

**SPORT AND GLOBALIZATION: A POLITICAL  
ECONOMY PERSPECTIVE**

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**DECLARATION**

I declare that the dissertation entitled "SPORT AND GLOBALIZATION: A POLITICAL ECONOMY PERSPECTIVE" submitted by me for the award of the degree of **MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY** of Jawaharlal Nehru University is my own work. The dissertation has not been submitted for any other degree of this University or any other university.

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## CONTENTS

- Chapter One  
Introduction 1-15
  
- Chapter Two  
Football, Globalization and Identity 16-44
  
- Chapter Three  
Sport and the Market: A Symbiotic Relationship 45- 75
  
- Chapter Four  
Cricket and Globalization 76-103
  
- Chapter Five  
Conclusion 104-109
  
- References 110-120

## INTRODUCTION

The phenomenon of globalization has been a highly contested one (Robinson 2004). It has given rise to several important questions in the study of International Political Economy. In simple terms, it studies the interplay between two major actors in the international scenario namely, the state and the market. The study tries to observe the process in the context of global sport. The prime objective of the study is to drive home the message that sport can be used to unravel the basic theoretical underpinnings of the globalization process. In order to establish our claim, we have chosen two sports, cricket and football. Basically, we intend to trace the chronological evolution of the two games and try to argue the globalizing trends visible in them. In addition, the study also deals with global sporting events such as the Olympic Games. These sporting events reveal the important landmarks in the globalization of the sport. By studying the globalization of sport from the political economy perspective, the study tries to answer three important questions.

First, to examine the idea that sport is a representative of the national identity. This proposition is undoubtedly true. The claim retains its validity even in this global era. However, concepts of identity have attained a greater degree of dynamism than ever before. Hence, we can argue that sports, while playing a key role in unifying the nation and developing a sense of national identity is also instrumental in the creation of a transnational version of identity. The study tries to substantiate this claim by referring to the transnational football fandom. Also, it takes the case of Transnational Football League to portray the fact that sports allows different nationalities to play for a same club. This is evident from the fact that, in the European Football League, we witness players from all over the world such as Latin America, Africa and also from different countries of Europe.

Secondly, we put forth the argument that a symbiotic relationship exists between sport and the market. In other words, sporting events provides a platform for the multinational corporations to market their products. Globalized sport also played a pivotal role in throwing up a new business classes in the international stage. This new business class consists mainly of

the media giants such as the BSKYB TV, and sports good manufacturers such as Nike and Adidas. These sponsors play a key role in determining the scheduling of the matches. At times, football matches become marred with sponsorship rivalry. As Trevor Slack points out that in the World Cup Football final (which was held in France) of 1998, two sporting goods manufacturers clashed against one another. It was a conflict between Adidas and Nike. (Nike was a sponsor of Brazilian star footballer Rolando, whereas Adidas was the official sponsor of the 1998 edition of the World Cup. It was argued that these sponsor rivalries were responsible for the underperformances of several players) (Slack 2004). In addition to this, the symbiotic relationship between the sport and the market led to the development of the 'economy of signs' (Cashmore 2000).

Thirdly, the study looks at the globalization of cricket in order to argue the case for a transformation in the character of the state as a consequence of globalization. The globalization of cricket witnessed the complementary relationship between the state and the market. Both of them recognized the role of the other. The study has tried to show that the game of cricket, though had its birth in the first market society of the eighteenth century (Britain) (Marquessee 2005) was largely controlled by the state apparatus. To substantiate this claim, the study referred to the development of Cricket in India and Britain. In the case of India, we notice the control of the game of cricket by the Maharaja (Majumdar 2006). Later on the, game was managed by the BCCI (The Board of Control for Cricket in India) .It is to be remembered that this governing body of cricket in the country was controlled to a large extent by the by the political elites. As a result, it can very well be argued that, it formed an integral part of the state apparatus.

Similarly, in England, Cricket was used by the state to promote a sense of 'Englishness' in the colonies (Fletcher 2011). Also, the state played a key role in determining where the English Cricket Team should play. This fact becomes prominent when we notice that the English Cricket Board (ECB) did not allow their team to play in Zimbabwe in 2002 due to security reasons (Holden 2009). However, both India and Britain played a key role in globalizing the game. The first initiative towards this end was taken by Britain through the introduction of the County League Cricket in England. This was followed by the introduction of the Indian

Premier League (IPL) by the Board of Control for Cricket in India (BCCI) (Rumford and Wagg 2010). The study has shown the process through which these bodies adjusted themselves with the market forces. The co-option of the market forces by the state is something which has been emphasized.

An important reason of studying this theme is the fact that sport has revealed several concepts in an effective manner. Through the prism of sport, we illustrate concepts such as the imagined community (Anderson 1983); deterritorialization and reterritorialization (Scholte 2005); time-space compression (Harvey 1994); time space distancing (Giddens 1993); glocalization (Robertson 1992, 1995); the development of a network society (Castells 1996); the rise of a Transnational Capitalist Class (Sklair 2000).

Furthermore, globalized sport has also helped us to understand the three major schools of the Globalization. The three main schools are the Globalists, The Sceptics and the Transformationalists (Held 1999). In order to see how globalized sport reflects the views of these schools, it is necessary for us to clarify them in detail.

Let us begin with the views of the hyperglobalists. According to them, globalization is perceived as a process which is indifferent to national borders. It is trying to produce a new global order swept along by powerful flows of cross border trade and production. As envisaged by the Japanese scholar Kenichi Ohmae, globalization leads to the formation of a borderless world. (Ohmae 1990). In a borderless world, the market forces are more powerful than the national governments. The hyperglobalizers throw light on the changing characters of the nation state. They proclaim that the individual countries do not exercise control over their economies due to the growth in world trade (Giddens 2005, Held 1999). Thus, the deterritorializing phenomenon was given emphasis (Scholte 2005).

The sceptics, on the other hand took a stance which is diametrically opposite to that of the hyperglobalists. According to them, the present level of economic interdependence is not unprecedented. They argue that, the phenomenon of globalization is not very new. It differs from the past only in the intensity of economic interaction among the nation states. This school

of thought does not advocate that the nation state has outlived its relevance in the global era. On the contrary, they argue that the national government continues to be the key players due to their involvement in the regulation and coordination of the economic activity. In sum, governments are the driving force behind the trade agreements and the policies of economic liberalization (Giddens 2005, Held 1999).

Thirdly, the transformationalist school argues that although there has been a transformation of the global order, the old pattern still remains. The national governments seemed to have exercised a considerable degree of influence in spite of the growth of global interdependence. Unlike their hyperglobalist counterparts, the transformationalists view globalization as a dynamic and open process which is subject to influence and change. For them, globalization is not a one way process; it is a two way flow of images information and influences. Globalization is a decentred and a reflexive process which is characterized by links and cultural flows that functions in a multidirectional fashion. On the issue of state sovereignty, the transformationalist portrays the fact that the state would restructure themselves as a response to the new forms of economic and social organization (Giddens 2005, Held 1999).

In a nutshell, these are the broad arguments of the three schools of globalization. But how do these arguments find expression in the context of globalized sport? This is an important question. The study attempts to answer this question in the subsequent chapters. But let us give us a brief overview of the argument. Globalized sport was influenced to a large extent by the rise of global capitalism. Therefore, one can argue that it adhered to the economic view as argued by David Held (1999). In other words, globalization of sport reflected the economic aspect of globalization. Hence, the role of the market was gaining in strength as compared to the state. The importance of the market was observed through the increasing trend towards commodification of the game. The globalization of sport also saw a change in the format of a game so that it could suit the needs of the market. This becomes evident in the case of globalization of Cricket. In this context, Chris Rumford and Stephen Wagg argue that as a result of the globalizing trend in Cricket, there has been an increasing shift from the traditional format of Test matches towards twenty-twenty cricket. This is because this new format of



cricket (Twenty-twenty) suited the television viewers well (Rumford 2007, Rumford and Wagg 2010).

The argument reveals the importance of the market. However, this is only a part of the story. This argument should not lead us to think that the role of the state is becoming marginal on account of the globalization of sport. The state too, plays a key role in the globalizing process. This fact is observable both in the case of football and in the case of cricket. Talking of the European Club Football, we find that Berlusconi owned the AC Milan football Club. He also played a key role in bringing in sponsors and foreign players for the club (Foer 2004). In the case of cricket, we find that the BCCI (Board of Control for Cricket in India) took the initiative of globalizing the game of cricket through the introduction of the IPL (the Indian Premier League). The importance of the state vis- a-vis the market is felt from the fact that the BCCI prevented a rebel cricket league, the ICL (Indian cricket League) from gaining popularity. The ICL was a transnational cricket league started by few ex-cricketers as a reaction to the BCCI. However, the BCCI imposed several sanctions against the league. The BCCI was opposed to any attempt to break their monopoly. However, during the IPL, the BCCI itself called for the auctions for the players.

The IPL also witnessed the emergence of the market through the introduction of the salary cap which ensured that all the franchises in the IPL got an equal chance to buy the leading cricketers rather being them concentrated only among the stronger teams (Mitra 2010). However, the entire system was managed by the BCCI (we have already mentioned that this organization was run by the political elite). These two illustrations give us ample scope to advance a case regarding the continued relevance of the state in the global era. In this connection, we need to recognize the importance of the argument that globalization has not totally eroded the importance of the nation state (Mann 1997).

Until now, we have discussed two things, first, the role of the market in the globalizing process. We have also noticed the might of the nation state. Let us now explain another thing, the transforming character of the state. Globalization also bears evidence of state transformation (Shaw 1997). This is also manifest in the case of the globalized sport. We will

begin our discussion with the Olympic Movement. During the early years of the Olympic Movement, the International Olympic Association (IOA) was skeptical about the commodification of the Olympic Games. It was argued that the presence of the market forces in the Olympic Games represented the ugly face of global capitalism (Slack 2004). But this approach of the International Olympic Association underwent a change in the course of time. The Olympic Association had to forgo its earlier reservation. Generally, multinational companies such as Coca Cola, Kodak began to sponsor the Olympic events (Dyreson 1995). As a result, we find that the United States of America made several adjustments in order to incorporate the forces of the market.

Looking at the case of English County Cricket, we find that the Cricket Board of England and Wales relaxed certain rules regarding the participation of the foreign players in the English County League. This was done so that more players from every part of the world take part in the League Cricket. Ultimately, this resulted in the fact that certain migrant players who came for the County League finally ended up representing the English national cricket team (Graeme Hick is a classic example in this case) (Maguire and Stead 1996). This example shows that the English Cricket Board initiated several reforms to allow the proper functioning of the market. But importantly, the state also succeeded in getting several benefits from the action of the market.

Let us now discuss the various concepts of globalization in the context of the political economy of sport. In the course of our discussion, we would unravel several aspects of the interplay between the market and the state. We begin by demonstrating the process of time space compression (Harvey 1994) in the case of globalized sport. It is based on the idea that in a globalized world the time and space are not the barriers as they once were. The time and the space were compressing in relation to the speed at which communication occurs across the world. The televisualization of sport coupled with the rise in the internet has contributed a long way in which sport became global. Sport has moved away from the enclosures of the stadium (Gerrard 2004) onto television sets.

As a result it has succeeded in making sport a global audience commodity (Jhally 1984). This shows that there has been deterritorialization (Scholte 2005) of the sport. Improved communication technology has enabled sport to have a global reach. It must be admitted that in this aspect, the market has played a relatively greater part than the state. The use of communication technology in globalized sport has also laid the foundation for the development of a network society (Castells 1996).

Manuel Castells argued that this was a product of global capitalism. He believed that information and the technologies that it produces are key to the network society. The network society is horizontally integrated. In the context of globalized cricket, we find the resonance of a network society. The Cricinfo (Joshi 2007), an official cricket website is used to disseminate cricket to every part of the world. Now, viewers from all over the world could keep a track of the happenings of the game through the cricketing websites. The market and the communication technology enabled the game to reach the local through the global phenomenon of the internet. The commercialization of the game received a big boost. Robert Henderson uses the example of SMS in the context globalization of football. He envisaged that fans in one country using SMS in order to inform their friends who stay in a different part of the world that their team has scored a goal. The recipient of the SMS, as Henderson illustrates then decides to follow the match on television at a local bar (Henderson 2010).

Secondly, globalized sport has also manifested the phenomenon of glocaliation (Robertson 1992, 1995). It refers to the increasing entanglement of the two spheres, the local and the global. In other words, it refers to the symbiotic relationship between the global and the local. In one sense, it can be used to designate the manner in which global products adapt or tailor themselves to the local markets. It can also describe the global or potentially global services that operate at the local level, for instance, the international websites. This can be pointed out in the case of the transnational football leagues (for e.g. the European Club Football). These football clubs were a local entity. But with the help of the market, that is, by the emergence of the sponsors in the club football, the clubs were 'dis-embedded' from their local context and got 're-embedded' in the global context (Giddens 1990). It becomes prominent in the increasing

tendency among the clubs to publicize them by launching their websites. Thus, there occurs a transformation of the soccer club from a local entity into a full fledged corporate organization.

Next, we argue the case for the imagined community (Anderson 1983) in the context of global sport. The concept of 'imagined community' was used to explain the concept of national identity. However, 'imagined community' can also be realized in the case of global football or cricket fandom. The increasing popularity of the transnational club football has given birth to a sense of transnational football fandom around the globe. This has been facilitated due to the rise in global capitalism. The coalescence of the market and communication technology has made important contributions in this regard.

Today, we have fans of a football club from all over the world. Although one have not seen each other, sill they share a common identity by virtue of being a supporter of a definite football club. For example, we have fans of Manchester United, Chelsea, Arsenal, Liverpool, Real Madrid and Barcelona in Asia, Africa, Latin America and several other parts of the world. Therefore, this phenomenon of transnational football fandom can also be regarded as an explanation of the concept of the 'imagined community'. The supporters of these football clubs are linked with one another by the dual forces of the market and the communication technology. This instills a feeling of togetherness, of sharing a common entity. So, it can very well be argued that 'imagined community' can be used to explain both national as well as transnational identity.

Fourthly, through the globalized sport, we also get a clear understanding of another important concept of globalization, the transnational capitalist class. We will refer to the globalizing process in cricket to drive home our claim. Transnational capitalist class, as Leslie Sklair describes are those whose interests are best served by the identification with the interests of the global capitalist system. Sklair also goes on to argue that, members of the transnational capitalist class often work directly for the TNCs ( 2002).

Let us substantiate this concept with the case of cricket. The globalization of cricket through the introduction of the transnational cricket leagues (the IPL or the Indian Premier League in

India, the Stafford Challenge in the West Indies) has given rise to transnational capitalist class. Shakya Mitra has shown the rise of the Indian big business into the global stage through the ownership of cricket franchises. He goes on to argue that one of the new elements brought in with the franchise ownership in cricket which is similar to professional sport in North America and Europe is the business of the owners. He cites the case of Indian business giants such as Vijay Mallya and T.V. Reddy buying the cricket franchises of Bangalore and Hyderabad respectively (Mitra 2010).

The real essence of the transnational character of the franchises was realized when we find that Rajasthan Royals, one of the teams in the IPL, is trying to create a first global franchise as it has expressed its desire to collaborate with some of the major T-20 Leagues of other countries. It is vying for a tie up with English county club Hampshire, Australian cricket club Victoria, the Cape Cobra club of South Africa and Trinidad and Tobago of the West Indies (Rumford and Wagg 2010).

In summary, this is how globalized sport has defined several concepts of the phenomenon of globalization. In the study, we have discussed the way in which both the state and the market have facilitated the globalization process. Let us now look into each sport separately, (that is, International Cricket and World Football) and trace out the role played by the state and the market in globalizing the respective sport. If we do a comparative study of cricket and football, we would see that the state played an active role in globalizing the game of cricket. Although we cannot deny the role of the market, yet the state played a key role in both regulating the market and also allowing it to operate when the former felt right to do so. We have already discussed the case of the rebel league in Indian Cricket (the ICL- the Indian Cricket League) and the sanctions imposed on it by the BCCI.

The same case is evident in the case of World Series Cricket (WSC) started by Kerry Packer in Australia. The Packer series in Australia was a step towards the commercialization and commoditization of the game of cricket. It was seen that the players who took part in that competition was mainly because their respective cricket boards were unable to provide lucrative remuneration for them. However, players from countries such as India never joined

the league since they already had a unique and a remunerative system of sponsorship (Fraser 2005). The Indian Cricket board did not allow their cricketers to participate in the WSC (World Series Cricket). Also, the cricket's largest governing body (the ICC) decided that those players who participated in the World Series Cricket would be banned from playing international cricket. But, this was not the case with the IPL, neither the respective Cricket Boards of the cricketers nor the ICC complained about their participation in the Indian Premier League (IPL).

This goes to prove the fact that even though the state allowed the market to play its part, the former always kept an eye on regulating the operations of the market. This becomes evident in the case of the English County League. In the English County league the English Cricket Board (ECB) relaxed certain rules so that more and more foreign players take part in the County Championships (Maguire and Stead 1996). We have discussed this case earlier. But, when there was a clash between the County and the international schedule; the cricketer had to give precedence to the latter (Rumford and Wagg 2010).

The role of the state in influencing the globalizing process of cricket was observed during the 2009 season of the Indian Premier League (IPL) when the game had to be shifted from India due to security reasons. It was due to the pressure of the BCCI that the tournament was shifted to South Africa. This was because, if the matches were played in South Africa, then it would be conducive for both the Indian television channels and for the viewers. This instance laid emphasis on the fact that, for a sport to become global, it must be conducted in television friendly time zones (Gupta 2009).

Scholte argues that the globalization process has led to deterritorialization which means that the territory has been transcended. But, he has also drawn attention to reterritorialization (Scholte 2005). This refers to global flows that have to engage with certain territorial locations. As a corollary to this claim of Scholte, Luke Martell has put forth the argument that the territory remains even after being transcended (Martell 2007). This can be extrapolated by the rise of several new venues in world cricket. In 2002, there arose a situation in world cricket when Australia refused to play a bilateral series with Pakistan due to security concerns in Pakistan. But abandoning the series would have had serious commercial consequences. Hence,

the series was transferred to Sharjah. As a result, the cricketing world witnessed the emergence of a new cricketing venue. In addition to this, there are plans to project Morocco and Dubai as future international cricket venues. 'Morocco, like Sharjah has no indigenous cricketing culture but its proximity to Europe, and its perfect weather would allow the staging of tournaments in the winter months' (Gupta 2004: 265). All these illustrations build the foundation to argue that that the state played a determining role in the globalization of the game of cricket.

We shall now turn to traverse the globalization process in football. In this context, we find a different scenario from the one in cricket. The role of the market is relatively stronger as compared to the state in facilitating the globalization process. The satellite television played an instrumental role in globalizing football. It culminated in the development of 'arm chair audience' (Cashmore 2000). This is because in recent years, most professional football are consumed through television. The fans in the ground are easily outnumbered by the millions of people following the match in the television screens (Sandvoss 2003). The televisualization was further supplemented by the Internet. Once again, communication technologies were successful in enabling the game of football to transcend the territorial boundaries.

In the field of broadcasting, the relevance of the market was felt as it was found that the state owned BBC (British Broadcasting Corporation) was unable to compete with the capital offered by Murdoch's BskyB for live sporting events (Slack 2004). The British Pay TV Broadcaster BskyB's acquisition of the English premier League (EPL) in 1992 became a milestone in European sport broadcasting, resulting in a price increase of more than 300% compared with the previous deal. Since then, the values have increased considerably on all occasion when the EPL rights have been auctioned, except in 2004 when the value took a slight drop due to lack of competition. By 2005, the English Premier League football was the most viewed sport in Malaysia, Thailand and Singapore. In addition, by 2005, it was the most popular televised football league in China, rising from third position two years ago. According to an Internet Survey, it was observed that about '83 % of Chinese football fans preferred watching the English Premier league to matches the China Super League' (CSL) (Turner and Solberg 2010: 358). For all these reasons, we find that the clubs also aimed at tie-ups with the private satellite television channels. Due to the increasing dominance of the market forces, the objectives of the

clubs has now changed from purchasing players to purchasing both players and audiences (Boyle and Haynes 2004).

The emergence of the market in professional football transformed the clubs into a corporate organization. It becomes prominent in the 1992 path breaking BskyB's (a private satellite television) contract with the football clubs of the English Premier League. It opened up the possibility for premier league clubs for entering into a vicious circle whereby their increased revenue would be invested in better players who could attract larger crowds. This would certainly raise the revenue earned by the clubs by the sale of tickets. As a result, it enabled the clubs to charge a premium thereby generating higher dividend for the shareholders.

