying phases in which every national association in the world is entitled to participate. The Olympics, initially a platform for the physical, bodily performance of privileged European and North American male elites, now welcomes every nation in the world to its Summer Games. There may still be male-dominated small teams from brutal patriarchal states marching in the opening ceremony of an Olympic Games, but they carry the flag for the nation on a global media stage. In participatory terms, the World Cup and the Olympics offer a platform to all nations, and most of all to small nations, of the world that is unrivaled by any other cultural or political body, even the United Nations. In a postcolonial period, at different points in the twentieth century, this has allowed small and resurgent nations from Africa, Asia, the Caribbean, and parts of formerly Soviet-dominated Eastern Europe to assert their national autonomy on a global stage (in Olympic terms, see Simson and Jennings 1992; for the football example, see Sugden and Tomlinson 1998). Sport has in this way been a major cultural influence, with an explicitly political dimension. While such cultural and political currents have driven the involvement of the nations of the world in international sports events, the increasingly mediated base of such events has proved irresistible to the multinational and transnational corporate world. Miller et al. (2001) have argued forcefully that global sport can be adequately understood only if the character of the main political and economic dimensions is recognized. These dimensions are interconnected and serve the interests of what they call the New International Division of Cultural Labor (NIDCL), which operates in the context of "five simultaneous, uneven, interconnected processes which characterize the present moment in sport: Globalization, Governmentalization, Americanization, Televisualization, and Commodification (GGATaC)" (Miller et al. 2001, 41). Contributors to this volume may not choose to use all of the contents of such a box of conceptual tools, but each tackles in his or her own way one or another aspect of these elements of the NIDCL. It is impossible to account for the scale in the escalation of the sport spectacle without addressing some, if not necessarily all, of these processes. For instance, though sports forms and prac-

tices may vary, as is shown when respective cases in time and space are subjected to careful study and analysis, there is no denying that the logic of sport's political economy has been led more and more by what might be called the "U.S. model." And to study this, a blend of cultural analysis and political economy is essential. Alongside these challenging general theoretical questions, it is also important not to lose sight of the conceptual, definitional dimension of such study. Our working definition of global sport spectacle for this book is of an event that has come to involve the majority of the nations of the world, that is transmitted globally, that foregrounds the sculptured and commodified body and orchestrates a physical display of the body politic, and that attracts large and regular followings of on-site spectators for the live contest or event.

The importance of sports mega-events has been recognized increasingly in a world of cultural and economic globalization (Miller et al. 2001; see too the themed issue of the *International Review for the Sociology of Sport*, September 2000). The cultural-political and economic significance of such events (Roche 2001; Simson and Jennings 1992; Tomlinson 1986, 1994; Sugden and Tomlinson 1998, 1999) has not diminished in the wake of revelations about the corrupt politics at the heart of international sports diplomacy. The Olympics and the World Cup as media events (Dayan and Katz 1992; Puijk 2000; Alabarces, Tomlinson, and Young 2001) have continued to stimulate fierce competition among nations for the right to stage such events and to fuel discourses and narratives of international competition and national rivalry. Yet if sports have become increasingly international, this is not to say that sports culture has homogenized: football's global popularity and impact, for instance, have not eroded the distinctiveness of different sport cultures (Giulianotti 2000).

Seminal scholarship by John MacAloon (1981) has identified the interlocking cultural, political, and commercial interests that were the basis of the formation of the Olympics. These interests became stronger as the twentieth century progressed, so that nations, regions, and cities have become increasingly committed to the prospect of staging sports mega-events (Guttman 2002; Hill 1992). MacAloon (1984) has also assessed the conceptual frameworks available for analyzing the cultural dimensions of such events, and his reflexive contribution (chapter 2) to this book reviews those frameworks. Comments abound on the symbolism and ideologies characterizing such events (for one relatively recent collection, see Smith and Schaffer 2000). The international profile of the media event has produced recurrent discourses of identity and globalization (Tomlinson 1996, 2000). Local opposition to the rhetoric of civic boosterism has sometimes questioned the value of the cultural spectacle (Lenskyj 2000). But the aspirations to stage such events have continued to drive nations from all parts of the globe. For instance, China sought desperately, with eventual success, to stage the Olympics, while Africa staked and realised its moral claim to stage that continent's first World Cup in 2010.

