

'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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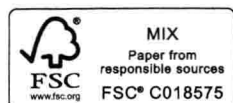
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# ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

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 sub-national 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



# 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 spectacles' (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