As a consequence, we observe that English football began to appear very attractive to institutional investors. The process of football coming to the market actually got underway in September 1983 when Tottenham Hotspur became the first English football club to undertake a stock market flotation. The flotation's instant success not only raised almost 3.5 million pounds for the club but also provided the club's principal share holders with a rich and immediate dividend. However, it was not until the October 1989 flotation of Millwall that another English club took the stock markets route to instant riches for share holders. During the 1990's six clubs were observed on the main stock exchange 'and twice as many others have chosen to have their shares traded on city's junior markets, the Alternative Investment market (e.g. Celtic) and the more loosely regulated matched bargain share market, for example Arsenal, Glarylon, Rangers and Manchester City' (Lee 1998: 36).

Finally, another important impact of the market in globalizing the game of football was that it led to the development of an 'economy of signs'. The commoditization of football becomes explicit when we notice that the leading clubs in Northern Europe began to employ brand marketing and merchandising in a whole hearted fashion. We also note the increasing trend towards trackside advertising, signing of larger deals with the shirt manufacturers by the clubs. Subsequently, a whole range of products were manufactured under the club names. It included 'Whisky, Tomato ketchup, radios, bread spreads and leisure wears' (Giulianotti 2005: 22). Furthermore, Banks, credit card companies, building societies and holiday firms also began to



associate themselves with the football clubs. 'The name of the club became a floating signifier that can be appended to any product to facilitate the latter's fertilization among consumers' (Giulianotti 2005: 22, Conn 1997: 155).

The plausible conclusion which we draw from the comparative study of the two sports (football and cricket) will further help us to elucidate the rationale of our study. We can argue that, both the state and the market played a role in the globalization of sport. In the study, we have shown how the British state promoted the spread of cricket in India. Ashis Nandy, in *'The Tao of Cricket'* has tried to make such an argument. Nandy argued that the diffusion of cricket was possible in the colonies because the norms of cricket fitted into the societal structure of some of the colonies (Nandy 1989). This means the 'Englishness' associated with cricket (Fletcher 2011) was pivotal in globalizing the game. For Nandy, Imperial cricket revealed several virtues which became readily acceptable to the colonies. However, the market forces also gave impetus to the globalization. We notice this fact in the growing popularity of the IPL (The Indian Premier League).

Similarly, in the case of football we observe the role of the state in disseminating the game throughout the world. David G. Mc. Comb has observed that the British and the French missionaries responsible for the introduction of soccer in Africa (Mc Comb 2004). In spite of this, one cannot bypass the role of the market in creating the brand value for global football. The difference between the globalization of cricket and football is that, in the case of the former, the role of the state in globalizing the game has been more pivotal. The market to a large extent was controlled by the state. The state seemed to have made suitable adjustments to cope up with the emerging market forces of global capitalism. In the case of football, the market somehow succeeded in scoring over the state. The study has explained these phenomenons by taking illustration from global sport. I now briefly discuss the summary of the structures and claims of the chapters of my study.

The first chapter tries to argue that sports are not just a representative of national identity but also can be a driving force for the development of a transnational identity. The chapter begins by discussing the arguments of Anthony D Smith on nationalism. Then the chapter traces out

the connection between sport and nationalism. The chapter cites the case of Irish nationalism through sport (Hasan 2007). It discusses the case for the manifestation of the Swedish nationalism through sport. Also, the American nationalism is exemplified by the example of the introduction of baseball as reaction against the popularization of the game of cricket by Britain.

Besides, the chapter takes the example of the transnational football league (especially the English Club Football) and puts forth an alternative version of the concept of identity. It shows how transnational football fandom has led to the development of a new sense of identity among the people of the world. This has been made possible due to the role of the market and communication technology. The example of the international football websites of various clubs is used. I argue that due to the emergence of the forces of global capitalism, today, we find supporters of one country cheering for a player of a different nationality as the latter represents the favorite soccer club of the supporters. The chapter points out that in the context of globalized sport, the relationship between the players and the supporters is similar to the one that exists between the employers and the employees.

The second chapter delineates the symbiotic relationship between the sports and the market forces. The chapter discusses the case of the Olympic Games and envisages that the International Olympic Association had to forgo their previous reservations and allowed the market forces to intervene so that the event became global in reach. It cites involvement of several multinational corporations, for instance such as Coca-Cola and Kodak in the Olympic Games. The central idea of the second chapter is that sport provided the market for transnational corporations. I argue that the football became global through the hands of the private satellite television channels. This was shown in the chapter by the dominance of the BskyB TV over the state controlled British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC). The importance of the communication technology revealed the concept of 'time space compression' (Harvey 1994) in the context of global sport. Finally, the identification of the merchandising products with sport has paved the way for the development of the 'economy of signs' (Cashmore 2000).

The third chapter deals with the globalization process in cricket. The core argument which this chapter advances is the transformation in the character of the state as a result of globalization. I begin by emphasizing the degree of control exercised by the states in managing Cricket. The chapter illustrates the example of India and Britain in this regard. It shows the patronage and the control of the game by the maharajas of the British Indian states (Majumdar 2006). Also, the state of Britain legitimized the global spread of cricket since for them, it was a carrier of the English virtues which constituted an essential part of the British's civilizing mission.

In its next section, the chapter deals with the impact of the market forces on cricket. Here, the process of the co-option of the market by the state is being argued for. The crux of the idea is, although the state allowed the market to function, the former also played a role in influencing the behavior of the market. One can also argue that both the state and the market acted in a consensual manner. The relevance of the state was observed in the case of the Indian Premier League which was managed by the BCCI (Board of Control for the Cricket in India). The chapter has argued that the BCCI is an organization which is run by the political elites of the Indian state.

## **FOOTBALL, GLOBALIZATION AND IDENTITY**

The study aims to look into the process through which global sport transforms identity. In the first place, it aims to revisit the popular notion of sport as a representative of national identity. The study looks at the club football in Europe to put forth an alternative perspective on identity. To do so, we must first relate sport with the concept of nation and nationalism. The study looks at the works of the two major theorists on nationalism, Anthony D. Smith and Benedict Anderson. Although they produced a thorough explanation of the concepts of nation and nationalism, yet some gaps remains to be fulfilled. The study aims to complement their argument by building on the thoughts they developed.

Sporting nationalism has always been seen in relation to ethnic nationalism. We can take the example of the Basque football to establish this claim. Similarly, by viewing the nation as an imagined community, we can also argue the case of sport as an embodiment of the national identity. The Irish used sport to develop a sense of national identity. The development of Gaelic games in Ireland and other counties with a sizeable Irish diaspora is a case in this point. As examined by David Hassan and Paul Darby, the clubs provided a 'place' for the people to meet and then unfold into other avenues of life (Hassan and Darby 2007). Gaelic games provided a platform for the feeling of Irishness among the migrant population of Ireland in Europe, United States and Latin America.

Any theory of sporting nationalism must consider both these views on as enunciated by Smith and Anderson. Also, examining the role of the state, nationalism and national identity in the context of globalization, we would focus on the increasing role of the market in reshaping national identities. Hence, viewing sporting nationalism or the globalization of sport only through the cultural paradigm would not be a good idea. Rather, we approach the phenomenon through the political economy of culture (McGovern 2002). By the term political economy of culture, it is meant that culture and economics cannot be dealt with differently. In the globalized context, they are

interrelated. The economic activities are enmeshed with the cultural ones. The former guides the latter.

The chapter basically makes two claims. First, it tries to argue that viewing sports as a marker of nationalism is true but this is not always the case. In other words, it is only partially true and it has some exceptions. Identifying sport with the nation often tends to obscure the difference between the state and the nation. On the contrary, the difference between the two is not taken into account; sporting nationalism treats the state and the nation as similar entities.

Secondly, globalization of sports has revealed the dynamic character of identity. Conceptualizing identity within the state takes mainly two forms, either local (regional) or national. However, many local identities become both global as well as transnational when seen through the perspective of the market. This is due to the result of global capitalism. The club football in Europe has been a classic case of the transforming identities in the context of globalization. The norms governing identities are increasingly becoming de-territorialized.

This has brought about a set of important questions; is identity derived from the state? Or is it global or transnational in character? Thus, Anderson's concept of the 'imagined community' can also be described by viewing identity in a transnational sense. The transnational fandom for the several football clubs has turned out to be an ideal form of identity. As a consequence this, we witness that people from different nations of the world are sharing a single common identity as supporters of a specific football club.

In this chapter, we begin our discussion with the theoretical dimensions of the nationalism. Anthony D. Smith has put forth an interesting argument on nationalism. He tried to contrast the two conflicting views (the Perennialist and the Modernist) on nationalism in order to bring about a proper understanding of the term. The Perennialist school viewed nation as given ancient and immemorial. They argued along the primordialist line. The type of nationalism it produced was retrospective in character

(Smith 1998). As opposed to the Perennialist, the Modernist school viewed the nation as a civic community of legally equal citizens residing within a particular territory.

For the Perennialist, the nation is regarded as a politicized ethno cultural community, a community of common ancestry that states a claim to political recognition on that basis. For the Modernist, the nation is a territorialized political community a civic community of legally equal citizens in a particular territory. Secondly, the Perennialist viewed nation as persistent and immemorial, with a history stretching back to centuries. For the Modernists, the nation is both recent and novel a product of wholly modern and recent conditions, and therefore unknown to pre-modern eras (Smith 1998).

Thirdly, the nation for the Perennialist is rooted in place and time; it is embedded in a historic homeland. For the Modernists, the nation is a creation. It is consciously and deliberately built by its members, or segments thereof. Fourth, for the Perennialist the nation is a popular or demotic community, a community of the people and mirroring their needs and aspirations. For the modernist it is consciously constructed by the elites who seek to influence the emotions of the masses to achieve their goals (Smith 1998).

Fifthly, for the Perennialist, belonging to a nation means a state of being. For the Modernist belonging to a nation means possessing certain qualities. It is a capacity of doing. Sixthly, for the Perennialist, nations are seamless wholes, with a single will and character. For the Modernist, Nations are typically given and divided into number of (regional, class, gender, religious) social groups, each with their own interests and needs. Finally, for the Perennialist the underlying principles of a nation are those of ancestral ties and authentic cultures. For the Modernist, the principles of solidarity are to be found in social communication and citizenship (Smith 1998).

Let us locate these dichotomies in sport. While arguing nationalism in sport, we will have to consider both the Perennialist and the Modernist views. Sporting nationalism views the nation as an immemorial entity possessing political dimensions. While locating the dimension of nationalism in sport, the distinction between the state and the nation is

obliterated. The nation is being projected as both a political and cultural entity. The difference between the political and the cultural sphere is not rigidly maintained. This approach takes a rather generalized view as it overlooks the fact that whether the people of a nation receive their identity on the basis of shared ethnicity (*ethnies*) (1986) or are their identities being determined only by the acquisition of citizenship (Smith 1998). It tries to make an alliance of convenience between the two.

### **Sport and National Identity**

It can be argued that sports have simplified the concept of both nationalism as well as national identity. In this background, it is worthwhile to look into the ideas of Ernest Gellner on nationalism and consequently on identity. He did not accord much relevance to shared culture or any sort of primordialism. Instead, he emphasized that industrialization was crucial to the development of nationalism. He called for a subordination of the cultural traits by the forces of industrialization. He saw nationalism as a political principle which holds that, the political and the national should be congruent. For him, it is basically a theory of political legitimacy which requires that ethnic boundaries should not cut across political ones (Gellner 1983). The question which arises immediately is who creates the nation? By observing Gellner, we notice that he called for an intertwining of both the cultural and the national sphere. If we agree with Gellner, we would say that the process of industrialization got infused in the process of national consciousness and integration.

In the context of sporting nationalism, Gellner's thesis finds some relevance. But, the theorist of sporting nationalism must be reminded of the fact that, if industrialization is considered as a factor of national integration, it was also instrumental in transforming national identities. We can very well argue that the media as part of the market came in to vogue as a result of industrialization (Industrialization ultimately paved the way for the translation of local identities into universal ones).

Also, eminent theorist of sporting nationalism such as Alain Bairner and Alan Tomlinson (2006) produced a simplistic definition. They also treated the state and the nation as a coterminous entity. The state apparatus used sport to enforce national integration. Alain Bairner has examined several case studies of European and North American countries concerning the link between sport and nationalism. Taking the case of Sweden, he argued how sporting nationalism and diffusion of sports followed cultural traits. He regarded popularization of football and hockey in Sweden as ‘Americanization of the Swedish Sports’ (Bairner 2001: 159). Sporting nationalism can also be viewed as resistance to the globalization process. We can cite the example of the resistance shown by the Americans against the spread of the game of cricket by introducing the game of baseball. Secondly, the as a reaction against football, they changed the name and coined the term ‘soccer’.

Besides, Joe Maguire envisages that the application of globalization theory in sport is a mixture of both diminishing contrasts and increasing varieties. As a result, even though global forces may threaten the viability of existing nation states, they also provide the opportunity for expressing national, ethnic or local identities (Maguire 1994). National identity has been extrapolated to develop a notion of ‘us’ versus ‘them’. In the case of sport, teams generally sing national anthem before the start of a game as a symbol of national unity. However, this was originally an American practice. It started during the 1936 Berlin Olympics.

Most of these theorists have viewed sports as defining the nation. They have not focused specifically on the role which the transnational sporting competition plays in providing an alternative explanation to the ‘myth of national identity’. Even while discussing sporting nationalism as a response to the globalization of sports, we must remember the fact that akin to globalization, identity is also dynamic in character. Therefore, the act of equating sport with national identities is true, but on certain occasions exceptions are also possible. To put it differently, sport can very well be a harbinger of global/ translational identities.



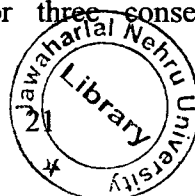
Chiba and Ebikara talks about the assimilation of particular foreign athletes into the Japanese sporting world as a result of globalization and their subsequent transformation within the local Japanese culture (2001). The authors regarded these athletes as 'borderless' which envisages that, even concepts such as national identities are dynamic in character. It asks important questions as to who constitutes the members of a nation, the issue of inclusion and exclusion and the criteria of citizenship.

Globalization, as I have argued at the beginning of this chapter, with the increasing influence of the market poses a substantial threat to the national boundaries. Identities get transformed. Citizenship of a territory backed by governmental institutions is being replaced by global citizenship. Naoki Chiba, Osamu Ebihara, Shinji Morino cites the example of Canadian born players of Japanese descent is their hockey team. They put forth the argument that the administrators of the Japanese ice-hockey association felt the need to include players of 'relevant social descent' in order to achieve success (2001).

In this context, we should agree with Fukuoka's thesis of superiority of the blood (Fukuoka 1993) as it becomes vital in de-territorializing identity. Fukuoka reminds us of the distinction between the blood and descent. The former transcends border and the latter does not. The role of the state in this case becomes co-optive in character. The point to be seen in this respect is whether 'blood' or 'descent', or both of them gets co-opted by the state in the context of globalization. The state at times fails to differentiate between the civic and the political. This is evident from the Japanese case study as enumerated by Chiba and Ebikara:

In imitating European examples, the JIHF (Japanese Ice/Hockey Federation) decided to recruit Canadian players of Japanese descent for the Nagano Winter Olympics. However they were subject to naturalization in Japan since the nationality can does not recognize dual nationality while JIHF hoped their naturalization would occur within four years, the law states that foreign people have to be domiciled in Japan more than five years before naturalization in granted (Nationality law Article 5(1)) But, provided that a foreigners is "the child of a person who was Japanese national, he can be naturalized after residing for three consecutive years in Japan

TH-20190



(Nationality Law, Article 6(11)). That was the reason why they were selected for the Japanese Team. Consequently, six of the 23 Japanese players were Canadian players of Japanese descent in the Nagano Winter Olympics (2001: 613).

Nationalism, like globalization is multifaceted in character. For example, Globalization has glocalization as its variant. Roland Robertson defines it as a symbolic interaction between the global and the local (Robertson 1992, 1995). Nationalism too, as Kamenka points out, is multidimensional. He advocates that nationalism, has got both a 'positive and a negative side: it can be democratic or authoritarian, backward-looking or forward looking, socialist or conservative, secular or religious, generous or chauvinist' (Kamenka 1993: 85). The sporting nationalism often fails to take into account the negative side. We can argue the case of Germany, a nation which, during the Third Reich, was oppressive and authoritarian in character and used sport to motivate its people. In addition, they viewed Globalization of sport as a cultural phenomenon. Notions of ethnicity, a commonly shared territory were given much importance. The role of the market was not seen as an important factor influencing national identity.

In addition to this, nationalism in sport does not differentiate between civic and ethnic nationalism. The former came in with the artificial creation of nations and nation-states primarily during the nineteenth century. Kellas describes that, 'this type of nationalism stresses the shared sense of national identity, community and culture, but outsiders can join the nation if they identify with it and adopt its social characteristics'. (Kellas 1991: 21). Proponents of ethnic nationalism, on the other hand, argue for primordialism and the natural origin of nation. Nationalism in the sporting context, does not consider the link between civic and ethnic nationalism. Smith argued that it is not correct to separate the two. This is true in the case of Ireland as we find that there is an overlap of the civic and ethnic nationalism.

Scholars such as Andrei S. Markovits and Lars Rensmann have focussed on sport as a cultural entity (2010). The local-global relationship (Robertson 1992, 1995) was made by them on the basis of cultural dimension. They did not give much stress to the impact of the market forces in sport in a globalized world. To project nationalism in sports, they

tried to argue through the Benedict Anderson's view of the 'imagined communities' (1983). However, we must remind ourselves that the concept of imagined Communities can not only be understood within the nation but also in the global sense.

The following argument will reveal why the proponents of sporting nationalism treated the concept of the nation, state and culture as coterminous entities. This is evident from the argument of Alan Guttmann and Peter Donnelly. The authors envisage that sport emerged as a cultural form that has been exported and exchanged from the eighteenth century onward with Britain and its expanding empire playing a pivotal role. Not only countries in the British Empire itself, but many others with which the British did business took up the various games which were codified in the course of the British sporting revolution.

In some countries such as the United States, the British games were transformed in such a way as they contribute to the development of unique sporting cultures. Elsewhere, and most notably in Northern Ireland, wholly alternative set of games were promoted, albeit in ways that continued to reflect the influence of the British approach to sport. Furthermore, in other cases, it is noted that within the British Empire, indigenous people took up British games but accorded them a distinctive flavor. They used the game as a part of the broader anti-imperialist struggles. This becomes prominent in the enthusiasm shown in the Caribbean for cricket and the adoption of rugby union as a 'national' game by the South Africans (Guttmann 1994).

Also, Donnelly (1996) observes that Americanization is denied by pointing to the truly international basis of sports. For him, sports such as 'tennis, golf, cycling, soccer features in the international sport spectacles such as Olympics and Commonwealth games' (245). Apart from this, he also holds the view that other sports such as Rugby, Cricket, Australian Rules football and sumo wrestling does not have much American participation even though they are being telecasted on ESPN and ABC's Wide World of Sports.

According to David Miller, national identities can remain unarticulated, yet still exercise a pervasive influence on people's behaviour. As he envisages, 'For example sport fan may dress in national costumes and paint their faces in national colours without being remotely altercated to nationalist politics' (Miller 1994: 27). James G. Kellas too, while describing sporting nationalism advocates that the most popular form of nationalist behaviour in many countries in sport is revealed through the support of their national team (Kellas 1991).

Globalization has been often equated with Americanization (Gienow-Hecht 2000). With regard to globalization, the term has a particular meaning. It means everything which reflects the cultural domination of the United States. The sporting arena was no exception. In response to the Americanization of sports (such as the spread of baseball in countries like Japan, Canada), we witness phenomenon such as Canadianization and Europeanization of sports (this meant that these nation states also tried to promote their own indigenous sport to other parts of the world). Therefore, globalization of sports was a manifestation of expansionist nationalism. Nationalism has been defined in cultural terms. Sporting nationalism reinforces the importance of the state in the globalizing process. Globalization is projected as a descriptive phenomenon. Besides, it is also normative in character. This is because in the globalizing process, a change is noticed in the behaviour of both the state and the market. Their interaction becomes different.

As a corollary, in the changed circumstances, nationalism also attains a normative character (Bourdieu 2002). This is due to the rise in global capitalism. The technological communication and the market have resulted in time space compression (Harvey 1994). This has ushered in the process of gloclalization (Robertson 1992, 1995). The local can have global significance. Hence, the sporting nationalism which used to amalgamate the cultural sphere and the political sphere will have to be revisited. In sum, the normative aspect needs to be considered more seriously.