National sports cultures are not all absorbed into a globalized, homogeneous form, as shown in the case of the national distinctiveness of the mainstream sports of the United States and football's continued marginalization there despite the staging of the most commercially successful World Cup ever (Markovits and Hellerman 2001). And at the Sydney 2000 Olympics, Australia's three top national sports (Australian Rules football, rugby football [in two codes], and cricket) were not Olympic disciplines. Yet the sports mega-event—particularly in the regular internationally inclusive events, and when constituted as a media event and global consumption—has worldwide impact. Such events are produced by alliances of the national state, regional politics, and expansion of the global consumer market. How such alliances have been renegotiated and rebalanced across the century of modernity and emerging globalization, mapped in general terms by Maguire (1999), constitutes a further focus of this book. It is particularly important to review the role of transnational organizations (often called international nongovernmental organizations, or INGOs) in the reconstitution of the global cultural order (Sklair 2001), the shifting role and contribution of the state and national governments, and the contribution that performance sports and high-profile international events have made to the reaffirmation of national civil societies (Allison 1998).

Studying the sport spectacle in its form as a media event is also to engage in a form of cultural history and the analysis of the persisting influence and power of ideas, that is, the use to which particular conceptions, values, and ideologies of sport, as well as the performing sporting body, has been put. The founding philosophies of the events were articulated in the writings of two Frenchmen, Baron Pierre de Coubertin and Jules Rimet, the founders, respectively, of the Olympic Games and the football World Cup. De Coubertin's voluminous writings have received extensive scholarly treatment, and detailed debates have taken place over the precise influence that the Parisian aristocrat did or did not have on the institutional evolution of the Olympics and the IOC. As early as 1896, in the buildup to the first modern Olympic Games in Athens, "one Athenian newspaper reviled him as 'a thief seeking to rob Greece of her inheritance'" (Guttmann 2002, 19). But unperturbed by such slurs, de Coubertin could still, and even after Greece's humiliation by Turkey in the thirty-day Cretan War just months after the patriotic celebrations of the Olympic Games, insist vigorously that "internationalism was a bulwark against ignorance, chauvinism, and war" (MacAloon 1981, 263). De Coubertin's belief that athletic contests between young people could be a force for international harmony and universal peace has framed the rhetoric and ideology of the Olympic Games throughout its turbulent and extraordinary history. For de Coubertin, the Olympic project had philosophical, historical, and educational dimensions and goals: "Everything in the restored and modernized Olympism," he wrote in 1931, "focuses on the ideas of mandatory continuity, inter-

dependence, and solidarity” (2000, 603). De Coubertin puffed up his conception of Olympism consistently for more than forty years, inscribing it in the expanding rituals and protocols of the Olympic event and claiming a remarkable continuity and expansion of impact and importance of the Olympic movement and family. It was a heady mix of lofty ideals and grandiose ambition, yet it represented a set of contradictions underlying the baron’s aristocratic and elitist roots and exposing the ethnocentric and patriarchal nature of his Olympic ideals and associated beliefs (Tomlinson 1984).

Jules Rimet, president of FIFA from 1921 to 1954, was a self-made professional and religious philanthropist who dominated the international growth of football (Tomlinson 1999). Rimet was trained in law. Bearded, bowler-hatted, and thoroughly bourgeois, the elder Rimet was an established figure among the Parisian elite. He was born, though, in humble circumstances, into a rural family in 1873, learning the lessons of the work ethic as a young boy by helping his father in the family’s grocer’s shop. At age eleven, Rimet followed his father to Paris, where the rural grocer had moved in search of work. The immigrant family lived in the heart of the city, and the young Rimet learned lessons of survival, and football, on the street. He worked his way toward a full legal qualification and was active in encouraging football among the poorer children of the city. Seeing in sport a means of building good character, Christian and patriotic, his love of God and France was combined in his passion for football. He believed in the universality of the church and saw in football the chance to create a worldwide “football family” welded to Christian principles. Like his countryman, de Coubertin, Rimet believed that sport could be a force for national and international good. Sport and football could bring people and nations together in a healthy competitiveness, he thought. Sport could be a powerful means of both physical and moral progress, providing healthy pleasure and fun, and promoting friendship between races (Guillain 1998).