Sporting nationalism views globalized sport as a counter-social movement threatening to destroy the national culture of a country. Here, nationalism identity directly

corresponds to a shared cultural identity of the people of a country. They fail to account for the development of transnational football fandom which developed due to the emergence of club football. Such a fandom developed primarily because of the emergence of market and technological communications. Identities got an alternative dimension through this approach. We will discuss the transnational football fandom later in this chapter.

Let us now briefly discuss the concept of Imagined Community. Although it has been subjected to several criticisms, yet, its essence can be realized in the case of sporting nationalism. It becomes clear in the works of Alain Bairner and Grant Jarvie. Bairner advocates that it is only during the times of war and international sporting competitions such as the World Cup Football and the Olympic Games that the communions between members of the nation, who are otherwise being regarded as total stranger, are felt intensely. Bairner also adds that 'there is nothing great or glorious about writing one's nationality in a hotel register. Moreover, the action itself is essentially solitary and thus fails to bring one another with ones compatriot except in an abstract sense. But sporting events unite members of a nation in highly emotional circumstances' (Bairner 2001: 17).

Jarvie goes a step further and argues that 'the imagined community or the nation becomes more active on the terraces or on the athletes tracks' (Jarvie 1993: 75). Nauright cites the case of South Africa and argues that identities are a major issue in deciding who constitutes a 'South African', Nauright also envisages that identities, through their sporting nationalism ultimately led to the emergence of a 'rainbow nation' (Nauright 1997).

On several occasions we have argued that theorists of sporting nationalism such as Gutmann, Donnelly, Bairner, Jarvie and Naughtright have one commonality. Everyone projected that sport was a representative of the national identity. Roy Hay, in his article also followed a similar path. He argued for the solidarity of the migrant populations in Australia. He went on to argue that the interpretations of the role of the soccer clubs in these early days vary. The Croatian soccer club in Geelong has been said to have been a

meeting ground for different factions of the Croatian Community. Joe Radojevic, has been one of the main personality to have had considerable influence on the way the club developed. Radojevic, made a practice of meeting boats arriving in Geelong and Melbourne in the company of a local Slovenian priest and selected Croatians who could play soccer to join his team. This was how the Croatia Melbourne football club was set up in Australia (Hay 1998).

To put it in the words of Kellas, sport was designated the status of 'official nationalism' (Kellas 1991: 4). In the same note, Hay referred to the Presidential Address of the Melbourne Croatia Club. The address emphasized the importance of sports in harnessing the feeling of national identity. The core idea which the Presidential speech delivered was that the football tournaments might contribute a long way to ensure the proper creation of a Croatian community. (Hay 1998).

However, this is just one side of the story. Apart from viewing sports as a harbinger of national identity it can also be seen as an embodiment of sub national or local identities. Also, the transnational perspectives on the identities were thus overlooked by Hay. But the phenomenon of globalization has raised several issues on assimilation of ethnic minority, de-territorialisation and the importance of the local in the global. Theories of sporting nationalism often viewed the local and the national as similar entities. But as Hay pointed out, the ethnic identity cannot be equated with nationalism, 'it is regarded as a plastic badge membership rather than being a primordial stamp upon an individual' (1998: 62). The local ethnic group was interpreted as national. So, equating sport with national identity often overlooked these exceptions.

Very often, globalization has been defined as internationalization. It means that there is greater interaction of the activities of the states. But, the process of globalization also has several variants such as the local, glocal (the interaction between the local and the global). These variants are very hard to ignore. The basic problem with the concept of internationalization is, although they call for greater interaction among the states, in the process they obscures the importance of the local factors which have a transcendental

effect. The local factor attains a global reach by the aid of the market. Thus, internationalization stands in sharp contrast to economic globalization. The role of the market is not considered seriously. Even Grant Jarvie viewed globalized sport as a means of internationalization of the sporting phenomenon. He argued that the role of the state in the making of nations is become weakening. Though he admits that global sport have posed many challenges to the national and local sport, but it has also paved the way for sport to become international (Jarvie 2003).

In his article, Jarvie blurs the line between the global and the international. The term global stands for 'de-territorialisation' (Scholte 2000). The international on the other hand, posits a greater importance to the nation state. From the argument of Jarvie, one can say that globalization in the sporting context was synonymously used with internationalization. This meant that the nation-state remained pivotal to any theorizing of globalization and sport. It was an assertion of sporting nationalism in an alternative way. Sports as a carrier of nationalism is applied to dissolving conflicts between rival ethnic groups within nations. This has already been discussed by several scholars. Also, sporting nationalism can lead to a promotion of unity between nations. Jarvie cites the example of Soccer World Cup of 2002 which Japan and Korea co-hosted. The Emperor of Japan declared that the royal family of Japan had its origin from a Korean civilization (Jarvie 2003).

However, even Jarvie could not avoid the folly committed by his counterparts that of failing to differentiate between cultural nationalism and political nationalism. As envisaged by Jarvie, sport acts as a form of cultural nationalism, or as a substitute for political nationalism. Sport can contribute to both ethnic and civic forms of nationality, many of which may be mythical, invented or relocated. Sports assist the process of national reconciliation and enable to build national identity and patriotism. Sport contributes to the building of national consciousness (Jarvie 2003). The mistake which Jarvie and his counterparts committed is that they tried to unify mutually antagonistic elements. The difference between nation, state, nationalism was not at all given due relevance.

Jarvie goes to the extent of predicting the future of the sporting nationalism in the globalized world. For Jarvie, globalization will be continued to be viewed in the form of internationalism, with the importance of state remaining at the core. Identity will only be seen as a phenomenon originating from geographically demarcated territories. People derive their identity by residing in a given territory and administered by state machinery.

The following argument of Jarvie points out some of the improvements which can be made in the definition of nationalism. Jarvie notes that in a sovereign sense 'the nature of the nation state may change, but the existence of sport teams representing territorially defined nations or regions aspiring to be nations is likely to continue' (Jarvie 2003: 543) .

Secondly, he feels that 'the national state government and nationalist organizations such as the African National Congress or the Palestinian Liberation Organization will continue to operate with the principle of sovereignty and will promote distinct sport policies that reflect the link between the sovereignty and territory. Distinctive nationalist sporting organization such as the Gallic Athlete Association will continue to provide a national focus on traditional sports' (2003: 543).

Finally, 'the centrality of the state is observed from the fact that though these bodies ( that is, The Palestinian Liberation Organization and Gaelic Athletic Association) have a wider reach, nevertheless, they cannot totally rely upon supranational bodies to make and enforce law since it requires states to accept legal and constitutional limitations above and below. In this sense, the nation state or new forms of sovereignty involving national fractions remain central to any proposed international economy, society or culture' (Jarvie 2003: 543).



## **Football and Transnational Identity**

So far, we have discussed how the phenomenon of nationalism finds expression in the sporting arena. National identity has been defined through sport. Secondly, globalization has also been used conterminously with internationalism. Here, globalization of sports has been exemplified as an extension of the national identity across national territory. The role of sporting Diasporas in reinstating national identity has been discussed with the illustration of Irish football (Darby and Hassan 2007). Conversely, sporting nationalism has been seen as a reaction to the spread of global sports (Bairner 2001).

Let us now look at the concept of identity in a different way. The earlier section discussed how sports shaped national and local identity. In the following section, I would like to examine how a sport transforms national as well as sub-national identities. The preceding section has shown the interaction between global sports and identities only in terms of cultures. The role of market and communication technologies was largely ignored. In the following section, I attempt to show how the market, working in tandem with technological innovation has transformed identities.

The market and communication technology (both television and internet) have become an integral part of the international political economy. Globalization has posed a challenge to the Westphalian model of the state system. Coupled with this, was the time-space compression (Harvey 1994) and time space distancing (Giddens 1990) which has been instrumental in bringing about significant changes in the local-global phenomena. However, the dominant literature in globalization has only focused on the emergence of sub national and local identities. But even the local identities possess the potential to become global. It can be done through the coalescence of the market and communication technology. This phenomenon becomes prominent in the case of club football. The issues of transfer of players and the migration of players from different nationalities have been made possible due to the rise of the market and its impact on the state system.

Let us discuss the case with an example of the transnational European Club football. An English football player has signed to play for a Spanish club. A situation arises where a clash takes place between an English soccer club, which may be the home team of a footballer who migrated to play in Spain, and his current Spanish Club. It may very well be the case when the Spanish will be supporting for an English National since the latter is a key figure in their club side.

Here, we may argue that, as their clubs represented local identity, reference can be made to the glocalization process as enunciated by Roland Robertson (Robertson 1992, 1995). An intertwining of the local and the global forces takes place. The basic point here is the manner by which the global force adapts itself to the local sensitivities. It becomes manifested when people in England will support the Spanish club because one of their own countrymen is a part of the club. The Spanish fans will cease to see the Englishness of the player, and assimilate him into Spanish football culture.

This interdependence between the global and local also has an important impact in influencing identities. In the globalized context, nationalism will have to encounter the forces of the market and the fast expanding communication technologies. The study will focus on the migration of football players across nations and the impact of the internet in acquiring support for the clubs. Besides, club football fandom has also transformed itself into a transnational identity cutting across territorial boundaries. Globalization has resulted in the formation of a global labour market. In this context, the relationship between the players and the clubs can be explained as the one that exists between the employers and the employees. The laws of demand and supply can also play an important role in reshaping identities.

The study aims to view identity and the markets having an interdependent relationship with one another. But how are they interdependent? The player who crosses their nation's borders is not treated as migrants or refugees. Rather, they are treated as the carriers of the economic dimension of cosmopolitanism. As seen in the case of sporting

nationalism, the 'us versus them' debate does not apply here. This goes to show that representing a country and owing allegiance to a club is not the same. Soccer clubs in the global context are no longer a sign of local pride and cultures. On the contrary, they have assumed the structure of corporate organizations largely regulated by the global norms of the market.

It has received impetus with the ever-increasing number of transnational fans following the action of their soccer clubs. Therefore, football fandom has led to the formation of cosmopolitan identity. It has been facilitated due to the increased interconnectedness of the communication technology and the acceptance of the logic of global capitalism.

The study intends to discuss the distinguishing feature of this new form identity. It is built on somewhat similar lines of the concept of global citizenship (Munck 2004). The argument is, while other forms of local identities have come up as a reaction to the globalization process, 'football fandom' as an identity has resulted due to the increasing reach of the market and the revolution in the field of technological communication.

The study reveals how transnational fandoms for soccer not only pose a challenge to the role of the state but also transforms it. Amin Ben-Porat argues the case for the importation of footballers into the Israeli football league. Ben-Porat states that football has become a 'game without frontiers' and is pivotal to the process of global capitalism (2002). Global capitalism and its impact show how commercial and monetary issues superseded the institutional mechanism of identity formation (state).

Ben-Porat advocates that the motive of the football clubs are the same as that of the foreign footballers, although from a different angle and with other interests. These motives may be covered by one world-profit. The profit factor was also the (hidden) motive behind certain changes in the organization of the game, such as changing the political atmosphere and certain legal rules that would facilitate the free movement of players across political borders. In respect to the current scenario in European football,

the political and legal framework has helped to allow such movements that were established outside the framework of football by the European Community's legal institutions, which in certain cases (such as the "Bosman's so rule" of 1995 imposed its authority over football in other states outside the European Community (such as Israel)) had to either adopt the EC rules or set up their own rules for dealing with foreign footballers (Ben-Porat 2002).

The profit motive transformed the concept of identity from a nationalist/local symbol into a global currency. Even though the market has not totally homogenized identity as a whole, nevertheless it has maintained a greater distinctiveness while defining identities. Defining identities through the market has embarked upon the dominance of the market of having a self-regulating character (Polanyi 1944). Ben-Porat describes the way in which market reformed the political and the financial set up in Israeli football. The use of the term 'self-regulating market' makes us think about a transformation in the character of the state. This is because the market becomes self-regulating due to the intervention of the state (Polanyi 1944). The state of Israel was gradually beginning to incline towards capitalism. This gives us ample evidence about the changing role of the state.

Globalization as a process has attempted to amalgamate the domestic with the international. This process of integration became evident in the case of soccer. Earlier, football was managed by the state. Now, as the clubs are increasingly becoming an entity of the market, the role of the state is getting transformed. This is evident from the increasing tendency of the clubs to become a private organisation. Naturally, all these things were casting an effect on identities. Ben- Porat gives the following argument to cement his claims:

This political model in football reigned for some decades after 1948. Its effects began to decline in the 1970's and collapsed towards the end of the 1980's. During and following the 1980's Israeli football was in a process of transformation from a political to a commercial model, in essence: football was undergoing a process of commodification.....the impact of these changes mere in the context

of football was direct and in some ways critical. The only viable option for the clubs was to change their formal status, meaning that they must become privatized. This meant that the federation needed to sell their club to private owners either to individuals or corporations. (Ben-Porat 2002: 59)

The emergence of the market has gone a long way in challenging the notion of identities which one associates with the state. Identities in other words, got commodified. In this case, many players from Israel were going to other continents for their career. Though the national governments had certain objection on this regard, but it had to adjust itself of the market forces. This goes to show the impact of the globalizing forces on the political practices of the state. Ben-Porat went to the extent of advocating that the economic factors played a key role in revisiting the political as well as the social forces and the consequent identities they produced. As prominent from his argument that ‘the explanation of the story of foreign footballers in the Israeli league emerges from two circles. The inner circle refers to the specific model of football in Israel—the political and the commercial. The outer circle refers to the context of Israeli society which is divided historically into certain realms of opportunity’ (Ben-Porat 2002: 61).

Thus, the market enabled the identities to become a global solvent. In the globalized context, although the role of the state in the words of John Stuart Mill as ‘a necessary evil’ (Mill 1863) retained its relevance, the importance of the market gradually increased.

In the case of club football, the footballer’s exchange gave the concept of identity a new dimension. National identity no longer occupied the centre stage. If we conceptualize nation as an imagined community, then the ‘imagined’ community is potentially realized in the case of football fandom. This is because we have a soccer club which owes its origin to a city (a reminiscence of local and primordial identities), has got its fans all over the world, comprising of people who hardly know one another. The study also revisits the stereotypical nations on identity which exist in the national football teams.

Hence, the role of the market becomes unavoidable in defining and perhaps re-shaping identities. The market became an important arbiter of all forms of identities viz. global, local political, social. The emergence of capitalism in sports has been successful in breaking the mythical notion of identity often related with the state. As briefly discussed earlier, the market alone cannot transform the notion of identities. The communication technologies too, alongside the market have been performing a lead role in shifting the notions of identity. The astonishing thing which sports have done in the context of identities is that it has created a different public sphere. The earlier notion about the public sphere comprised mainly of the activities by the nation-state (Habermas 1991). Globalization has further redefined the 'public' aspect of the public sphere.

The conventional definition of the public sphere had a greater degree of governmental control. However, the public sphere in the globalized context goes in the reverse direction. Here, the public sphere gets a transcendental dimension. The 'public' aspect now comprises citizens possessing a common identity without paying much emphasis to the national identity. It acquires a cosmopolitan outlook. The community of the internet user can be a classic illustration in this regard. The football fandom has been further strengthened by the use of internet since it has an inherent de-territorializing character. Television, as we all know introduced the concept of 'the arm chair audience' (Cashmore 2000) Globalization has also succeeded in supplementing these 'arm chair audiences' by a new category of 'cyber-space audience' (Bale 1998).

Tom Gibbons and Kevin Dixon used the views of Gary Crawford by arguing that the real (off-line) supporters and the virtual (online) supporters are identical in nature and it is not useful to distinguish the two (Gibbons and Dixon 2010). But it must be notified that, the virtual (online) supporters had greater reach and a more comprehensive sense of identity than the real ones. The real ones belonged to the institutionalized form of support which had its origin within the broader political spectre. In other words they resemble the conventional 'public sphere' (Habermas 1991) support for the clubs. But, the internet has provided the ground for a different form of 'public sphere'. This sphere

was outside the realm of the control by the state. In other words, it succeeded in transcending the boundaries of the state where new identities are created.

In order to drive home the point we refer to the claims as forwarded by Tim Edensor and Steve Millington. They provide important empirical evidence in this regard. They posit the view that football culture has become a pertinent field within which to explore contemporary fields of identity. Evidence exists to suggest that soccer fans (just like other sports fans) all over the world use the internet to interact with one another about many important issues (Edensor and Millington 2008).

In the same vein, Wagner Wilson, commenting on the fan following of the major league soccer in USA argues that the development and the availability of information technologies such as the internet will certainly facilitate the building of virtual communities of fans who want to follow specific teams and leagues (Wilson 2007). Although the internet has given birth to a new dimension of football fandom, the transformation of identities remained a central issue.

The debate between the real and imagined communities gets a new direction when we visualize it through the prism of soccer fandom. The earlier debate between the offline (real) and online (virtual) supporters has given way to the new debate between sports fans and consumers (Wann 1994). If we believe globalization as homogenization process then we tend to view supporters as mere 'consumers' (either watching the game in the stadium or viewing it through the media), abiding by the logic of the market economy. However, even if we admit the homogenizing trend in the globalizing process, such homogenization is not a general process. On the contrary, it is not as general as it appears to be. It means, within the broader homogenizing process there exist certain specificities.

These specificities then accord important dimension to the concept of identity. It also gives us the necessary direction to see whether identity is "real" or 'imagined'. Going by the argument of Wann, sports spectators can be categorized into two broad categories 'direct' and 'indirect', where 'direct' sports consumption involves personal attendance at

a sporting event, while 'indirect' sports consumption involves watching the sports through the mass media or consuming it through the internet (Wann 1994). The indirect fandom can be viewed as a manifestation of an 'imagined community'.

We can cite two reasons for such a proposition. First, these supporters are imagined because they never resided in the same territory and do not know one another. Secondly, these supporters (or fans) have developed a virtual identity for themselves by interacting through the internet. Henceforth, the two important components of globalization i.e. the market and communication technology play a key role in constructing a 'metaphysical' aspect of identity. But why do we say so? This is because, as argued by Richard Giulianotti that 'football acquires a post-modern form of identity through a depersonalized set of market dominated virtual relationships i.e. the television and the internet' (Giulianotti 2002: 31). Another point which concretizes the metaphysical conception of identity is that the internet is used more as a medium of communication than as a sign of technological prowess.

So far, we have discussed how communication technologies have transformed identity. Transnational football fandom has indeed become a new form of identity. The soccer clubs also use the internet to expand their fan base. The dynamic character of identity reveals the process through which the local identities become global. Thus, once again we take the opportunity to refer to the Robertson's thesis of the glocal, implying a symbiotic relation between the local and the global (Robertson 1992, 1995). Generally, the soccer clubs are considered as a representative of a local entity. However, due to the effect of the 'time space compression'(Harvey 1994) which takes place due to the coalescence of the market and communication technologies, the local identity got 'dis-embedded' from its local context and 'got re-embedded' (Giddens 1990) in the global context. Besides, this illustration shows that globalization has been successful in bringing about a change in the role of the state.

Liz Crolley examined the case a local Spanish club Villarreal to show the manner in which it becomes a global entity through the internet. The line between the local, national



and the transnational gradually merges as we find that the club gradually transformed itself into a corporate body. The club President of Villarreal football has put forth several reasons which may be useful in extrapolating the role of soccer clubs in transforming identities: To strengthen his position further, Crolley referred to the Presidential address of the football club. It states that:

In the name of Villarreal C.V, I thank you for the interest you have shown by visiting our clubs website, we want members, supporters and soccer fans from around the world to find all the information they need about our club through this site. (The) Internet is the main way of communication to reach any part of the world, and therefore also the best tool to show the important growth experienced by our club in recent years. This is the reason why we have put our efforts into his official site, with the aim that it becomes the main communication stream for all the supporter of the yellow team, no matter which part of the world they are. As club President, I also invite you to show your support for Villarreal C.F. by making our website your home page. (Crolley 2008: 723- 724).

The pertinent question that remains is - has globalization led to the universalization of identities? Scholte has argued that globalization leads to universalization. In addition, he further claims that it has resulted in de-territorialisation (Scholte 2005). In this case, the use of internet has created a different sort of identity for both the clubs and the fans. Crolley refers to the debate over the language to be used in the official website of the Spanish Clubs. If globalization referred only to universalization, then there would not have been any debate whether the club should use English or the local language in this website.

The relevance of the state was felt when it was argued that, if any club did not use local language it would be under legal scrutiny. However, despite the assertive role of the state, the importance of the market could not be bypassed. As a result we observe the simultaneous use of both English and local languages of the country. Therefore the glocal phenomenon as envisaged by Robertson once again becomes prominent. In order to gain transnational identity the clubs had to offer an English version of their site. The concept

of universalization as enunciated by Scholte can also be realized when we find that the use of the English language facilitated the homogenization process. In the literature of globalization the language of English, due to its global appeal came to be known as 'Global English' (Crystal 1997).

Although, globalization is a claim for universalization but this process will be marked by a degree of distinctiveness. But how is this distinctness revealed? In the context of identity it meant, the rendition of the local has in turn made the homogenization process more comprehensive. Taking the case of the use of internet for increasing the fan base is adapting a global means to assert a local identity.

Conversely, regarding the use of both local and English as a global language in the website of the soccer club, it may be argued that it is a case for glocalization (Robertson 1992, 1995). But it is not so. There is always an urge of the club to become global. It is done by following the logic of global capitalism through the hands of the market. As a result, the local identity gets enmeshed with the global. To cite an instance of the connection between the club and the market, the website of FC Barcelona resembles the logos of the club's eight main corporate sponsors beneath the logo of the Barcelona Football club (Crolley 2008). The phenomenon of 'time-space compression' (Harvey 1994) in transforming identity was also seen. The local was used to access the global. It may be that the sponsors bought their way up to the main page. We can also argue that the club used global means in order to make their local identity have a de-territorializing appeal.

To explain this case, Crolley cites the fact that the official Spanish Primera Liga Internet sites vary enormously both in the content and in the design. It goes to a long way in portraying the club identity, the extent to which the club has commercialized and exploitation of interactive features. There is a pattern in the evolution of the official site from containing 'basic club future, and names items to inclusion of up to date interviews, commercial links, promotion of partners and club-related marketing activities, interactive features such as ringtones, wallpapers, screensavers, video clip and podcasts then to full

subscription based online streaming of matches or archive footage, online TV, Broadcasts and e-newsletters' (Crolley 2008: 727).

Identities in the globalized context have to be viewed as a functional entity. This is because the major force of globalization (which includes the market and technological innovations) has made the world into an organic whole while retaining local characteristics. There are two ways of looking at it. First, the transfer of players from one club to the other is treated as mobility of labours. This means they are treated more as commodities and not merely as persons who have crossed national borders. Secondly, as a corollary of the previous argument, the identities of the players are now being determined both by the local identities of this club and the corporate brands sponsoring the club. Hence, the monolithic view of identity gets transformed.

In the very beginning of the chapter, we have discussed about case of Irish nationalism through football. The Irish made it explicit that, if any Irish player represented any clubs outside Ireland, they would be barred from playing for Ireland in the future. However, this picture has changed over the years. In the case of English premier league, we notice that many Irish players are representing English Clubs. We can cite the example of Robbie Keane, an Irish national representing the English clubs in the EPL (English Premier League) every season.

In the cases referred above, identity was defined both in qualitative (McGovern 2002) as well as in quantitative aspects. Furthermore, globalization of sports has given a reductionist view of identity. Looking at Patrick McGovern's case study of the English club football we can argue that the dominant forms of identity are the employers (the club owners) and the employees (the players).

At this juncture, we get yet another line of argument on the impact of global forces on identity. Patrick McGovern while commenting on the migration of players refers to a distinction made by Peter Dicken between internationalization and globalization (Dicken 1998, McGovern 2002). The former, refers merely to a culmination of process of several

nationalities. By migration into the club of other countries, the players do not acquire international identity. Rather, they acquire a global identity. This is because they are more organically related to the club. Let us explain how this process takes place. By representing the clubs, the players acquired the local identities of the club they represent. This is supplemented by corporate sponsors which performs the dual task of functionally integrating different nationalities to the local club identities and also controlling the entire process by the whims of the market. Even when players adhere to the local identities, but the hands of the market transforms them into a global one.

The above analysis is needed because many another scholars such as Rowe is still optimistic about the role of the national government. But, it must be remembered that in this interplay between the state and the market, the latter plays a proactive role. Even if the relevance of the state has continued in the global age, its activities have undergone a substantial transformation. The relationship between the state and the market can be described as consensual in character. Both of them began to recognize the role of the other.

David Rowe tries to pose a similar kind of argument. He argues that the relevance of the nation does not get marginalized despite the increasing circulation of sportsmen all over the world as a part of the new international dimension of cultural labour. He admits the point that in recent years both the association as well as the players operates outside their countries of origin than ever before and their clubs are always bothered about the loss of, and potential damage to, their labour power caused by international demands. Football more than any other sport, can claim to be a global game (Giulianotti 1999). None the less, Rowe stressed the importance of playing for the country as compared to the clubs. It becomes evident when he throws light on the fact that the clubs still retained a national brand irrespective of the cosmopolitan character of their players, support staff and of their shareholder register. This is because he advocates that it is obligatory for their players to return to play for their national teams in their respective countries for peak international sports tournaments such as the World Cup Football (Rowe 2003).

Proving nationality through the display of the passport is prevalent. The identity that an individual receives from there is the one which is being granted to him by the state. Globalized sport has shown that the concept of identity is more dynamic in character. Now, we can believe that passport, though a necessary condition for the establishment of an identity is not the sole factor. Rather, the players correspond with the demand and supply nexus of the club sponsors. Thus, the market forces began to contextualize the institutionalized forms of identity. It never equated identity with 'citizenship'. The concept of citizenship was revisited. The state, with all its efforts to reinstate the conventional forms citizenship, ultimately had to succumb to the market forces. Thus, identity attained a transnational character.

In the writings of Patrick Mc Govern, we find the logical underpinnings of this argument. He states that the recruitment of foreign (that is, non-English/ Welsh) players can be divided into two overlapping phases. He terms the two phases as the Celtic and the International. In the first phase, which lasted from 1946 till the late 1970s, we come across various restrictions placed by the state authorities on the recruitment of foreign players. During this period, only those players were recruited who either possessed British passports or had the right to be employed in Britain without requiring any job permits (Mc Govern 2002).

However, in the second phase, we notice significant path breaking changes. Most of these changes took place when Britain entered the European Community in 1973. The clubs began to take advantages of these changes only five years later, which is from 1978 onwards when the Professional Footballer's Association lifted its ban on overseas players. The market was given further space to operate when we notice that both the UEFA and the EEC agreed to withdraw the discriminatory legislations against the employment of football players from other EEC countries. This culminated in the recruitment of footballers from across the globe. As a result, we observe that 'Tottenham Hotspur signed two of Argentina's 1978 world cup winning side, Ipswich Town hired leading Dutch Internationals and overseas players gradually became a major feature of the English game' (MC Govern 2002: 29).

The juxtaposition of globalized sport and identity through the transnational nature of club football has to be dealt with more normatively. The purpose is to review the monolithic view on state, identity and the plausible consequence of globalization. Hans Hogenstad in his article has argued that football fandom tries to strengthen the local and challenges the emotional significance of the nationhood. But like his counterparts, he should have also considered that the local also becomes transnational when seen through the prism of the market. The local identity is no longer retained by the club. The difference between 'us' versus 'them' or the issues of 'inclusion' versus 'exclusion' gets eroded as the club began to have supporters from all over the world.

Illustrating the case of English Premier League he envisages that in a pre-season friendly football match between two North London clubs, the then conference league side Barnet and the more famous Premier League Club Arsenal. "At the main entrance of Barnet's home ground Underhill Stadium, two national flags were attached to the gate, the Norwegian and the Australian with 'Barnet' painted on both. Inside the tiny, picked football ground some Ghanaians were wearing replica Arsenal shirts with the name, Owusu-Abeyie" on the back in honour of a young Ghanaian born player of Dutch nationality playing for Spartak Moscow who was then making his Arsenal debut" (Hogenstad 2009: 358).

An obvious reaction to this would be arguing the case for 'hybridization'. Jan Nederveen Pieterse advocates that there are no 'global' or 'local' but only hybrid phenomenon that is always already mixed. For him, globalization becomes a process of accelerated mixture with a concomitant introduction of new forms (Pieterse 1995). Globalized sport has responded very well with this phenomenon. It has shown that the local and the global get embedded into one another. Also, globalized sport has delved the fact that the symbols of identity have undergone a change. Hogenstad in his writings mentioned people from different nationalities wearing the jersey of the same football club.

Andrew and Ritzer in the context of the sport uses the term 'globalization' thereby emphasizing the all-encompassing effect of corporate transnationalism on 'global' sporting communities. The proponents of 'globalization' argue that identities in sport are constructed around the financial powers of a handful of transnational sport corporations controlling the commercial aspect of sport (Ritzer 2003).

Through the emergence of club football, we have unravelled new contours in the case of de-territorialisation of identity. Earlier, we have shown how national identity got contested; now we have argued that alongside changes in identity, globalization has also brought about changes in the conception of the territory of a country from where a supporter's club originates. Visualising territory in the form of geographical boundaries needs to be reviewed. Both in form and content the territory got transformed. For instance, Hogenstad, while arguing his case puts emphasis upon 'the huge rest' (363). He goes on to advocate that 'for a supporter of the Brann Bergen Middlesborough football clubs, the relevant geographical territories are to be found in really a small part of the Northern Empire. But, the 'huge rest' may exist in their mind and he may be under the influence of transnational football consumerism and sports capitalism but in terms of passion and experience his focus has a clear and privileged focus on two football clubs, concretely manifested through the nations of 'home' attached to Brann Stadium in Western Norway and the Riverside stadium in the north east of England' (Hogenstad 2009: 363).

The argument of de-territorialisation (Scholte 2005) as presented by Scholte finds some relevance. Globalized football has been a perfect illustration of time space compression (Harvey 1994). David Harvey used this term to demonstrate the diminishing relevance of the territorial space as a consequence of global capitalism. The rise of global media together with the emergence of consumerism has contributed a long way in bringing out an alternative conception of the territorial space. If at all the territory is to be viewed in the case of transnational football clubs, it will have to be seen in the 'de-territorialized' context. We must also remember that since the idea of territory has been revisited, the definition of what constitutes global or local has to be seen in the context of

the market. The concept of identity has also moved in a similar fashion like the changes that we notice from Fordism to post-Fordism.

The fact that the relevance of the club's national location has been challenged by the transnational nature of the game (read here, *The European Club Football*). This becomes evident when we notice the composition of the leading clubs in the European football league. Here, we find players from not only from different continents but also from a variety of cultural backgrounds. The leading European clubs such as Manchester United, Chelsea, Liverpool and Arsenal have squads of players from almost all the major soccer playing nations thereby bearing the representative of all the continents of the world (Hogenstad 2009).



## **SPORTS AND THE MARKET: A SYMBIOTIC RELATIONSHIP**

In the last chapter, I grappled with how the market has become an important agent in transforming the existing notions of identity. Sport, although was a representative of national identity, but identities became transnational in character under the globalizing influence. Besides, in the preceding chapter we have also referred to the Roland Robertson's thesis of the 'glocal' (Robertson1995). The 'glocal' emphasizes a symbiotic relationship between the local and the global. Thus, the local phenomenon became global with the help of the market forces. In this context, I have argued that when a soccer player of a country plays for a foreign club against the club of his home country his identity gets transformed automatically. Then, he represents a club (a local entity), which became global due to the allied action of the market forces and communication technology. The television and later on, the Internet have contributed a lot to the globalization of sport. Besides, they have played a key role in transforming the existing notions of identity. In other words, identities attained a dynamic character. The local identities became global.

In this chapter, we attempt to show the manner through which the state has succumbed to the market forces and communication technology as a result of the globalization of sport. Although the state retains its validity, yet the market forces become a dominant feature. We shall also show how the state becomes de-territorialized due to the dual forces of the television and the internet.

Apart from this, we will view the 'territory' of the state from a different terrain. The territory has been defined through satellite channels and websites. Consequently, both the market and the sport complemented each other. Hence, we can say that the 'sport' as an entity had a natural inclination towards the market. We will discuss this part elaborately in the later part of the chapter. Thirdly, this chapter will also focus on the symbiotic relationship between sport and television. This would show how televised sport provides

the market for several transnational corporations. The impact of televised sport and MNCs are such that it has been successful in transforming sporting associations from an international organization into a corporate organization (Slack 2004). Finally, the study will focus on 'economy of signs' (Cashmore 2000).

The prevailing literature on globalization has associated the term with the triumph of global capitalism (Norberg 2003). Let us define capitalism in the context of sports. To do so, we must argue that sports have brought in a new wave of capitalism. Earlier capitalism was conventional in its definition. The capitalist class consisted of mainly the industrial and the big business classes. But, with the onset of the globalization through sport new business classes began to emerge. These days we have owners of sports channels, manufacturer of sports goods and makers of several sports merchandise products claiming a berth in the capitalist's class. They are regarded as the 'new capitalist class' (Damodaran 2008).

The difference with these 'new capitalist' class from their predecessor was that the latter was not totally linked with the state apparatus. While the former was allied with the state apparatus, the latter maintained a reasonable distance. On the contrary, they also had a transcendental appeal. That is, these 'new capitalists' cared little for the territorial boundaries. They belong to the Transnational Capitalist Class (Sklair 2002). We can argue that the state co-opted the market at a later stage of the capitalist development.

This becomes evident in the writings of Susan Strange. She argued for a changing role of the state. She put forward the argument that the 'impersonal forces of the world's market, integrated over the postwar period more by private enterprise in finance, industry and trade than by the cooperative decisions of the government are now more powerful than the states to whom ultimate political authority over the society and authority is supposed to belong' (Strange 2003: 128).

Susan Strange also emphasized the changing relationships between the state and the market. For her, earlier, the states were the master of the markets, now it is the market,

which on many crucial issues are setting the guidelines for the states. Besides, she argues that the authority of the state is declining and this fact is observable in the diffusion of the authority to other institutions and associations such as the local and regional bodies. Finally, she points out that there is a growing asymmetry between the larger states who are more powerful and the smaller ones. (Strange 2003).

The noteworthy thing about the arguments of Susan Strange is, though she is empowering on the erosion of the authority of the state, he did not move away from the state-centric line of thinking completely as she focused on the increasing importance of 'regional and local bodies' (which comprised of states). In a similar fashion, technology was viewed through the prism of the state. It was seen more as an integral component of the state than as a component of the market. However, the fact that the physical territorial barriers would diminish due to the improvement in communication and the rise of the market was admitted by Strange.

As Susan Strange points out that 'the electric telegraph as a means of communication was invented in the 1840's and remained the dominant system in Europe until the 1920's. But in the next eighty years, the telegraph was substituted by the telephone; the telephone gave way to the radio, and finally from the radio there was a transition into television and cables to satellite and optic fibers linking computers to other computers' (Strange 2003: 130).

However, the fact that technological changes obscured the relevance of the nation state was ultimately argued by Strange when she emphasized the declining importance of the acquisition of territory as compared to the gaining of market. She envisaged that neither gaining territory is regarded as a step forward towards acquiring wealth nor losing it meant the declining strength of the state. For Strange, gaining new market is prioritized than the control over the natural resources of territory (Strange 2003).

Let us now re-conceptualize territory in the context of the market. The state, it can be argued is getting co-opted by the twin forces of the market and communication

technology. The territory of the state is being exemplified as a de-territorialized zone. George Ritzer has an interesting argument in this regard. He describes the phenomena of globalization as both 'nothing' and 'something'. To explain this further we should first explain these two variants.

Nothing refers to a 'social form that is generally centrally conceived, controlled and comparatively devoid of a distinctive substantive content. This leads to a definition of something as a social form that is generally indigenously conceived, controlled and comparatively rich in distinctive substantive content' (Ritzer 2003: 195).

To elaborate his case, Ritzer gave certain examples to delineate the meaning of these terms. For 'something' he assumed a 'place (a community bank); thing (as personal loan); Person (banker) and service (individualized assistance). As against this, 'nothing' refers to a nonplace (credit card company); nonthing (a credit card loan); nonperson (telemarketers) and a nonservice (automated dial up)' (Ritzer 2003: 196).

From the argument it is evident that the place is getting de-mystified. The concept of place is has almost become a non-entity. The 'place' has become a transzone where the time and space gets both compressed and distanced. Globalization of sports can be used as a means to get a greater insight into this phenomenon. Capitalism has redefined the notions of space. Furthermore, the forces of globalization have commodified the non-commodities thereby further intensifying the deviation from conventional notions of space and time.

## **THE STATE ADAPTING TO THE MARKET FORCES**

The manner in which sports, a 'non-commodity', when seen through the lenses of the state transforms itself into a 'commodity' is something very interesting. To trace the process, we must back to the period when sport was a component of the state. Franklin

Foer, in his work clearly demarcates that football clubs and the league matches was managed by the state apparatus. Foer argues the case of rigging the league system in Italy by the powerful clubs. Here, we must remember that the time at which Foer is arguing the clubs were yet to become global brands.

Foer puts forth the control of the clubs by the state. He delves into the fact that due to the referee's centrality to the outcome of the games, the teams make every possible effort to influence him. Almost every year, there is a new debate over the procedure for assigning referees. He exemplifies that, 'under the current system a two-person committee minor down the pool of refs before their names go to a random draw. One member of the committee is known to be backed by the most powerful clubs, Twenties of Turin and AC Milan. The result is that Juventus and Milan can often rig the system to assign themselves the most mediocre, provincially minded referees, who are subconsciously more deferential towards their prestigious clubs' (Foer 2004: 169-170).

It seems that the state actively pursued policies to control the clubs. The state control of the clubs negated any intervention by the market. This was the story at the initial stages though. Gradually, the state, the market and club got amalgamated as one entity. This becomes evident in the views of Foer as he envisages that the time when Berlusconi bought the club of Milan, 'it was a team with a glorious past that had stumbled onto hard times. He resurrected the club again by recruiting foreign players and his nose for spectacle, Juventus has an entire different style. They have always been great and the understatement of old money'. Its owners, the Angelis, are often referred to as the 'official station monarchy' (Foer 2004: 173).

The point to be noted here is that, the state subconsciously succumbed to the forces of the market. In the case illustrated above, Berlusconi took the initiative of bringing overseas players into his club. So, we can very well argue that the sport, a mere 'non-commodity' of the state has been converted into a 'commodity' by the impact of the market forces. This transformation is very important. It was something which Karl

Polanyi pointed out. In his 'emmeddedness' theses, he argued that all the economic activities and institutions are enmeshed in social relations and institutions (Polanyi 1944).

But Polanyi too, as John Lie observed failed to embed 'the concept of the market' (Lie 1992). Although Karl Polanyi argued that it is the market society which led to the commodification of the non-commodities. As per Lie, Polanyi argued that the state existed as a social organization but the economy does not. Lie is of the view that since the market is employed as a purely economic category, its institutional effects are neglected and rendered as a part of the mysterious force of the laissez-faire economy (Lie 1992).

The idea which Lie was trying to convey was, Polanyi could not accord a formal status to the market. In the interaction between the state and the market, the former got greater precedence than the latter. The process through which the market gets co-opted by the states is something which he overlooked. This act of co-option by the market is evident from the media ownership of teams in club football. Also, the Olympic movement bears resemblance to this fact.

We have already mentioned the fact that sport, when managed by state was viewed as a 'non-commodity'. Let us bring the 'amateur' versus the 'professional' debate in this context. Sporting activities was regarded by the state as an amateurish activity. The only source of revenue for the clubs was through the tickets sold during the matches. The commercial aspect of the game did not receive much attention at that point of time. In this section we are going to focus how the intergovernmental organization such as the International Olympic Association (IOA) transforms itself into a corporate organization. One thing which the state skipped or failed to understand was the fact that, sport, even when it was a 'non-commodity' had an inbuilt quality of 'consumerability'.

Sport as an activity was dysfunctional without the spectators (a paying spectator) and professional performers or (players). Hence, the revenue for the sporting organization became an important issue .Both the clubs and the international organization (read here, the International Olympic Association) started to reach out for the market. Even while

doing so, they had to cope with the several restraints of the states. John Forster and Nigel K.L. Pope stated that the rise of professionalism was not at all welcomed in the United Kingdom (UK), where there was a belief that the sport needed to remain amateur because it was regarded as a gentleman's activity at least conceptually. The main reason behind the resistance against the professionalism in sport was the fear that if sports became professional, it would provide an opportunity for the working classes to participate in it. They also cited the case of Britain, 'where most professional sport teams (were until recently at least) run by an elected committee' (Forster and Pope 2004: 44).

The tussle between the market and the state has always been an absorbing phenomenon. The argument put forth in the previous paragraph reveals the monolithic character of the state in restricting the market. But the indispensability of the market was realized when we observe that the state embraces the market forces in order to redeem itself.