The idealist rhetoric of universal peace and international harmony has, then, underpinned the philosophies underlying the rationale for events such as the Olympics and the World Cup, but the importance of such events in a formative phase of globalization has remained too little remarked upon. These sports mega-events were used by the host nations both to celebrate an historical legacy and to aspire to the expression of their modernity: in Greece in 1896, this was based upon a reclamation of the classical past, and in Uruguay in 1930, upon the centennial celebration of its constitutional independence. This motivational matrix continues to characterize the aspirations of many host nations today.

From a national standpoint, and that of the sporting organization, the rhetoric of universalism is sustained, but equally sports mega-events are seen as global marketing opportunities by multinational corporations. National governments continue to seek the profile provided by the host role. International organizations such as the IOC and FIFA negotiate these rights. The shifting

power structures of international sport have matched the emergence, advent, and decline of different configurations of national interest. Northern Europe and the United States dominated the administration of the Olympics for the first three-quarters of the twentieth century, until Brazilian João Havelange, Spaniard/Catalan Juan Antonio Samaranch, and Italian Primo Nebiolo took the reins of power in world football, the Olympics, and international athletics, respectively. In the 1980s, the foundation was laid for a new economic order for international sports events. By the World Cup in Korea and Japan in 2002, FIFA's main corporate partners were Adidas, Avaya, Budweiser, Coca-Cola, Fuji Xerox, Fuji Film, Gillette, Hyundai, JVC, KT-Korea/NTT-Japan, Mastercard, McDonald's, Philips, Toshiba, and Yahoo (fifteen official, general sponsors, more than ever before, paying a total of 290 million pounds for the privilege, ranging from between ten to a little over twenty million pounds each). During the Olympiad leading into the Athens Summer Olympics in 2004, the IOC's ten major sponsors were Coca-Cola, John Hancock, Kodak, McDonald's, Panasonic, Samsung, Sema, *Sports Illustrated*, Visa, and Xerox—a veritable line-up of predominantly U.S. and Japanese global economic power.

Tracing the changes and continuities in the contours of the spectacle, the relation of emergent nations to new forms of the spectacle in the postcolonial period, and the escalating profile of world sports bodies' partner sponsors is an exercise in the analysis of the dynamics of power in international sport. This book traces the shifting balance in the political, cultural, and economic significance of such events, with reference to selected, detailed cases from the Los Angeles 1932 Summer Olympics to the Korea/Japan World Cup of 2002. Primary themes explored across the different chapters are the rhetoric of the body, sport, and spectacle, ceremony and ritual in the staging of the spectacle, and representational convention in the coverage of the spectacle. Tensions such as the following are emphasized: those between ceremony and rhetoric, on the one hand, and economically driven forms of regional and civic boosterism, on the other; between national and universalist discourse in symbol and ritual; and between the aesthetics of corporate culture, myth making, and often gendered ideologies. In this sense it is the relationship between symbolic and cultural capital in sports practice, performance, and mediation that provides the theoretical aperture through which each of the individual cases is considered. The focus of the case studies is on a variety of forms such as television, film, documentary, press, posters, and artifacts (e.g., emblems, medals), as well as aspects of gender, national identity, imperialism, and neocolonialism in the discourses and narratives of the events.

John MacAloon has conducted ethnographic work on the Olympic phenomenon for more than a quarter of a century. This provided him with an extensive experiential and analytical base for conceptualizing the nature of the sports spectacle, and the related elements of ritual and festival. In his contribution to

this volume, he has taken the opportunity to review these interpretative frameworks in light of both burgeoning scholarship on the Olympics and comparable sports events and his own particular interest in the Olympic torch relay as a form of public festival. It is in this relay that the Olympic ideal has been experienced by millions of people who may never get close to the Olympic contests or stadium—yet it receives little coverage outside the nations through which it passes. In its own way, the relay provides a platform for reclaiming the Olympics from corporate sponsors and corporate brands such as Coca-Cola. MacAloon's analysis critiques overgeneralized theories of the spectacle by leftist and rightist theorists alike, and it also calls to task those powerful and privileged members of Olympic and international sporting institutions for whom such public festival has no significance.

Robert Gordon and John London explore how Italy staged and won the 1934 World Cup, the second in FIFA's history, a victory that provided a platform, four years later, for a successful defense of the title in Paris. These victories coincided with an important phase in the history of the fascist regime in Italy, taking in its imperial war in Abyssinia, its massive involvement in the Spanish Civil War, its axis with Nazi Germany, and its passing of anti-Semitic racial laws. At the same time, during this period a peak was reached in the regime's totalitarian social policies, including the exploitation of mass media and leisure (embracing sport) to the full as a means of capillary penetration and control of Italian society. The analysis is based on newspaper and radio archives (the 1934 tournament was the first to be broadcast by radio). Examining the 1934 tournament and its staging, Gordon and London place the event in the context of existing work on the fabrication of consensus under fascism and on the construction of a civic, nationalist religion through rituals such as sport and myths of the strong, heroic, "pure" Italian.

The 1936 Olympics is a pivotal case in the study of modern spectacle for two primary reasons. First, the sports mega-event was utilized explicitly for the celebration of a political regime. Second, the Nazis mobilized a propaganda machine of unprecedented sophistication for the documentation of the event. For the first time in history, viewing screens were erected for the Olympic Games, so that throughout the local communities of Germany, the population could be kept abreast of the progress of its Aryan athletes. The magnificence of the scale of provision for the participants in these Olympic Games is evidenced in the brilliant yet ideologically driven cinematic masterpiece by Leni Riefenstahl. Allen Guttman revisits the history of this extraordinary event, with an emphasis on the nature and motives of the leadership of the Olympic movement, the nature of the spectator response, the racist agenda of the Nazis, and the legacy of Riefenstahl's artistic yet ideologically disputed genius.

The case studies of 1934 and 1936 demonstrate clearly the escalating scale of the sports spectacle, particularly when driven by an explicit and extreme

political ideology. In the wake of this, though, the international community after World War II approached such events with caution. The Tokyo Olympics in 1964 and the England World Cup in 1966, however, marked the beginning of the globally mediated sports event. Tony Mason reviews England's victory in the 1966 World Cup. Hosting and winning the tournament spawned an enduring myth of English superiority. The tournament was, after the Olympic Games of 1948, the largest, most international, and spectacular sporting event ever to be held in the United Kingdom. Moreover, unlike 1948, it was not simply a show for London; it was shared by six other regional centers. The power of television brought live coverage of the matches to almost every household in the country at a formative moment in the expansion of the television industry. The chapter examines the media representation of the World Cup before, during, and after the event, the process of organizing and staging the event, and data on the public response. It also assesses the political importance of the 1966 event in a country in the throes of dramatic changes, as Empire was diluted to Commonwealth and the long-established place of Britain as one of the world's leading powers was increasingly called into question. It was a moment when England looked at itself, and the eyes of the world were on it.