The sporting organizations once controlled by the state began to realize that the supporters, though an important sources of revenue, could be turned into customers by allowing the market to get a greater free play. Forster and Pope argued about the restraints imposed by the states on the sporting bodies in order to prevent them from becoming commercial ventures. But, the clubs soon realized that if the spectators (supporters) were turned into consumers, the revenues for the clubs would certainly rise (Forster and Pope 2004).

On this aspect, Forster and Pope argued the case for the inclination of the clubs towards commercialization of the game. It becomes prominent when we find that in 1983 Tottenham Hotspur was the first soccer club to list on the stock exchange. By 2000, fourteen more football clubs were added to the list. Much of this has been fan induced. It seems that fans will buy shares in a soccer club out of a sense of personal obligation if the club is in a financial distress. The authors were also confident of the fact that the trend of purchasing the shares of the football clubs by the fans would likely to prevail even when the clubs were not in financial distress. Rather, they would do it out of a sense of

indebtedness to the club. There also appears to be a sense of reciprocated altruism as a result of the feeling of group membership (Forster and Pope 2004).

As an institution, the market was present within the sporting organizations. This was something which the state failed to realize while taking control over the clubs. Not only they restrained the activities of the market but also to attempted to deinstitutionalize the market. It becomes evident during the early stages of the Olympic movement when the attempts to commercialize the Olympic were restricted. The market was regarded as evil by the organizers. John Nauright and Tara Magdalinski has shown that before the 1980s, the Olympics received its support largely from the local business sponsors and governmental funding because of the tenets of the amateur spirit which a demanded that the games remain “pure and free” from the evils of commercial ventures (Nauright and Magdalinski 2004).

The state failed to notify that sport and the market share a symbiotic relationship. Hence, the intervention of the market in sport became unavoidable. But the state failed to understand this. A classic example comes up when the Los Angeles Olympic Organizing Committee (LAOOC) was accused of commodifying the Olympics. They were told by one of their members they represented the ugly face of capitalism and its attempts to take over the Olympic movement and commercialize the Olympic Games. The Greek National Olympic committee accused the Los Angeles Olympic organizing Committee of using the torch relay in Olympics “as a tool for the collection of money for athletic resources” (Slack 2004: 181).

The state never took into account the ‘spectator’ aspect of the sport nor did they view it as an entity which, if allowed to merge with the market, would redefine the state by altering its monolithic character. The state gradually discovered a degree of their powers being associated with sport. Hence they began to take active involvement in sport. Arnd Kruger mentioned that as more and more sporting contract becomes further entrenched in nationalist promotion, governments began allocating funds for the preparation of



Olympic teams. In Sweden the governments had direct financial involvement in the preparation of their term for the 1912 Stockholm games (Kruger 1993).

Slack also referred to a statement made by Sir Arthur Conan Doyle, a member of the English Royal family who argued that, 'as other countries used games a political tool, then a great of 100,000 pounds should be raised for the preparation of the British Team' (Slack 2004: 183). These are only few of the many instances of the state's control over the sporting activities. Eventually, the inevitable took place with the intervention of the market in the Olympics during the late twentieth century. In this regard it must be mentioned that we are deviating from the conventional globalization thesis of the hyperglobalist that the state becomes irrelevant (Scholte 2005). However, the state remains but what actually takes place is that the state re-discovers itself. A transformation takes place in the character of the state.

As a response to economic globalization, we find that apart from de-territorialization (Scholte 2005) there have been instances of regionalization. As result, many inter-state organizations have come up. So, the state still exercised a substantial degree of influence. In the context of the globalization, the state and the market have emerged into an organic relationship. The market and the state therefore, shall not be differentiated with any greater degree of rigidity. In the context of the Olympic Games this becomes even clearer. The state on several occasions, almost voluntarily allowed the market to step in.

Christopher Hill traces the chronology of the Olympic Games and tries to locate the time period from when the impact of the market began to be felt increasingly. Hill argues that during the early days of the Olympic Games, the commercial issues were not given much importance and the 'sport was played for sport's sake'. In spite of this, Hill observed that the relationship between the advertising and the Olympic Games began in 1896 when Kodak placed it's advertisements in the Olympic Games. However, it was in 1912 that the official licensing in the Olympics begun (Hill 1996).

Along similar lines, Mark Dyreson also envisaged the commercialization of the Olympic Games. He emphasized that Coca-Cola became one of the earliest companies to be involved in the Olympic Games in 1928. Thereafter, waves of commercialization followed. In the next edition of the Olympic Games in Los Angeles, the relationship between commercialization and the Olympics attained a new level. This is because the game received strong support from oil advertisements, while the media in general promoted the games as a 'depression buster'(26) 'A number of other companies joined the Olympic advertising bandwagon; the Piggly Wiggly supermarket chain sold Olympic emblems to support the US Olympic team' (Dyreson 1995: 27).

Thus, in the tug of war between the state and the market in the sporting arena, the latter on most occasions, scored over the former. Still, either to amalgamate the two or to prioritize one over the other remains an uphill task. The rift between the state and the market is illustrated in the case of European Union and its intervention in the transfer of players in Europe. Earlier in this chapter, we have discussed about the co-option of the state by the market.

Now, we would show how the increased control by the state over the market ultimately leads to diminishing returns for the state. We must bear in mind the fact that the market forces had to be welcomed by the state and other inter-state organizations. Earlier, the state committed the mistake of failing to institutionalize the norms of the market. In this context, Richard Parrish focuses on the debates over the policies of the European Union vis-à-vis the clubs.

We have seen that the IOA, despite some reservation on the entry of the market into Olympic Games, ultimately succumbed to the market forces. However, the European Union takes an interesting stance. It tries to balance the intervention of both the state and the market without allowing either of them greater leverage than the other. The intervention of the state is observed from the legal clauses made by the organization. According to the Directorate General (DG) for Competition Policy, 'the operation of

sport may fall within the remit of EU competition law (Articles 81, 82, 85, 86)'. (Parrish 2002:2). As the European Union enumerates:

The DG for Competition Policy concentrated their scrutiny of football in four key areas. Firstly, it has conducted investigation into the international transfer system the continued use of the discriminatory nationality provision in professional football, second the commission has examined its organization of European football included how to regulate the competition restrictions on the football club ownership and rules preventing club relocation in another member state of the EU. Third the Commission has examined the broadcasting of sport in Europe. In this connection it has centered its investigations on the sale of exclusive broadcasting rights, the sale of joint rights to sporting events, the purchase of broadcasting rights the sole of joint rights to sporting events, the purchase of broadcasting of sporting events. Finally, the Commission has investigated the restrictive practices of in ticketing arrangements for major international sporting events. (EU Treaty) (Parrish 2002: 2).

From the provision of the European Union it is clear that, the organization wanted to control the activities of the clubs and the broadcasting rights. This meant, the state failed to co-opt the market. Had it not been so, the state would not have intervened in the broadcasting rights of the clubs and the issue of transfer of players.

We are not arguing in favor of a minimalist state. What we are trying to put forth is the fact that the state never felt to institutionalize the market in the globalized context. Besides, it was more too keen to de-institutionalize it. Hence, the failure of the state to institutionalize and co-opt the market culminated in the reduction of its autonomy vis-à-vis the market. The factor which prevented the state from doing so was the belief that it possessed the sole responsibility of decision making. The state failed to realize that due to the forces of globalization the local phenomenon have attained a global dimension. In this case even the European Union failed to consider these thoughts.

Richard Parrish notes that the actor institution framework (AIF) is an approach that attempts to 'instill some order in the shifting of the focus of EU sports regulation whilst also laying down some sign post for the future. The AIF seeks to cut across the actor versus institutions dichotomy inherent in policy studies by arguing that both actors and

institutions in the content of EU policy change. However, policy advocates retain considerable discretion as to how they assert themselves in the policy process. Actor discretion is heightened due to the multi-level natures of the EU decision making. The practical consequences of the multi-level governance in the EU are that those policy advocates wishing to influence policy development, it can exploit a wide number of institutional venues in order to redefine policy. (Parrish 2002: 3).

Whenever the market tried to match the state apparatus, the state adopted a protectionist approach. Also, in the case of the transfer of players among the different European football clubs, the EU set the norms to be followed. Here, the prevailing conception is the state has treated sport as a non-economic venture. This means they have treated sport as an amateurish activity free from any domination by the market. To put it differently, sport was attempted to be projected as an absolute symbol of the state. But ultimately, sport became a symbol of the 'economy of signs' (Cashmore 2000) due to the dual forces of the market and communication technology. This issue however, will be discussed subsequently.

As far as the sports as an agent of the state is concerned, the decision of the European Court of Justice and the European Union bears relevance. Parrish notes that 'The ECJ (The European Court of Justice) in the Walrave (1974) and Dona (1976) cases argued that sport is subject to E.U. law in so far as it constitutes an economic activity with the meaning of Article 2 of the EEC Treaty, although exemptions from the principle on the grounds of nationality are permitted but linked with the practice of sport on a non-economic basis (Walgrave and Koch v. Union Cycliste Internationale, Case 36/74, 12 Dec 1974; Dona vs. Mantero, Case 13/76). Following Walgrave and Dona, the dialogue between the Commission and the UEFA began in 1978 and culminated in the 1991 gentleman agreement between the two parties. This agreement introduced the 1992 3+2 rule permitting clubs to play three non-nationals in a football team and two 'assimilated' players who had played in the country in question for five years without interruption including three years in a junior team' (Parrish 2002: 5-6).

From the illustration given above, it can be argued that the legal arrangements made by the European Union were primarily aimed at negating the influence of the market. Even the international transfer payments were biased in favor of the states. The argument which can be made in this case is that the concept of state needs to be revisited in the context of globalization of sport. In the globalized era, to view state as an entity of frontiers and boundaries with a centralized authority is not sufficient. It is well known that globalization talks of mobility of men and capital. But it must be reminded that alongside men and capital, territory is also getting de-territorialized (Scholte 2005). When the players get transferred from one club to the other, they are not recruited on the basis of their nationality. These players become 'labors' as they are assessed in terms of the fees paid by the definite clubs.

The nationality of the players gets de-personalized in the process. They become 'commodities' from 'non-commodities'. Apart from this, they also play a key role in both de-territorialisation and de-nationalization of the state. But these things were often overlooked by the state authorities. Even supra national bodies like the European Union overlooked these aspects.

This attitude of the European Union is observed by Parrish. He cites some specific legislative clauses to establish the claim. As he goes on to argue that 'in January 1996 the Commission notified FIFA and UEFA that it was launching an infringement procedure based on article 8 (1) of the EC Treaty against the continued use of their international transfer system and the 3+2 restrictions foreign players. In this letter of notification of the Commission informed FIFA and UEFA that following the ruling in Bosman, the international transfer system as notified it's the commission by FIFA/UEFA on 28<sup>th</sup> July 1995 could not be exempt from Article 81 (3) (Journey 85 [3] of the EC Treaty and Article 53 (1) of the (European Economic Agreement) EEA Agreement. The Commission notified FIFA and UEFA that they must fully comply with the court's ruling in Bosman within six weeks' (Parrish 2002: 6).

This illustration sums up the approach taken by the state towards sport in the contemporary times. Till now, this chapter has shown two important things. First, it has shown how the International Olympic Association (IOA) succumbed to the market forces despite having certain initial reservations. Secondly, the study has traced the manner in which the state conceptualizes sporting activities and the market. The failure to institutionalize the market has also been discussed at some length.

### **Sport and the Market: Organic Relationship**

In this section, however we shall develop in greater detail the symbiotic relationship between the sport and the market. In other words, sporting events provide the market for the multinational corporations and global brands. Secondly, we would discuss the manner in which televised sport gives impetus to the process of globalization of sport through the creation of 'armchair audience' (Cashmore 2000). Televisualization has been further supplemented by the internet. In other words, the communication technologies have not only transcended the boundaries of the state but also have redefined the conception of territory. In this section, through various instances we shall see how communication and the market produced by them challenged the rigidity of the state.

Globalization has been associated with time-space compression (Harvey 1994) and time-space distancing (Giddens 1984). But, the dual forces of technology and market have done another additional thing, 'time-space intensification' (O'Riain 2006). Let us see how the process takes place. In the words of O' Riain, 'time-space intensification is the resultant of the double movement between the pressures of time-space compression and the efforts of workers, firms and states produce new forms of workers, firms and states produce new forms of time-space embedding as a protection against these pressures' (O'Riain 2006: 508).

Looking at this process in the context of globalization of sport, it is observed that the same process occurs but in a different form. The television has already made sports a global phenomenon. As a result of this, the state (its broadcasting agencies and other sporting bodies) have opened their gates for the market to take charge. This marks a significant shift in the stance of the state, as we have seen in the earlier section where European Union was skeptical about the market forces controlling the club football in Europe. Televised sport has been pivotal in transforming sport from a symbol of the state into an 'economy of signs' (Cashmore 2000).

As a corollary to this statement, signs can be interpreted as symbols. Conversely, we can also argue that symbols can be regarded as 'goods'. Hence, we can conclude that through the hands of the market, sport gets commodified. Television has transformed sport from 'something' (that is, an event taking place within a definite territory) into 'nothing' (where the relevance of the state is negated). 'Nothing' represents the content devoid of any definite form. Ritzer in his 'nothing-something paradox' described nothing as 'nonplace' (credit card company), 'nonthing' (credit card loan), 'nonperson' (telemarketing) and 'nonservice' (automated dial up aid) (Ritzer 2003: 196).

The exemplification of 'nothing' takes place when the 'nothing' (in this case the sport) attains meaning. The meaning of the 'nothing' is its 'image' delivered through the television which can be classified under the scheme of 'nonperson' as defined by Ritzer. Communication therefore, performs an important function. First, it commodifies sport and makes it ready for consumption. Secondly, both commodification and consumption of sport through television succeed in transcending as well as transforming the territorialities of the state.

In order to get a potent view on how TV (television) leads to commodification and consumption we should focus on the views put forth by Silverstone. He focuses on the fact that goods and commodities become symbolic objects within a system of meanings. But that system can be understood in a number of overlapping ways. It can be seen as oppressive, the motor and motivation of a society of the spectacle. 'It can be seen as a

system of classification of a code or it can be seen as a basis for a complex web of creative possibilities'. Further, he also clearly delineates the meaning by adding that 'in the first case, consumption fashion and style are all seen to be expression of a false reality in which objects are no longer meaningful because they are useful but are only deemed useful, and in which the image replaces reality as the basis for their and all value' (Debord 1977, Silverstone 2004: 106-107).

In the second, 'consumption is a dynamic but still containing a code in which the virtual totality of all objects and messages [is] presently constituted in a more or less coherent discourse. Consumption insofar as it is meaningful is a systematic act of the manipulation of signs' (Baudrillard, 1988: 22). And finally in the third, 'still within the linguistic metaphor, finds in the exchange of goals a language in a stricter sense, creating the possibilities of speech and communication in the manipulation of their meanings' (Bourdieu 1984, Silverstone 2004: 107).

The coalescence of symbols and signs in televised sport assigns the sport a definite meaning, something which was absent in sport when it was viewed only in the stadium. Stadium represented the sport in the form of an 'enclosure'. The meaning which the televised sport brought about was that sport as a 'commodity' became mobile and transcended national borders. Televised sport worked in tandem with the multinational corporations and both of them contributed to transform sport from a 'game' into a 'symbol of the market'. The globalization process through televisualisation of sport attained a new level. This was emphasized by Robert Dunn when he forwarded that it is basically a visual form of television which exemplifies 'the commodification of culture, as a sign system within a sign system, television mirrors consumerism's master code only to reinforce it at a deeper logical and psychological level'. (Dunn 1986: 53, 55).

Hence it can be argued that the market, television and the internet has been pivotal in altering the role of the state. These factors have redefined the economics of sport as they unraveled alternative sources of earning from sporting events. Stephen Henderson



looked into the revenue generated by broadcasting in the football clubs and the way in which it contributes to the creation of 'global fandom'.

Taking references of the network society (Castells 1996) which has emerged as a result of globalization, Henderson accredits the spread of SMS (short message service) in playing an important role in globalizing the game. He underlines the fact by arguing that the fans in Tokyo receiving an SMS text message advising that their team has scored a goal with the fan in New York deciding to have a breakfast at a local bar and watch their favorite English team live on television. 'Each of these situations presents a snapshot of the complex picture involving of the products, the distribution channel, the active/passive customer situation etc'. (Henderson 2010: 615).

This was a classic instance when the market became relatively stronger than the state. This was because the market became embedded in sport and it culminated in overwhelming the state. The authority of the state got reduced to a large extent. Television has made sports a commodity without a form but with content. As argued earlier in the chapter, the 'nothing-something' paradox (Ritzer 2003) comes into play. Sport has been constructed into a 'nothing' but with a 'content' of 'something'.

It is 'nothing' in the sense that televisualization of sport has made it as a mobile entity which can be viewed in any part of the world. It achieves compatibility with the actual meaning of nothing (nonplace) (Ritzer 2003). The content can be defined in two ways. First, as a result of televisualization, sport became a commodity. Secondly, the market played a key role in defining the contours of the game. This evident from the fact that in the scheduling of the matches, the market forces plays a key role alongside the state bodies.

Today, the players are not much of an importance; they have been reduced as mere objects by the combined forces of the market and technology. The clubs become the carriers of the global trends. They become de-territorialized. Commenting on the increasing objectification of sport, Baudrillard describes this trend by arguing that in the

recent era, there has been 'a kind of fantastic conspicuousness of consumption and abundance, constituted by the multiplication of objects, services and material goods, and this represents something of a fundamental mutation in the ecology of human species. Strictly speaking, the humans of the age of affluence are surrounded not so much by other human beings, as they were in previous ages, but by objects. Their daily dealings are not new so much with their following but rather- on a rising statistical curve- with the reception and manipulation of goods and messages' (Baudrillard 1988: 25).

In this section we have discussed about the de-territorialization of territories through globalization of sport. Apart from de-territorialisation, globalized sport has done another important thing. It is re-territorialisation of territory (Scholte 2000). For Scholte, re-territorialisation meant regionalization. He stresses on the importance of regional organizations. Before we discuss the process of re-territorialisation, it is necessary to define the two (de-territorialisation and re-territorialisation) terms. These two terms are associated with the post structural discursive construction of scale, space and territory. The two processes are used to refer to the process whereby existing spatial scales (nation states) are shattered and new-scaled configurations emerge (Evans and Mooney 2007). The concept of de-territorialization implies that, the territorial barriers of the nation state are transcended (Scholte 2005). It reveals a greater intensity of movement of capital, goods, people, images and information across territorial boundaries (Brenner 1999). On the other hand, by re-territorialization, we refer to a phenomenon where relatively fixed and immobile socio-territorial structures are produced, re-configured and transformed in order to facilitate such expanded and accelerated movement (Brenner 2003).

In the case of globalized sport, this process of re-territorialization will have to be interpreted differently. It must be noted that the two processes takes place simultaneously. The re-territorialization is done through the help of the media. The nation-states got do not get transgressed but they get transplanted into other places. But this does not imply that the increasing relevance of the territory. Re-territorialization is not statist in character. It means the redefinition of the concept of territory. Territory in this context is enmeshed with the market and communication. Territory attains a definite

image. In other words, it becomes dynamic in nature. Globalization of sports owes a lot to televisualization. The territory (the space) therefore, becomes a spectacle.

To illustrate this matter further we cite the case of own ownership of teams by the different television channels. The territories were re-territorialized in the television screens and on the websites. The state identified sport with culture. However, culture was not commoditized by the state. The market on the other hand, did not treat sport as 'culture'. Rather they viewed it as commodity. Hence it was obvious that they would supersede the state. Raymond Williams in his arguments has shown the limitations of treating sports as a fact of culture. He cites that in terms of mediated sport, one has to comprehend the active relationships that are involved in the practice of production, the conditions of practice and the components of the products (Williams 1986).

The element which mediated sport introduced was visualizing the audience as a 'commodity'. Sut Jhally envisaged that the interlocking of sport, media and commerce have conglomerated to form the 'audience commodity' (Jhally 1984). He goes on to argue that the audience commodity describes the interplay between advertising revenues provided to the media as well as direct sponsorship of events, the purchasing of broadcasting rights and the exclusive and concentrated audience that sports programming seeks to capture (Jhally 1984).

It has to be seen that media produces audiences that are sold to advertisers. In this regard it may be argued that the state-owned media houses failed to compete with that the transnational media corporations. The state, at times had to voluntarily pave the way for the market. As mentioned earlier, the state failed to co-opt the market. The market has introduced a new way to conceptualize sports and players. The former is viewed as a commodity and the latter as laborers. Trevor Slack efficiently illustrated this case by comparing the bargaining power of two media houses, the BBC (British Broadcasting Corporation) and the BskyB. Slack embarked on the point that, on many instances the BBC was finding hard to cope up with BskyB.

Arguing the case of Britain, Slack points out that the BBC (British Broadcasting Corporation) has not been able to compete with the capital offered by Murdoch's BSkyB for live sporting events. 'The BBC is a publicly funded entity and thus cannot justify the increased expenditure of license payers' money on sporting rights. As a result, in the last few years the BBC has lost Ryder's Cup Golf, English Premier League soccer, English Rugby Union Internationals and Rugby League to BSkyB. Additionally, the BBC lost Grand Prix motor racing, The Football Association Challenge Cup to commercial stations within the British Isles' (Slack 2004: 227). Perhaps the most striking example of the transformation in sporting cultures was seen specifically in the organization of rugby, the transition from amateurism to professionalism can be traced from the attempt of the corporate forces to restructure the rugby league in Australia (Fitz Simmons 1996).

Paul Turner and Harry Arne Solberg echo a similar sort of argument. They argued that the market intervention in purchasing the broadcasting rights became obvious. Here, we must note that in the globalized context, even if the state fails to embrace the market, the latter, apart from co-opting the former, also engulfs it. Turner and Solberg emphasized the growing stature of the private satellite television in globalizing the game of football. Arguing the case of BSkyB TV, they put forth that the 'British pay TV broadcaster, BSkyB's acquisition of the English Premier League (EPL) in 1992 became a milestone in European sport broadcasting, resulting in a price increase of more than 300% compared with the previous deal' (356). Subsequently, the values have increased considerably on all occasions when the EPL rights were re-auctioned (Turner and Solberg 2010).

The authors also mentioned that from 2004 onwards, EPL became a household name in every part of the world. They argued that it was the most viewed sport in Malaysia, Thailand and Singapore. In 2005, it was the most popular televised football league in China, rising from third position two years ago. 'According to an Internet Survey, 83 % of Chinese football fans preferred watching the English Premier league to matches the China Super League (CSL)' (Turner and Solberg 2010: 358).

All these illustrations provide ample evidence of the subservient role played by the state vis-à-vis the market. In the preceding cases, the study have tried to establish the matter through the relationship between the broadcasting rights of sporting events and the market. We confined ourselves only with television as a means for globalized sport. Let us now supplement our argument with one more means of communication, the Internet and the Sporting Website. Globalization of sport has also defined the concept of capital in an interesting fashion.

The generalized hierarchical model of the industrial production was absent. The top-down approach was replaced by the bottom-up approach where the audiences became as relevant as the players. Putting it more precisely, the audience became the 'virtual' players. They became mobile without having to cross their territorial boundaries. The prime objective for the clubs changed from purchasing players into buying the both players and audience.

Raymond Boyle and Richard Haynes portrays that the most ironic aspect about the process of industrialization and commodification of football and the new media is that they have occurred at a time when end users, that is the audiences of television are viewed as having more control over media. They give much importance not only to the viewers on television but also to those who follows the game on the sporting websites and on the cell phones. They advocate that in the new media age, 'the consumer of digital media is arguably more competent in manipulating and intervening in the communication process than past generations. The evolution of the modern Internet and associated technologies has built in the ability of the individual to engage on a one-to-one or more-to-many or many-to-many basis short circuiting the top down, hierarchical model of industrial media product production' (Boyle and Haynes 2004: 140).

This goes to show the symbiotic relationship between the sports, media and the market. Soccer became the medium through which national borders are being transcended. The market has given rise to a global audience. Apart from the match going

on in the soccer field, there is an even bigger match played between the fans all over the world. In addition to this, the paid TV channels also compete among themselves for broadcasting rights. This implies that the spectators have become players through digital communication.

Sports are being transformed into a non-place and a non-person. The fans are getting increasingly de-personalized through the hands of the market and communication. The territory (the state) is enmeshed with the World Wide Web. The club supporters become global audiences. The concept of the territory therefore, undergoes a change in both 'form' as well as in 'content'. The conglomeration of communication technology and sport has ushered in a new phenomenon in the process of globalization.

Boyle and Haynes do not hesitate to admit that television and communication technologies have opened up new horizons in globalizing the sport. For them, the basic thing about the 'interactive technologies is the desire to provide content that transcends the linear reception of analogue television into a more dynamic, active participation of the user (141). Whether via the Internet or the ITV, interactive services enable fans to find both depth and breadth of coverage at the same stroke. 'From aggregated websites that continue a plethora of information and entertainment features under one umbrella to specialist niche sites that provide comprehensive information based on specifies interests, interactive new media are transforming the way football is communicated' (Boyle and Haynes 2004: 141).

In this chapter earlier, we have discussed how-time space intensification has been replicated through globalization of sport. The emergence of World Wide Web in sport has tempted us to argue that technology has succeeded in creating an organic relationship between time and space. There is a development of organic solidarity between time and space. This concept is taken from the Durkheimian logic of social solidarity. However, this organic relationship is slightly different from the social solidarity as enumerated by Durkheim.

For Emile Durkheim, social solidarity consists of two forms, mechanical and organic. Mechanical solidarity arose from similarities of individuals in a primitive society; Organic solidarity on the other hand, develops out of differences rather than similarities. Individuals are no longer seen as similar but different entities, their mental and moral similarities have disappeared. A society having organic solidarity is characterized by specialization, division of labor and individualism. It is held together by the interdependent of parts rather than by the homogeneity of elements (Abraham and Morgan 1985).

The organic relationship between time and space in the globalization of sports focuses on the homogenization of time and space. 'Time', defined through technology and 'space' referring to territory is nevertheless 'territory' as defined by the market and the World Wide Web. Thus, the time and the space becomes a unified entity. The organic solidarity as defined in Durkheim emphasized on differences of characters. It gave importance to difference rather than on similarities. Time and space, in the globalization of sport appears to be in different form but have similar contents. They simultaneously play a supplementary as well as complementary role for one another. It becomes evident in the writings of Raymond Boyle and Richard Haynes. For them, the latest incarnation of the new media spaces used by football fans are weblogs. The blogs are often perceived as a simple and the most efficient means of publishing views and opinions in an open and accessible format. They break down barriers to publishing and enable the reader to respond directly to publish work via a message board system. Football blogs 'are typically created by individual in their spare time and provide commentary and rhetoric on a plethora of topics based on recent events with links to various new sources' (Boyle and Haynes 2004: 142).

The idea behind the development of these blogs matched very well with the logic of global capitalism. The blogs, apart from commodifying the sport have also converted themselves a profit making organization. In their quest to globalize the game of football, many of the sport websites started their own magazines which later on culminated into a full-fledged publishing industry (2004). In this context Boyle and Haynes notes that, 'as

with other sectors of the dotcom boom in the late 1990s, those sites that transformed a good idea into a highly successful websites attracted corporate finance capitalists eager to make a fast buck. Examples of supporters turning a bedroom past time into a multi-million pound business are few and far between' (Henry and Boyle 2004: 142). Thus, the concept of 'time' and 'space' has been redefined by the soccer weblogs. They revealed the manner through which the game, its players and the money generated through the game is getting displaced and replaced at the same time.

Now, let us discuss the symbiotic relationship between the sports and the market. The economy of sign is something which needs to be focused. Here, we will argue the way in which the market becomes self-regulating in character. Globalization of sport resembles the transformation of the character of the state due to the impact of the market. The sport was to be visualized through an enclosure. Now, the playground is no longer viewed as an enclosure. The playground became a place for the multinationals to display their products. The 'football clubs', apart from representing a distinct geographical area (the city or the country) also represented several merchandized products.

To put it differently, the playground was converted into a 'global bazaar'. Throughout this chapter, we have attempted to put forth an alternative conception of territory. For this, we have discussed the concept of de-territorialization and re-territorialization. The clubs are being transformed from an entity representing the sentiments of a local community into a full-fledged agency of the market. The self-regulating character of the market is being replicated time and again. Richard Giulianotti traces the historiography of the emergence brand in European Sports. He believes that this would provide impetus to the commodification of the game.

He observes the process through which the football clubs of northern Europe in the 1980s used both brand marketing and merchandising in an efficient way to maximize their revenues in order to keep themselves ahead of their of their competitors. This basically reflected the interdependence which exists between the sport and the commercial world. The football clubs used the merchandise products in order to get a



global reach. In the same way, the owners of the merchandise products felt that being associated with a particular club would contribute a long way in marketing their products.

This aspect was encapsulated by Gilianotti when he noted that, 'Trackside advertising was revamped, shirt sponsorship was established, larger deals with shirt manufacturers were signed, corporate hospitality and conference facilities were created and executive boxes were carved out into the main strands. Subsequently, a smorgasbord of products was manufactured under club names: Whisky, Tomato ketchup, radios, bread spreads and leisure wear. Banks credit card companies, building societies and holiday firms have joined with clubs to offer special consumer packages to supporters. In effect the club name has become a floating signifier that can be appended to any product to facilitate the latter's fertilization among consumers' (Giulianotti 2005: 22).

Here, Giulianotti agrees with the view of David Conn. Conn is of the view that the fans normally identify themselves with their team 'signs' no matter wherever it plays. He feels that this produces an inelastic demand because 'the fans do not switch teams' (hence will not switch brands) (Conn 1997).

Arguing along similar lines, Gerrard also tells us about the transformation of sporting activities from stadiums (enclosures). Gerrard makes the argument that sports became a commodity to be sold to spectators to generate the revenues to cover player costs. Professional sport should only be available only to those spectators prepared to pay for the right to watch the contents. Hence the professionalization of sport saw the relocation of the principal sporting venues away from the open fields to closed urban sports stadium with pay-to-view arrangements (Gerrard 2004).

This gives us an interesting point to look into. The phenomenon of time-space intensification has already been discussed at some length. The enclosure argument in sports has shown that the 'space' is getting compressed and intensified at the same time. But even more interesting to enquire is the point that between 'time' and 'space', who

precedes whom, whether is it the 'time' which precedes the 'space'? Or is it the 'space' which precedes 'time'?

More astonishing than the question is its answer. Both time and space precedes one another. Far more intriguing is the fact that both of them precede the other at the same instances. Hence they create a cyclical pattern. Let us see how the process takes place. Firstly, the stadium becomes a place for the multinationals to display their products. Secondly the internet and the television has dissolved the stadium into an image thereby transforming both time and space in the process. Or we may say that the market has transformed the space and time. The space gets reformulated through the hands of the market and time through television and the websites.

Conversely, the time gets transformed owing to the effect of the market. Events such as the World Cup are scheduled in such a manner so that it does not overlap with the league football in Europe. Also the space (the territory in the case of the nation state) gets de-territorialized and consequently re-territorialized due to the impact of the televised sport. Thus, sport becomes dynamic when seen in the context of globalization.

These arguments become livelier in the work of Cornel Sandvoss. He reveals the way in which the soccer became an 'economy of sign' with the help of television. He cites the instances of a number of interviews of several football club fans in order to establish his argument. The main observation of Sandvoss which one must keep in mind is his analysis of football fandom and television. Basically, he makes two core assumptions. Firstly, he argues that television is one of the prime medium through which most professional football is consumed. Secondly, he firmly believes that the fans following the football matches on television are more in number as compared to those who views the match on the grounds. Sandvoss believes that the latter will never outnumber the former (Sandvoss 2003).

To drive home his arguments, he cites the response of several football fans that he interviewed. As evident from the views of the one of the fans, 'I wouldn't make any

effort to go to a football match in London, the atmosphere in most of the London clubs I have been to is nasty and threatening, I am a television football fan generally, and I read the newspaper, "The Guardian" and I have circle of friends with whom I watch '(Logan-a football fan quoted in Sandvoss, 2003: 137).

Sandvoss also goes on to say that televised football catches more audiences as it can be co-related with other forms of television entertainment. This is because, 'it is home centered, fitting nearly into the rhythm of daily life (it is two or three hours, so it is quick and fast and you usually get an outcome); it transports an ongoing narrative and a sense of drama not dissimilar to popular soap operas or television series (it is virtually pleasing and colorful like 'ballet' like a 'fairground scene'). It even allows an erotic 'gaze' at the competitor. In brief, television football is first of all televisions with all its related everyday practices and conventions. A number of fans especially those who generally attended a considerable number of in-situ games, singled out televisions capacity to overcome territorial place and thus offer decentralized, almost universal access to games. The good thing about television is that one can watch games which he is unable to attend in person, such as the European Cup' (Sandvoss 2003: 138-139).

We have witnessed the transformation in the role of the state in the context of the globalization of sport. The clubs which were previously under the control of the state apparatus have now allowed the market to play an active role. We can argue that the state followed the corporatist model in managing the clubs. It is evident from the fact that the state bodies give the private players (mostly the transnational companies) a major role to play in the managing of the football club.

As a result, we find that the clubs have gradually transformed themselves into a corporate organization. The instance of ownership of the clubs, football teams by private satellite television channels and the use of merchandised products in the club jersey bears relevance to this argument. It gets further supplemented in the works of Simon Lee. He describes the way in which a club turns into a corporate organization. Lee argues that the contract between the private satellite television channels such as the BSkyB TV and the

leading football clubs of the English Premier League resulted in a significant rise in the revenue of these clubs. In turn, the clubs invested the revenue to recruit better players who would attract larger crowds in a refurbished but markedly smaller all-seater stadium. Naturally, it implied a rise in the demand for ticket for the clubs. This will encourage them to charge a premium thereby generating higher dividends for their shareholders. Lee regards this process as a vicious circle. As a result, it was observed that English football began to appear very attractive to institutional investors. The process of football coming to the market had actually begun in September 1983 when Tottenham Hotspur became the first English football club to undertake a stock market flotation. 'The flotation's instant success not only raised almost 3.5 million pounds for the club but also provided the clubs principal shareholders with a rich and immediate dividend' (Lee 1998: 36).

In October 1989, another English club took the stock markets route to instant riches for shareholders. This number went up in the 1990's when six clubs were seen on the main stock exchange and 'twice as many others have chosen to have their shares traded on city's junior markets, the Alternative Investment market (e.g. Celtic) and the more loosely regulated matched bargain share market( for example Arsenal, Glarylon, Rangers and Manchester city' (Lee 1998: 36).

These facts are clearly illustrative of the increasing intertwining between the sports and the market. Now, we shall turn to argue how the state itself paved the way for the market through globalization of sport. The counter argument which is likely to arise is the fact that though multinational corporations plays a key role in eroding the territorial boundaries, however they are also a representative of the definite nation state in which it headquarters are situated. Similar arguments have been made by Robert Gilpin. Gilpin argues that the nation continues to be the major actor in both domestic and international politics (Gilpin 2003). The globalization of sport has shown that although the state remains but it has to work by considering the ever increasing dynamism of the market forces. Globalized sport has tried to argue that the market represents the players more than the state.

Ellis Cashmore has tried to put forth such an argument. This became true for both individual sport and team sport. Cashmore cites the examples of the basketball star Michael Jordan and tennis player John McEnroe. Therefore, the players became enmeshed with the market. The territorialities of these players became secondary. They began to be identified with the products they endorsed.

Cashmore illustrates the case where the players were used by several sports goods manufacturers to keep themselves ahead of their competitors. In his study, he discusses the relations of John McEnroe and Michael Jordan with leading brands such as Nike, Adidas, Puma and Reebok. The main idea which he was trying to communicate was that the players become the representative of the brands. In turn, these brands market themselves by using the sporting acumen of the players. As Cashmore argues, 'John McEnroe was even a better fit for Nike than Nastase; his presence ensured that even the meaningless early round of matches of tennis Tournament were likely to become explosive. McEnroe's early histrionics gained him the kind of reputation that Knight (the then owner of Nike) wanted for his products, insubordinate, brassy and defiant. With Adidas still leading the market it was knight's ambition to position Nike as its most audacious contender'(328) Furthermore, Cashmore also argued that Nike revived itself from a period of loss after associating itself with Michel Jordan. 'The link with Michael Jordan was forged amid concern about the future of Nike. In 1985, after eight years of market growth had increasing profits, Nike reported two consecutive losing quarters. The market had expanded and new players had entered the fray. While the supremacy of Adidas and Puma had been ended, Reebok a company started in England in the late nineteenth century has come to the fore' (Cashmore 2000: 328).

Thus, the market became an indispensable agent in the globalization of sport, Michael Jordan, as cited by Cashmore became known not from the country he hailed from or from the sport he played. He was 'de-personalized' by the market. But 'de-personalize' may not be the correct term. Although Jordan after being identified with Nike became global, he is also 're-personalized' at the same stroke. Globalization of sports shows the transformation of Michael Jordan from a player into an 'Icon'. This goes to show that

globalized sport has given importance to the concept of the symbolic capital (Bourdieu 1992). The concept of icon fits very well with it. Symbolic capital functions like economic capital (money) in the sense that it can be exchanged and converted for concrete and abstract things. Commercialization of the sport has reflected the fact that players are now being treated as commodity.

So, for Jordan territoriality takes the backseat. Cashmore exemplifies this process more prominently when he argues that it would not be very rational to state that Jordan would not exist were it not for the television. "Jordan the player would, but not Jordan the 'icon'-the image that has been relayed around the world countless times, plastered across bill boards and buildings, stamped onto millions of food packets and even digitally mixed into cartoons. This is a Jordan, that exists independently of Jordan the flesh and blood man, it is a phenomenon about which followers are prepared to believe almost anything" (Cashmore 2000: 341).

The chapter has tried to discuss the process through which time and space get transformed through globalization of sport. We have also shown how time and spaces moves simultaneously and no one precedes the other. This is because of the vertical integration between the clubs and the market. Vertical Integration refers to a process in which a transnational corporation purchase a company that complement the original product. John Naughton and Kimberley, S. Schimmel provides us with the information that in the late 1990s media companies owned at least 20 top clubs in baseball football, basketball and hockey (2005).

We discussed about the 'enclosure movement' in sport, from the stadium the game has now moved into the television sets and the websites. The 'space' has been redefined time and again. The satellite televisions are playing a pivotal role in the making of sports. Elis Cashmore terms it as 'a match made in heaven'. What globalization of sport has done is that it made the concept of 'space' flexible, fluid and dynamic. Besides, it has evoked the concept of placeless geography. Placelessness describes an environment without significant places and the underlying attitude which does not acknowledge the

significance of place (Relph 1976). It must be remembered that this concept of placeless geography is not so much about a space as such but people's relationship about the space. The impact of global consumerism, communication technology has altered if not redefined the people's conception about 'space'.

As result, it has freed 'space' from the rigidities and spatio-temporal limit that we normally associate with it. Seen from the perspective of sport, the globalizing phenomenon in sport has been able to knit the time and the space. In this regard Ellis Cashmore claims that 'people can now watch the game on their 4x3 foot screen, which is actually a portable panel that can be moved from room to room as one would like. It is light enough to hang on the wall like of painting and about as thin' (Cashmore 2000: 274).

## CRICKET AND GLOBALIZATION

In the preceding chapters we have seen the manner in which the rise of the market as a result of global capitalism was instrumental in transforming identities. The second chapter however, has attempted to trace the symbiotic relationship between the state and the market. Globalized sports have explicitly defined the two main pillars of globalization, time and space. 'Time space compression' (Harvey 1994) has ushered in due to the improvement in communication technology. The televisualization of sports has portrayed the changing dynamics of territorialisation in the context of globalization. Territorialisation refers to the ways in which the space in the world is imagined. Globalized sport has indeed transformed the meaning of space through the dual forces of the market and communication technology. The combination of these forces has led to de-territorialisation of the space (Scholte 2005). In addition, the process through which de-territorialisation leads to re-territorialisation has also been examined.

All these globalizing features however, were visualized through two sports, namely the Olympic Games (Slack 2004) and the transnational European football league. We also referred to the concept of placeless geography (Relph 1976). This term refers to an alternative conceptualization of the space. It revealed the manner in which people relate themselves with spaces. This shows the transformation of the space and its impact on the time consequently. The scheduling of the matches was also done according to the whims of the market.