Claire and Keith Brewster analyze the domestic and international ramifications of Mexico's hosting of the 1968 Olympic Games. During the 1920s and 1930s, the postrevolutionary state used sport as part of a broader cultural project designed to create a common sense of national unity and identity, sport becoming a metaphor for the country's well-being and potential. Political scientists and historians, though, mark the repression of the Mexican student movement in 1968 as a watershed in Mexican politics, the point at which the carefully constructed framework that had sustained the postrevolutionary regime began to crumble. This chapter pays detailed attention to the battle around the 1968 Olympics over symbols, perceptions, and interpretations of national history. Drawing upon documentary archives, media sources, and interviews with key political figures, the Brewsters reveal much about the ways in which the Mexican state and a nascent civil society fought to win over domestic and international opinion. This involved confronting fundamental issues of Mexican identity and international stereotypes of the "Mexican character," balancing aspirations to modernity with a reaffirmation of a long-established cultural pedigree, and masking tensions in the Mexican social fabric.

Christopher Young analyzes the 1972 Munich Olympics, infamous for the tragic deaths of eleven Israeli athletes but notable in its organization for two prominent aspects. First, the legendary German efficiency surpassed itself. Second, as a response to the Nazi Olympics of 1936, the 1972 Olympic Games were conceived as the *heitere Spiele* (the joyous Games). Due to the complexities of postwar German society and its dealings with the past, this Olympic legacy was both a burden and an opportunity. This made the 1972 Olympic



Games a particularly interesting case of the blend of the political and the aesthetic. The centerpiece was the phenomenally expensive and architecturally daring Olympic stadium, its transparent “tent roof” set into a rolling landscape beneath the Olympic hill, itself remodeled out of war rubble and Alpine pasture. Central to the chapter is a concern with the interaction of ideology and spatial and visual design that underpins any such sporting spectacle. Young draws upon undervalued archive material to study the divided Germany dimension (these were the first Olympic Games at which East and West German teams appeared as officially recognized separate units), the charismatic personality of organizer Willi Daume, and governmental contributions.

If much of international sport from the 1960s to the 1980s was determined by cold war considerations, then FIFA politics ensured that Central or South America staged every other World Cup, alternating with Europe. Here it was the footballing, not the political, profile of the nation that counted. Under the military Junta, Argentina both hosted and won the World Cup of 1978. Eduardo Archetti’s chapter examines the political and ideological context that was dominated by an extreme, bloody, and authoritarian military Junta seeking, as it put it, “to extirpate the cancer of revolutionary guerrilla infiltrated in the body of Argentinean society.” The nationalist language of the military, fighting against “the influence of foreign ideas and communism,” created a positive atmosphere for the exploitation by the regime of the populist appeal of football that generated a temporary emotional indifference to the political realities of the day. Combining literary, journalistic, and observational sources, Archetti shows that although the discourse of football (a form of “football essentialism”) could claim the Argentinean victory as one of a particular politically neutral traditional style, it was instantly incorporated into the regime’s celebratory national politics. This process revolved around paradoxes that Argentineans are used to: the victory of style and modes of bodily action was transformed into the victory of the race and a nation against external forces and enemies. This complex and difficult relation is keenly felt in post-Junta Argentina, where, in 2003, the twenty-fifth anniversary of the triumph exhibited a fascinating collective amnesia.

The reciprocally boycotted Olympic Games of Moscow 1980 and Los Angeles 1984, plunged the world sporting spectacle back into the depths of cold war dynamics. Robert Edelman’s study of the Moscow Games contextualizes the spectacular opening ceremony and the sports events that followed as a culmination of practices that had been developing since the mid-1920s, when the Soviets decided that competitive sport, as opposed to participatory physical culture, was an appropriate policy priority for a socialist state. The structures, themes, slogans, and tropes on view in 1980 were first seen during the 1930s when immense Physical Culture Day parades were held each summer on Red Square. A comparison of film footage of the Moscow opening with these earlier events reveals

many similarities. Yet these continuities mask a very different kind of historical experience. Football was always something quite different—far more popular and the only real oasis of the carnivalesque during the Soviet period. It was the real passion of the working males who comprised the overwhelming bulk of the sporting public. The rituals of football were quite different from those practiced by the organizers of Olympic sport. In this sense, the 1980 Olympic Games were a major intervention in a contest of rituals that characterized Soviet sport from its beginning.

In 1984, the Los Angeles Olympics rewrote the formula for staging the global sports spectacle. Alan Tomlinson reviews the pivotal place of this event in the genealogy of the modern Olympic Games, drawing on comparisons with the staging of these Games half a century earlier in Los Angeles in 1932. After the 1980 Moscow Games, the Olympics was on the verge of its biggest ever crisis. It took 1984's combination of regional posturing, private capital, and national backing to reframe the Olympics. This became the first case of a profit-making modern Olympics, according to the forms of accounting reported after the event. In this case, the opening ceremony celebrated the globally resonant image of U.S. culture: grand pianos, Western genre, jazz, slavery, spaceman. Comparing and contrasting the conditions of the 1932 and 1984 events provides a basis for the analysis of fundamental shifts in the cultural and political meanings and significance of the international sports event. The two Los Angeles events, beyond their superficial similarities, demonstrate the changing relationship between capitalism and public service in the staging of the spectacle.

Arguably, the Barcelona 1992 Olympic Games have been more fully researched than any other comparable sporting event. Christopher Kennet and Miquel de Moragas review the claims widely made for the success and impact of these Olympic Games. The staging of large-scale international cultural events has been important in the post-Franco period of Spain's rapid modernization. This has included events such as the Expo exhibition in Seville, the 1982 World Cup, and the 1992 Olympic Games. The Barcelona Olympics demonstrated Spain's capacity to stage the largest-scale international sports event. Against many stereotypical expectations (which had anticipated the inefficiencies of a *mañana* culture), the Barcelona Games were a triumph of style, efficiency, and organization. This was a consequence of a creative tension between the central state and the Catalan regional government of which Barcelona is the capital. It also showed positive effects, for a city and a region, of staging events: Barcelona's transport and communications structure was transformed, its waterfront was remodeled, and its civic pride was celebrated in relation to the national capital, Madrid, and the rest of the world.

After the anti-climax at the centennial, so-called "Coca-Cola," Olympic Games in Atlanta, 1996, Sydney 2000, picked up the organizational gauntlet thrown down by Barcelona's excellence. David Rowe and Deborah Stevenson

show how, at the Summer 2000 Olympics—hailed by outgoing IOC president Juan Antonio Samaranch as the most perfectly organized Olympic Games ever—Australian national triumphs, particularly in the swimming events and in Cathy Freeman's gold-medal winning performance in the 400 meters, were symbolic highlights for the host city and nation. The opening ceremony emphasized the theme of reconciliation related to the history of the nation's treatment of its Aboriginal peoples. The choice of Aboriginal Freeman to light the Olympic flame was a climax to the theme of reconciliation. She also had run the stadium lap of the torch relay with other celebrated Australian women athletes, thus representing the inclusiveness of the contemporary Olympic ideal on several levels. The Aboriginal theme had been prominent in the arts and cultural festivals during the Olympiad. Rowe and Stevenson analyze the Sydney Olympic Games from the hermeneutical vantage points of the spectators in the stadium and the spectators of the event in the giant-screen live sites and living rooms of the Australian nation. They show how the media transform events into global phenomena that can neither be reduced to embodied experience nor to their representation.

Soon-Hee Whang's study of the 2002 World Cup continues on the theme of spectator and supporter experience by looking at how the spectacle translates into popular celebration in everyday life. At this event, two nations co-hosted the finals of the World Cup for the first time in the tournament's history. Japan and Korea were reluctant co-hosts, forced into this position by the global politics of international sport. Both nations have been fully aware of the benefits of staging sports mega-events. For Japan, the 1964 Summer Olympics was an immensely important expression of its international rehabilitation in the post-war period. It also provided Japan with the opportunity to exhibit its increasingly technological profile on the international stage. For Korea, the 1988 Seoul Olympics was used by the overlapping interests of Korean business and government to catapult the country into the world's industrial and trade elite. Korea also was establishing its profile within Asia itself, in particular, in relation to neighboring Japan, its imperial oppressor until a mere generation before. In such a historical, cultural, and political context, co-hosting would clearly be no simple matter. Whang, a native Korean living and researching in Japan, provides a comparative analysis of the impact of the event in the two hosting nations and also considers how such an event generates forms of popular ritual and cultures of consumption.