We will now turn to cricket in order to reveal the transforming character of the state. The globalizing process in cricket has put forth the argument that even though the market forces have been playing an important role, the relevance of the state has not diminished. In this regard, we can cite the example of the BCCI (Board of Control for Cricket in India). An organization which is largely controlled by the state elites, the BCCI has attempted to globalize the game of cricket by initiating the IPL (The Indian Premier League) thereby taking the first step to bring in the elements of the market. This action of



the BCCI revealed the relevance of global capitalism in the context of the globalization. Besides, it signified the transformation of the role of the state. This transformation can be observed through two dimensions. First, the co-option of the market by the state and secondly, the subsequent control of the market by the state. The first case has been exemplified in the through the Indian Premier League (IPL). For the second case, we can take the case of the rivalry which took place between the BCCI and the rebellion cricket league ICL (The Indian Cricket League). This illustration gives us ample scope to argue the case along the lines of Karl Polanyi who called for the control of the activities of the market by the state (Polanyi 1944). Hence, the primary aim of this chapter is to elucidate the process of the transforming role of the state in the context of the globalization of cricket.

In this endeavor, I would basically do three things. First, I attempt to show the intrinsic link between the state and cricket. By referring to the term intrinsic, we want to establish the fact that the game of cricket was identified with the state apparatus. Apart from this, there was one more reason of controlling the game of cricket by British state. They argued that cricket had some liberal elements embedded in it, something which can be identified with the state conterminously.

### **Cricket and the State**

By the term state, the British meant the liberal states. To put it simply they tried to equate the values of cricket with that of liberalism. Consequently, the missing link between cricket and the features of the liberalist state was portrayed by Salomon J. Terreblanche. He tries to argue that the liberal state in England was responsible for the development of the game in the country and its diffusion to other places of the world. Cricket was seen less as a game and more as a synonym for liberalism.

Thus, arguing in Terreblanche's words, cricket underwent its most significant development in the nineteenth century England, 'a century that was significantly characterized by the liberalist outlook in general and the outlook of Lockean liberalism in particular. Like all other cultural products of the era, cricket was very much a part of a society driven by an essential laissez-faire capitalist economy (744). As the game subsequently spread throughout the British colonial world in the twentieth century, it did so in a world of changing ideologies. Liberalism began to lose its appeal in the two middle quarters of the twentieth century, but again became the dominant ideology, albeit in a new form in the late 1970s. Since this time, cricket has also undergone a significant transformation from an amateur to a modern professional sport' (Terreblanche 2007: 744-745). As the game of cricket has evolved along with and under the influence of liberalism, it is quiet obvious that more than one dimension of the modern game reflects the logic of the liberalist world view.

Hence, identifying the game of cricket with the liberal values of the state had some far reaching implications. It enabled the British state to globalize itself as well as the game of cricket. This argument gets impetus if we look into the spread of cricket in India. In other words, cricket was projected as a part of the institutional structure of the state. In this context, Brian Stoddart argues for the strong foothold of the bureaucratic elites of the state in controlling the game of cricket. As he argues:

In the Caribbean today politicians of all persuasions have an interest in cricket with at least two of them, Wesley Hall in Barbados and Roy Fredericks in Guyana being prominent test players while Michael Manley, former Prime Minister of Jamaica has now written a history of Caribbean Cricket. In Barbados, it is said that if you want to see every politician and public servant at one time, go to the members stand at the Kensington Oval during an international match (Stoddart 2006: 793-794).

The intertwining of the norms of cricket and the British state is well observed in the writings of C.L.R. James. He argued that cricket posited many essential virtues which enabled Britain to impose influence in the colonies. By emphasizing on several specific

terminologies such as playing with a straight bat, and 'it isn't cricket' he claimed that all these aspects became the watchwords of manner, virtue and the guardians of freedom and power. For James, a good cricketer must also be a good all round Englishman; He should represent several positive virtues such as loyalty, self-sacrifice, unselfishness, co-operation and a sense of honor. These are certain things which the English have tried so fervently to globalize (James 1967).

Taking these elements into consideration, the touring teams from England were responsible for exporting the laws of the game, first to the colonies and the rest of the world thereafter (C.L.R. James 1967). All these were based on the belief that (within the colonies and dominions) that cricket could strengthen imperial ties. (Fletcher 2011).

In addition, Ashis Nandy's arguments resonates the same view by emphasizing that the "spread of cricket was coeval with the high noon of the British Empire and derived part of its legitimacy from *Pax Britannica*. No one could deny the norms and virtues associated with cricket that ensured the political and economic success of Britain. The colonized, under the circumstances could do no better than emulate the British in their 'national game'" (Nandy 1989: 6). Cricket was used by a state to diffuse their values into other states. Cricket became a medium through which the states used to legitimize their control.

Ashis Nandy has put forth this argument with a substantial degree of precision. He proclaimed that the game of cricket had several virtues which fitted well into the social structure of the India. He illustrated that the hierarchical segmentation of the Indian social system laid the ground for the dissemination of the game of cricket in India. The values resonated by the game was embraced by the people of India.

He clearly cited the reasons for the successful diffusion of the game in India. It becomes more prominent when he argues that 'to the Brahman, the posture of moral superiority and self control of the gentleman cricketer was bound to be attractive. The Kshatriyas and the Kshatriya-like found it attractive for his defiance of fate, emphasis on

style and sense of honor. Both appreciated the gentleman's emphasis on rituals or forms or substance and his overt defiance of the professional cricketer's profit motive and performance principle, which were associated not only with the Bania and some of the 'low' cultures in India but also with the colonial rulers" (Nandy 1989: 7).

As a result, cricket became a symbol of the imperial regime. Spreading cricket in the colonies was a form of dissemination of the English values in these territories. In other words, it was de-territorialisation of the space by Britain. Therefore, the state has been seen as a major force in the globalizing process. As portrayed by Ashis Nandy:

Imperial Britain was then increasingly judged by the norms of cricket rather than by their actual way of life... No wonder the culture of cricket was exported to the colonies as the basic model of sportsmanship, and a healthy active, past time, which would be a 'counter attraction to praise and politics', as the Fourth Lord Harris, an ardent cricket fan and once the governor of Bombay put it in the context of India. Once again it was the British gentry which took the lead; they were the most enthusiastic promoters of the game in the colonies through British army officers and bureaucrats (Nandy 1989: 5).

However, the British middle classes were enthusiastic about the character building potential of cricket in India. They were convinced that the game of cricket resonated the British virtues and it would certainly go a long way in promoting the British's cause of civilizing mission (Nandy 1989).

Also, it was increasingly felt that within the British empire, cricket was an important national symbol of 'Englishness' and, it was widely believed that cricket helped to inculcate many of the qualities fundamental to 'Victorian gentility which the English perceived as being essential to building a strong English character' (Fletcher 2011: 21).

In this context, it is worth referring the views of Stephen Krasner and R.B.J. Walker on state and sovereignty (Krasner 1999, Walker 1993). This would help us to underline

the commanding power with which the state has treated cricket. It can be efficiently explained through the 'inside-out' perspective as propounded by R.B.J. Walker. Walker advocates the view that the space is sovereign over anything which constitutes inside its territory (Walker 1993, 2010).

Thus, the autonomy of the state within its territorial jurisdiction was emphasized. He also envisaged the fact that the principle of state sovereignty makes a clear demarcation between life inside and outside a centered political community (Walker 1993, 2010). In this concept of 'inside-out', the territory has been defined as space. Stressing on the relevance of the space, Walker argued that within the latest the 'universalistic aspirations to the good, the true and the beautiful may be realizable, but only within a spatially delimited territory' (Walker 1993: 165). Therefore, it is worthy to look into its definition. The space has been used conterminously with the territory. As defined by John Urry: 'the space is produced and reproduced and thus represents the site of struggle. Moreover, all sorts of different spatial phenomena – land, territory, site and so on should be understood as part of the same dialectical structure of space' ( Urry 1996: 391).

In the works of Stephen Krasner it is noticed that in defining sovereignty both in the domestic and in the Westphalian sense, he adhered to the institutional structures of the state apparatus operating within a demarcated geographical territory. Therefore, he also aligned himself with the 'inside-out' view of the state (Krasner 1999). Cricket was treated as an integral part of the inside which implied that it was under the purview of the state. Such an illustration was made by Boria Majumdar. He tried to emphasize the patronage of cricket by the native Indian state by citing the example of Natore, Patiala and several other states. As he writes, 'Bhupinder Singh, the Maharaja of Patiala, was appointed the president of the Cricket Club of India in 1937 in recognition of his generous funding of the game' (890- 891). 'Cricket in Central India owed much to the patronage of the Maharajas of Gwalior and Dhar. The former was instrumental in establishing the Gwalior sports Association, endowing 12,000 rupees for the purpose of encouraging the development of sports among his subjects'. (Majumdar 2006: 891).

Besides, Majumdar also argues that these princes also wished to use cricket to break the barriers of class and social stigmas. We find the empirical evidence of this statement in his works. He traced the historical roots of the royal patronage of cricket. He envisages that, 'before the First World War, Maharaja Nripendra Narayan of Cooch Behar had maintained at his own expense no less than three cricket teams in Calcutta. With the help of two Sussex professionals Joe Nine and George Cox, and later Frank Tarrant, the Cooch Behar XI more than held their own against the European teams. Local Calcutta and Bengali Cricket prospered tremendously as a result of such patronages. But after the Maharaja's death in England, Calcutta, by the early 1920's, had simply ceased to be an important center of Indian Cricket' (Majumdar 2006: 892).

Secondly, while tracing the globalization of cricket, we would refer to George Ritzer's thesis of globalization and develop the argument further. By globalization, Ritzer attempted to put forth the importance of the nation state as a major agent of globalization (Ritzer 2003). It is true that the nation state played a key role disseminating the globalizing phenomenon in cricket. Nevertheless it would not have been as successful had it not incorporated the market. In the case of globalization and cricket, the state and the market complemented each other. The control of the game by the state is evident from the case of Britain and India. But later on, both these states became active in co-opting the impact of the market. To put it differently, the state successfully re-adjusted itself with the influence of the market forces.

However, this does not mean that the state loosened its control and paved the way for the market. It still retained a substantial degree of control over the action of the market mechanism. Arguing the case of the English County League (professional league cricket in England), although it involved the presence of many foreign players, the state played an effective role in regulating the norms of the migration. Joseph Maguire and John Stead exemplified this case more effectively by arguing the case of state control over the norms governing migration of players in English Country Cricket. Maguire and Stead wanted to deliver the argument that the English County League may have given a new dimension to the players by treating them more as a product of the market forces rather than being

identifying them with their home state, however, the state defined the realm within which the market ought to function.

Maguire and Stead also extrapolated the arrangements made by the British state in this regard. They argued that several key elements structured cricket migration, and indeed sport migrant, regulations. These include, 'quotas – which the number of overseas players allowed in a country squad or on the field of play during a specific game. Secondly, Birth and Residential qualifications that is, that one must be borne or should have ancestral links or to have lived for a set period of time in the country of employment. Thirdly, Quality and status, that is national/ European Union restrictions regarding categories of migrants allowed work permits. Fourthly the length of contracts that is the minimum contractual periods for registered overseas players. Finally, Special Exemption i.e., the use of discretion in special cases e.g. extenuating circumstances over residential qualifications' (Maguire and Stead 1996: 3).

Thomas Fletcher too, argues the strong foothold of the institutional structures of the state in managing the game as he symbolizes the game with the nation. James is of the view that cricket gave a distinct definition to many states which adopted the game. He argued that while the game itself may still be rooted in notions of "Englishness", the rise of new cricketing nations have also made their presence felt. In this context, Fletcher argues that the game of cricket has also 'been injected with a new and specifically West Indian content and meaning. British Asian communities are similarly utilizing cricket to empower themselves against their host communities exclusionary practices' (Fletcher 2011: 27).

The above claim makes the prominence of the state in the dissemination and control of the game more clear. The British government retained its control over the game as late as 2003 when the English Cricket Team refused to play in Zimbabwe due to the political instability in the latter. The tie up between the state and the Cricket Board of England and Wales is illustrated by Russell Holden. Holden reveals an interesting tussle between the state and the market forces in controlling the fortunes of world cricket. He envisages the

fact that in spite of the increasing intervention of the market forces, the nation state remained pivotal in the cricketing arena. To strengthen his case, he cites the argument that 'sport and politics, have been brothers since the first national anthems was played at a sporting event' (Holden 2009: 644).

Therefore in the case of globalization of cricket, we can refer to the globalization thesis as enunciated by George Ritzer. He proclaimed that in the context of globalized sports 'globalization' describes the phenomenon in an efficient manner. It refers to the imperialist ambitions of the nations, corporations, organizations, and the like and their desire, indeed the need, to impose themselves on various geographic areas (Ritzer 2003).

Hence, the state is accorded a greater priority. We have discussed the role of the state in managing and spreading the game. We describe the process of globalization through the arguments of Russell Holden. He cites the case of the refusal of the English Cricket Board not to send their teams in Zimbabwe. It clearly represents the inequality of the power of the nations of the west vis-à-vis the east. In this case, the state got precedence over the market. Here, we notice that even though the major source of earning of the Cricket Board of England and Wales was from the international events as it involved lucrative commercial gains from the sponsors, however, all these benefits were bypassed as a response to the political turmoil in Zimbabwe. As Holden agrees, 'although cricket's international schedule has been curtailed during the past 20 years by both domestic politics and conflict between member states, the Zimbabwe issue was more complicated' (Holden 2009: 648).

The country was experiencing increasing violence as a result of the outcome of the March 2002 rigged election won by President Mugabe, who subsequently imprisoned the main opposition leader on a fabricated charge of plotting to assassinate him. From late December 2002, the English government applied pressure on the England Cricket teams, initially via Foreign office Minister Mike O'Brien, with the endorsement of the Prime Minister office, that England should not play in Harare, However, all the comments emanating from the government role was advisory and not that of ordering or instructing



an independent sporting body to opt out of its match in Harare, which was accompanied by the danger that its presence would endorse the Mugabe regime.

The ECB (The English Cricket Board) however, from the very beginning was keen to fulfill the World Cup fixture of 2003 for both financial and internal political reasons. If the English Cricket team played, the British government was being defied and it can be regarded as a moral victory for the Mugabe administration. This would generate a substantial degree of opposition in the United Kingdom. By refusing to play in Zimbabwe, the picture of good will in the International Cricket Community was likely to be sacrificed as the ICC was most likely to impose a heavy fine. (Holden 2009).

As we have seen in the case of County cricket, similarly International Cricket was also controlled by the states to a large extent. The role of the state in controlling and disseminating the game is traced out from the arguments of Ehsan Mani. The nation-state was largely instrumental in setting up the norms of the game. Ehsan Mani, a former ICC Chief, in his article focused on the control of the game by the state. He illustrated this issue with the dominance of the commonwealth states in the world Cricket's highest organization, the International Cricket Council (ICC) (Mani 2009).

This illustration gives us ample scope to argue that globalized sports were controlled by the powerful states to a large extent. Thus, the statist argument gets well established. Mani argues that, as Cricket flourished, the MCC and Lord's Cricket ground became synonymous as the home of cricket. It was in Lord's that the imperial Cricket Conference was established by England, Australia and South Africa in 1909. The MCC, a private members club, took responsibility for the game throughout the world. The President of the MCC or his nominee chaired all ICC meetings and its secretariat handled the administration.

He further added that, 'The MCC ceded control of the game in the United Kingdom to the Test and County Cricket Board (since renamed the England and Wales Cricket Board) in 1968 but retained a virtual stranglehold over international cricket for another

25 years until 1993' (Mani 2009: 683). An interesting point to be noted here is that when the ICC was first formed, membership was limited to only the governing bodies of cricket in countries within the British Commonwealth. The ICC was an exclusive club (Mani 2009).

So far, we have argued the pivotal role played by the states in managing and spreading the game of cricket. We have discussed the relevance of territorial jurisdiction of the state by referring to the 'inside-out' view of Walker (Walker 1993). While taking into consideration of the importance of the state in globalizing the game, we must not bypass the relevance of the market process in facilitating the same. Here, it is essential to define the market. Robert Boyer has come up with a definition of the market. According to him, a market is an authorized public concourse of buyers and sellers of commodities, meeting at a place more or less strictly delimited or defined at an appointed time (Boyer 2003).

The interesting feature of the globalizing process in cricket is that the emergence of the market forces did not imply the decreasing relevance of the state. Rather, it portrayed the transforming role of the state. Globalized cricket tried to put forth the view that by adapting itself to the characters of the market forces and global capitalism, there has been a functional transformation of the state. As a result, the 'inside-out' perspective on the state needs to be supplemented by the 'outside-in' perspective. According to this perspective, the practice of sovereignty constructs a domestic political and economic setting so as to support some interest over others (Smith 2001). This meant that some of the existing institutional restraints of the state had to be forgone in order to allow a greater free play of the market. In the coming section, we will discuss these issues in detail.

## **Cricket and the Market**

Let us begin our discussion with an argument given by Chris Rumford that globalization of Cricket has led to a Post-westernization of the game. In his article, Rumford argued that the power centers of the cricket have shifted from has shifted from Britain to India and the subsequent shift in the headquarters of the ICC from Lords to Dubai. Though he talked about commercialization and the impact of the market mechanism under the aegis of global capitalism, much of these initiatives in incorporating the market were undertaken by the countries such as India and other cricket playing nations of South Asia. He advocated that the commercialization of the game got underway with the shift in the version of cricket from the traditional version of Test Matches to One Day Internationals. In addition Rumford advocated that the non-western nations specially India made the most of this shift by increasing the number of one day internationals as compared to the test matches, thereby facilitating the commercialization and the subsequent globalization of the game of cricket.(Rumford 2007).

In support of his argument he puts forth several empirical figures. For example he envisages that, 'the growth of the ODI has been dramatic (the first ODI was played in 1971, the second 18 months later). In 1976, there were 6 ODIs, by 1986 this figure has risen to 62, by 1996 127, and in 2006 159 ODIs were played. There are also more test matches scheduled nowadays in 1976 there were 23 tests, 30 in 1986, and 28 in 1996. In recent years the figures have increased sharply with 46 in 2006. These figures were even higher in 2005 (48) and 2004 (51)' (Rumford 2007: 206).

It can also be argued that the rapid expansion of ODI's in recent years is being assisted by the establishment major one day tournaments – especially the World Cup and the ICC Champions Trophy. This paved the way for a greater number of countries to play international cricket, for example Hong Kong, Ireland, the Netherlands, Canada and Kenya. It enabled the globalization of the game and of particular importance, 'has allowed for the former British Colonies in Asia especially to become more equal players

in the recent global sport, a crucial feature of what he has termed post-westernization' (Rumford 2007: 205).

The transformation in the character of the state is observed when we observe several instances of handshakes between the state and the market. The argument which can be put forth here is that the state was instrumental in regulating the market. This argument is shared by David Fraser, who traced the long history of commercialism in English professional cricket. Fraser threw light on the fact that commercial interests and that profit motive have always punctuated international cricket. He proclaims that the states never had many objections when attempts were made to commercialize the game. This is evident when he states that the first England tour of Australia was a commercial venture sponsored by 'Spiers and Pond'-refreshment contractors. It repaid the 7000 pound outlay with a profit of 11,000 pound for the sponsors. The 1877-78 Australia's Tour to England was a cooperative commercial venture where 'each of the players put in 50 pounds and profits were shared between stock holders according to their investment' (Fraser 2005: 309- 310).

The incorporation of the market by the state is also noticed in the writings of Wendy Varney. He argued the case for the relaxation of the norms of the state for the market to ensure the globalizing process in cricket. In sum, attempt was made to make the administrative structures of the state more flexible as well as responsive to the market forces. (Varney 1999).

He notified that in 1963, the stipulation regarding residence in the employing country was relaxed. The standard residential period was reduced from two to one year, provided the overseas player has resided in England for five consecutive years. Apart from this, another regulation change which occurred was that during the English off season a registered player was no longer debarred from playing first class cricket overseas, including for their country. The registered overseas players were still not able to play for their countries during a tour of England (Varney 1999).

The globalizing process in cricket reflects the shift from the Westphalian version of the state. This is because in the globalized context there has been a growing interdependence between the state and the market. Earlier in this chapter, we have discussed how the state of Britain had a tight control over the laws of game. Eventually, this had to be forgone. The opening up of the state to the market forces never spelt the declining significance of the state. But, it led to the development of a bonding between the two.

The English County Cricket exemplified this interdependence by assimilating migrant players and finally allowing them to play for England. In the globalized context, the migration of the players of the county cricket became a part of the broader global labor market. The concept of the global market captures a significant transformation in the scale and boundaries of labor markets from a geographic locale and a nation state to a global context. So, deregulation of the laws had to be made in the changed circumstances. Maguire and Stead envisages that prior to the 1970's a player seeking to qualify for England was required to be resident in the country for ten years. They had also not to have played for their country of birth. In the mid 1970's this latter point was amended to enable a player to represent England if they had last played for another country over ten years previously, with the possibility of discretion allowed this to be reduced to eight years (Maguire and Stead 1996).