This book assembles a unique lineup of international scholars to subject the selected examples to either a reevaluation or their first critical treatment, blending historical and literary scholarship with the theoretical concerns of interpretative social science. The studies are characterized by a methodological eclecticism central to any vibrant multidisciplinary project. The case studies are

conceived not just as focused analyses of particular sports events but also, in the accumulated understanding generated by the complementary chapters, as a scholarly contribution to the study of the place of local cultures and politics in a globalized world and to a much overdue analysis of issues surrounding the global governance of sport as this has affected the growth of international sport and borne upon national, regional, and local cultures and institutions.

The case studies reaffirm a set of central issues at the heart of the study of the modern sporting spectacle. First, however much the sport event has developed into a media event, it is still watched and consumed in a variety of ways. As the studies of Sydney, 2000, and Korea and Japan, 2002, demonstrate, sport fans can, in their own ways, reclaim the streets and the public spaces of cities and communities. Second, right through the seventy years that span the case studies covered in this book, high-profile international sporting events have been used to assert particular national ideologies, whether this was the emergent modernity of California 1932, the fascist models of Italy 1934, and Berlin 1936, the Soviet communism of Moscow 1980, the glamourized capitalism of Los Angeles 1984, the authoritarian ruthlessness of Argentina 1978, or the thrusting capitalism of Seoul, South Korea, 1988. Third, some nations have been particularly attracted to hosting events as a means of rehabilitation or regeneration: post-World War II, or in a cold war setting, in Munich 1972, or Barcelona 1992, for instance, the Olympics was seen in this way. Fourth, staging such events has been seized as an opportunity to overturn international stereotypes, from Mexico City 1968, to Sydney 2000, where these cities, on behalf of Mexico and Australia, sought to demonstrate a national maturity and a cultural modernity. Fifth, such events, framed as cosmopolitan and internationalist, can reiterate national, cultural, and racist stereotypes, as was evident in certain controversies and international tensions in England 1966. Sixth, the large-scale event can provide a temporary, transient sense of relief from the troubles and tensions of the day, as tragically captured in the study of Argentina, 1978, in particular. Seventh, the sports event can provide a forum for refusal or contestation, if not outright resistance, as in the case of the negotiations concerning the centrist state and the Catalan region in Barcelona 1992, behind the scenes of the Soviet sport pageants or in its rougher football cultures, in the communities welcoming the torch relay with its accessible and voluntarist version of the Olympic spirit, or on the streets of Seoul in 2002. Three recurrent themes stand out across numerous of the selected cases: the bogus or inaccurate costing of bids and provision, the use of sports events in the reconstitution of public spaces, with the stadium embodying a high-profile articulation of a dynamic of space and power, and the gendered body, persistingly predominantly male, despite real signs of progress toward a more egalitarian gender profile. These ten themes continue to be relevant research questions for the study of the sport spectacle. Other selected case studies may have informed this analytical and research agenda in different ways

and with varied emphases—the media innovations of the first Olympics to be relayed live across the world from Tokyo 1964, the politics and economics of a Montreal 1976 Olympic Games boycotted by African nations and soaring through the highest imaginable roof in costs, the glamour of the World Cup in Italy in 1990, or the multicultural optimism of the French triumph when hosting the 1998 World Cup (on France 1998, see the admirable collection edited by Dauncey and Hare 1999). But we have not sought to compile an all-embracing encyclopedic compendium here. Such sources are available elsewhere. Rather, we have developed informed case studies that provide a basis for further agenda-setting and research into the nature of the contemporary sport spectacle. As a coherent, single monograph produced collectively by individual scholars, this book, therefore, aims to provide an enhanced understanding of the place of spectacle in global society, an in-depth understanding of the generation of national identities through sport spectacle and contests, and examples of the value of multidisciplinary and interdisciplinary approaches to analyzing the culture and politics of global sports events.

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