In the 1980s, in the case of the Zimbabwean Graham Hick, direction was used reducing the qualification period to seven years. In 1972, we notice that the ten year residence rule was waived if the player had been born abroad but lived in England for four consecutive years before their fourteenth birthday. 'This opened the way for the sons of in particular, West Indian (Afro-Caribbean) immigrants to represent England'. This was done with great success and increasing frequency (Maguire and Stead 1996: 6).

This interrelation between the market and the state is well encapsulated by Mark Marqusee who argued that cricket was a creation of the world's first market society (eighteenth century England) and as a result, the cash nexus has always played a key role in shaping the game. He also stressed the transformation of the game from the hands of

the state into the market. This is because he put forth the point that, 'for more than a century, cricket was shielded from the market by aristocratic and imperial privilege. All these things have changed in the aftermath of 2003 World Cup, the game is now subject to all the vicissitudes of capitalist globalization. It is a state for which for which cricket's history has left it ill-prepared' (Marqusee 2005: 256).

All these illustrations contribute a great deal in reinstating the relation between the state and the market in the context of globalized cricket. To have a better understanding of this phenomenon, we narrate the conflict which occurred between the players and their sponsors on the issue of ambush marketing. Ambush marketing is derived from the word 'ambush' referring to a trap or a surprise attack on the competitor. Ambush marketing implies, when a company gives the impression that it is associated with an event whereas in reality to it has no affiliation at all (Smith 2008). Besides, Smith also goes on to argue that ambush marketing often takes the form of 'parasite marketing' as a company tends to 'free ride' like a parasite on the back of the official sponsors.

The players of certain countries (especially India and Australia) had several reservations against some of the sponsors of the International Cricket Council. As a result, it ultimately culminated into the formation of association of cricket players. One such example is the Federation of International Cricketers by Tim May. He envisaged the fact that when the players discovered themselves ambushed by the ambush clause, they had to consider their options. As it is observed by May, 'The ICC has sold your images to the sponsors without permission. You don't want a situation where a player is standing next to Pepsi and endorsing it free. He needs to be paid for the personal endorsement' (Marqusee 2005: 256).

May also warned the players of the dangers inherent in a dispute with ICC gives the decline in the rights market, he speculated that the \$550 million deal might be worth only half what it had been when it was signed in 2001. He speculated that ICC would welcome an excuse to withdraw a prospect that frightens both the ICC and the national boards (Marqusee 2005).

From this argument, the ability of the state in bargaining with the market forces becomes evident. A somewhat similar idea is shared by Horne in the context of the 2007 Cricket World Cup. He highlighted the wedding between cricket and consumerism. The core argument was that the enmeshing of the market by the state. Although Horne initially begun with the argument that cricket lost much of its popularity as the television popularized other American sport. But in the case of the Cricket World Cup (CWC), in order to promote the game globally, signs of the complementary relations were seen between the state and the market.

It becomes prominent when we observe that the state sold their broadcasting rights to Rupert Murdoch's News Corporation. In the similar fashion, the ICC's 'official commercial partner' the GCC also sold sponsorship packages for the event to 'global partners' Pepsi, Hutch (an Indian mobile phone company), Hero Honda (an Indian motorcycle and scooter company) and CC Electronics as well as to 'official partners' Indian Oil, Cable and Wireless, Visa, Scotia Bank, Johnnie Walker and Red Stripe' (Horne 2010: 1557).

Globalization of cricket has shown the dynamic nature of the state in meeting the challenges from the global economy. Nevertheless, the state still continued to exercise a considerable degree of influence. Considering the case of the Indian Premier League, during the 2009 when the IPL matches were transferred from India to South Africa due to political instability in India, the Indian Cricket Board played a vital role key in shifting the IPL to the African nation. Moreover, the BCCI is managed to a large extent by the state elites of India. Hence, it can be argued that the role of the state was vital in controlling the transnational league.

As a reaction to this argument, we can state that the Kerry packer World Series Cricket (WSC) was initiated as a reaction against the Australian National cricket Board. It is regarded as the first instance of commercialization of Cricket since it was successful in attracting players from all over the cricketing world. But, the role of the state can be

seen from the fact that those players who joined the league were debarred from playing for their respective national team. Also, there were many players who refrained from the league since they were advised by their respective cricket boards.

David Fraser advocates that one can trace out a rich history in revealing the sources of player unrest in the profitability of cricket and the lack of remuneration for the players and the arrogance and autocracy of the national governing bodies. This had an obvious impact in every cricket playing nation and in each country's player's decision to participate in or stay away from WSC (World Series Cricket). In addition, he notifies that, players like Clive Lloyd opted for the Packer Cricket because of the peculiarly precarious social and financial status of the West Indian Cricketers. Indians on the other hand, 'stayed away from the WSC because of their unique and remunerative system of sponsorship'. (Fraser 2005: 310).

In the case of globalization of cricket, the phenomenon of glocalization is also seen. It is a contraction of the global and the local and it generally refers to the increasing entanglement of these two spheres. Ronald Robertson describes it as a symbiotic relation of the global and the local (Robertson1995). At one level glocal can be used to designate the procedure by which global products adapt or tailor themselves to for the local markets. Secondly, it can describe global or potentially global services that operate at the local level (for example the international websites).

The internet has played a major role in globalizing cricket. The use of the internet and the websites in globalizing the game has demonstrated the time phenomenon of time space compression (Harvey 1994) in globalized cricket. It is based on the idea that in a globalized world the time and space are not the barriers as they once were. The time and the space were compressing in relation to the speed at which communication occurs across the world.

This phenomenon is emphasized by Sanjay Joshi. He tried to argue for a worldwide community of cricket in the internet. Citing the case of a cricketing website, the Cricinfo,



Joshi described the manner in which the Cricinfo was transformed from a community based enterprise to a commercial entity. As observed in the argument of Joshi, 'cricket was part of the internet almost from the time the latter was created. Given how much we take the technology around us for granted, and how quickly it became ubiquitous, it is perhaps important to recall how recently it has evolved' (Joshi 2007: 1227). In order to extrapolate the impact of the internet on cricket, he argued:

The earliest recognizable ancestor of the now-omnipresent personal computer is less than three decades old. Although we can trace the origin of the internet to the 1969 ARPANET, the World Wide Web dates only from 1989. The Internet Relay chat (IRC), which both a wonderful community of cricket lovers among its thousands of chat rooms today, was created in the summer of 1988 and averaged only 12 users on 38 servers worldwide as late as 1990. Probably nothing brings home the very contemporary nature of this history as the fact that the term 'internet' itself was formally defined only a decade ago. It is important to keep in mind that even up to the middle of 1980s, only a handful of scientist and technologist across the world used computers connected to a network to communicate with one another. It was fortunate for cricket enthusiast's living in the cricket wasteland of the United States of America that when these technologies did start reaching a tightly larger audience in the early 1990's, this audience included similarly cricket crazy technology buffs (Joshi 2007: 1227).

The global spread of cricket through the internet and international website revealed the significance of the network society (Castells 1996) in a globalized world. This term was coined by Manuel Castells to exemplify his theory of global capitalism. The spread of cricket through the internet demonstrated the horizontal integration of the nation states. The game was no more confined within the territorial boundary. Now, people from all over the world could keep a track on the happenings of the game through the cricketing websites. The market and the communication technology enabled the game to reach the local through the global phenomenon of the internet. The commercialization of the game received a big boost.

Joshi in the concluding part of his article claims that the drift of McLellan's history of Cricinfo, (based as it is on the interviews with Dr. Simon King, the founder of Cricinfo), is an inevitable (and for a while very successful) move towards commerce. They felt that

it was simply a way to keep up with the boom in the website. “‘We weren’t thinking commercially’, says King, ‘just about the good Cricinfo could do for the game’. King McLellan in fact pointed out that the move to make Cricinfo into a commercial body accrued only after an unsuccessful attempt by the king to give the site away to the International Cricket Conference (the London based organization and renamed descendant of the erstwhile Imperial Cricket Conference) which governs the International Cricket”. (The interview of King McLellan as quoted in Joshi 2007: 1234).

The use of the communication technology successfully transformed many global phenomena in cricket and assimilated them in the local. This glocalization process in cricket can be traced in the writings of Rohitashya Chattopadhyaya who argued that conducting radio commentaries in vernacular languages were helpful for the indigenization of the game. It also helped the non-urban Indians to learn its English terminology. In addition, the broadcasting of cricket on television has made cricket more of a spectacle and enhanced the celebrity value of the players (Chattopadhyay 2005).

Here also, a coalition of the action between the state and the market is realized. The role of advertising was dealt by Rohitashya Chattopadhyaya when she described the way through which the commercial advertising of Pepsi (a global product), was used to spread the popularity of cricket in India. The commercial advertisement featured eminent sports personality like Sachin Tendulkar and premier film actor in India Shahrukh Khan, both speaking the colloquial Hindi so that the game is embraced by the large section of the non-urban population (Chattopadhyaya 2005). This is yet another case which reflected the fact that the state and the market acted in tandem in the globalizing process.

To facilitate the globalization of cricket, both the state and the market needed one another. This is because, without the support the state apparatus the globalizing process would not have been smooth. We have already shown this case with the short lived success of the Kerry Packer World Series Cricket (WSC) and the increasing popularity of the of the Indian Premier League (IPL). The former was started as a reaction against

the national cricket board whereas the later received active support from the state. Hence in the globalized age, cooperation of the state and the market became necessary.

Chris Rumford and Stephen Wagg emphasized this aspect as they argued that the globalization of cricket has received a further boost with the popularity of a new, shorter format of the game (Twenty-twenty) which has the capability to re-launch cricket as a mass TV sport. As a consequence of this development, we observe that there is huge investment especially in the IPL in India and the Stanford Challenge matches staged in the West Indies in 2008. Both Rumford and Wagg were optimistic about the point that Twenty-twenty possess the potential to transform the way cricket is organized and played all over the world, a development which reinforces the idea that cricket has 'gone global' (Rumford and Wagg 2010).

The symbiosis between state and the market is shown by Nalin Mehta. He argued that the government of India unveiled some of the restrictions which they used to impose earlier on the satellite television channels. In this context, he claimed that 'until the mid-1990s the story of the Indian satellite television had been the story of a private industry leap frogging across stringent government regulations' (Mehta 2009: 581) He is very appreciative of the rise of the private satellite television network and also adds that the successive Indian government had managed to pass only two Parliamentary bills pertaining to the challenge of this new industry (Mehta 2009).

However, this did not mean that that the market was given a free play. Rather, it displayed the fact that, the state and the market acted in coalescence. The globalizing phenomenon in cricket created a win-win situation for both the state and the market. Both benefited from the action of the other. The state saw the market as a medium through which it could commercialize the game. Conversely, for the market the deregulation of the administrative barriers by the state allowed them to explore new ventures. As a consequence, in the globalized era, the state gave recognition to the role of the market. David Fraser also emphasized on the linkage between cricket and television. For him, television coupled with other forms of communication technology gave impetus to the

globalization of the game of cricket. Fraser made this fact clear as he admitted that ‘the factor which influenced the interactions between aspiration and cricket in recent years, it is precisely this idea of cricket as a programming product for television. This has become more evident and more serious as global electronic phenomena and the television and telecommunications technology combined with the traditional appeal of the game, meet in profit’. (Fraser 2005: 310).

The importance of the televised sport is also supported by Mike Marqusee. He illustrated the link between the state and the market through the case study of the 2003 and the 2007 Cricket World Cup. According to Marqusee, the role of the media giants was significant in making the game of cricket into a global event. He referred to media giants such as the GCC (Global Cricket Corporation), it is a small slice of News Corporation, Rupert Murdoch’s global media–entertainment conglomerate. The GCC played an important part in projecting the International Cricket Council (ICC) as a brand. Marqusee put forth empirical evidence to substantiate his claim. As he goes on to argue that, ‘in 2003, News Corporation boasted assets of 43 million dollars and annual revenues of \$17 billion (Jamaica’s GDP, by comparison, is \$10 billion). Among its liabilities is a guarantee to pay the ICC a minimum of \$550 million over five years in return for global broadcasting and market rights for the world cup of 2003 and 2007 (and other ICC events within this period). This is hardly an onerous guarantee of News Corp, and not only because of Murdoch’s vast and diverse assets. Already it has been recouped through the sale of South African television to Sony’ (Marqusee 2005: 251-252).

More importantly, the contract was fashioned in such a manner so as to ensure that the Murdoch Empire gets protected from many of the vicissitudes that afflict the game. ‘Sport, as famously declared, is a ‘battering ram’ with which to secure entry into new markets. And cricket has already given Murdoch a valuable foothold in millions of Indian homes. It is also a contributor to the corporate synergy by which cricket has been a major cog’ (Marqusee 2005: 252). The basis of this argument reveals the mutual obligations which both the state and the market had to confirm under the impact of globalization. The state and the market became mutually constitutive in character.

Globalization of cricket by television coincides with the view forwarded by Jan Aart Scholte. He described globalization as supra-territoriality where the space is not territorially fixed and territorial distances are covered in no time and the territorial boundaries no longer present an impediment (Scholte 2000).

According to Scholte, supra-territoriality is relatively new and breaks with territorialist geography. This involves not just an intensification of transplanetary links but also different types of global connectivity that go beyond territorial unit. They transcend territorial geography and de-linked from it. 'Examples may include transworld simultaneity (for example, people across the world consuming the same make of coffee) or transworld instantaneity (for example, international telephone calls)' (Scholte 2005: 61).

A similar sort of argument has also been thrown up by Sean O Riain who claims that globalization has led to time space intensification. O Riain enumerates three criteria for time space intensification. First, 'the social experience of the time and the space becomes more explicit. Secondly, the time and the space are mobilized explicitly in individual and corporate action. Third, the institutionalization of the space and the time becomes more politicized' (O'Riain 2006: 508).

The explicit character of the time and space finds expression in the arguments of Amit Gupta who argues that the commodification of international sports has led to a situation where the success of sports is determined by the desire to have the sporting events in television friendly time zones and by the need to have media attractive teams and large fan followings in the tournament for a longest period of time (Gupta 2009). This was the main reason for the shifting of the IPL by the BCCI to South Africa as the matches would be played at a time which would suit the Indian viewers.

The politicization of the time and space becomes from the fact that when decision was taken to shift the 2009 edition of the IPL, England was in the race along with South

Africa for the alternative venue. But, due to the proactive role of the Indian Cricket board, South Africa got preference over England.

In the case of cricket, the supra territoriality can be explained when we find the a international event such as the Cricket World Cup, The ICC Champions Trophy or transnational cricket leagues like IPL, the Stanford Challenge or the Champions League Cricket being broadcasted all or the world. The 'space' gets a new definition. It liberates itself from the territorial limitations.

But projecting globalization as supraterritoriality is only one side of the picture, globalization can also be viewed as transplanetary relations. Transplanetary connectivity, involves relations between different parts of the world. They have become denser and involve more people, more often, more extensively, more intensively, and in greater volume (Scholte 2005). In contextualizing transplanetary relations in the case of cricket, we notice that the rise of global capitalism has facilitated greater interaction among nations.

As a result, we witness that several new nations, which never had a rich cricketing history began to make their presence felt in the map of world cricket. Amit Gupta produces a classic illustration of this argument. He shows how political instability in one county forced a bilateral cricket series to be played in a neutral country. He substantiated his claim through the case study of the bilateral cricket series played between Pakistan and Australia in Sharjah in 2002.

The importance of these new upcoming venues was highlighted by Gupta when he argues that Sharjah in UAE, 'a country with no national team and no cricketing culture, had become the cricketing centre of the world as both western and non-western team eagerly sought to milk the cash cow' (Gupta 2004: 265). Sharjah's role as an international cricket center was reinforced in 2002 when the Australian cricket team was unwilling to play in Pakistan due to security reasons but eventually agreed to play a test series in Sharjah, a neutral venue. As a result, Gupta envisages that several other new

venues are beginning to be considered as future international cricket site. He takes the example of Morocco and Dubai in this regard. 'Morocco, like Sharjah has no indigenous cricketing culture but its proximity to Europe, and its perfect weather would allow the staging of tournaments in the winter months' (Gupta 2004: 266).

The principles of supra territoriality and transplanetary relations show that the role of territory has been reduced to some extent. In other words, globalization has caused de-territorialisation of the space. However, this process of de territorialisation does not mean that the territory has lost all its relevance. This is because, as an adjunct to his concept of de-territorialisation, Scholte has also referred to the concept of re-territorialisation, meaning that the global flows still has to engage with certain territorial locations (Scholte 2005). The coexistence of the concept of deterritorialisation and re territorialisation in a globalizing world can be explained through the interaction of the state and the market. On the one hand, the market and the communication technologies enable the transgression of the boundaries of the state. On the other hand, the state too reinstates itself in the global context, preventing the market from playing an overwhelming role.

We elaborate this argument by taking a case study of the cricketers in the IPL and those who prioritized their international career ahead of the transnational T-20 Leagues. Chris Rumford and Stephen Wagg present a contrasting picture of two players, Kieron Pollard of the West Indies and Eoin Morgan of England.

Pollard established himself as a cricketer mainly through the T20 format. Rumford and Wagg envisages that West Indian Kieron Pollard was one of the stars of the 2010 IPL season (when Pollard joined Mumbai Indians he was awarded the highest salary in the 2010 draft). He also holds Twenty-20 contracts in Australia (with South Australia), England (with Somerset), the IPL (with Mumbai Indians), and his native Trinidad. 'In May 2010 Pollard showed his reluctance to join the 'West Indies A' squad on their tour of England. Instead, he chose to play T-20 for Somerset rather than working on his first class game with a view to becoming a Test match cricketer' (Wagg and Rumford 2010:

8). The interesting feature of this argument is that Pollard became an eminent figure in world cricket as a result of the commercialization and commodification of cricket.

In the case of Eoin Morgan, a different story is experienced. He made his reputation as a one day cricketer first for Ireland and later on for England. As a result of his success in the international arena, he was called up by the Royal Challengers Bangalore in the IPL for the 2010 season (Wagg and Rumford 2010). So, unlike Pollard, Morgan came into the IPL after getting recognition from international cricket by representing his country.

Therefore, we can argue that the state (territory) does matter in the case of the globalized sport. The market forces are unavoidable in the commoditization of the game. Yet, we cannot dismiss the role of the state apparatus. Two things explain this fact. First, County cricket involves a lot of commercial gains for the players and has been a potent force in globalizing the game as cricketers from all over the world participate in the league. In spite of this, whenever a player had any international schedule, it was prioritized before his county commitments (Rumford and Wagg 2010). Secondly, the national cricket control board of many countries also maintained that IPL commitments must be subordinated to international schedule. We can cite the example of several players from Australia who either joined the IPL late or left in the middle of the competition in order to keep up their national cricketing calendar. To manage the interest of both the commercial ventures such as the IPL, the County League and the hectic international schedule, the England Cricket Board (ECB) has, 'either by accident or by design has embraced a model for the development of cricket which seek to place each format of the game and each competition within a structured whole.' (Rumford and Wagg 2010: 11).

While analyzing the principle of de-territorialisation principle of Scholte, Luke Martell argues that the territory remains even after being transcended (Martell 2007). The basic reference is that under the impact of globalization the concept of territory has been given a degree of flexibility; it has achieved a degree of dynamism. Hence, it will be



immature to argue that globalization has led to denationalization (Zurn 1992, 1995) of the state. We will put forward three illustrations to substantiate this claim.

First, Sharda Ugra and Stephen Wagg summarize the dynamism of the Indian state in the globalization of cricket. For them, many important steps towards the commercialization of cricket are initiated by India. They argued that 'Indians have stepped into the business world; they are in the global market where they make decisions every day and it is a natural consequence' (Wagg and Ugra 2009: 606).

Secondly, the dynamic nature of the territorial notion of the state is also well explained by Nalin Mehta, John Gemmell and Dominic Malcolm. They have shown that with the increasing impact of the market, there was also a proportional transformation in the bargaining power of the state. They made their argument by taking into consideration of the bitter rivalry-between the some of the leading cricketing nations. In their study, they cited the bilateral series between India and Australia and their relative impact in IPL auctions (which was seen as a measure to commodify the game). It was found that alongside the spread of the market, the state began to assert itself. There was a marriage of convenience between the ethics of the consumer economy and the nation state (2009).

Mehta, Gemmell and Malcolm highlighted the fact that the 'Australian Andrew Symonds commanded the second highest price of \$1.3 million, well above other greats of the game is significant' (2009: 696). The auction was held in the middle of a bitter international series between India and Australia where Andrew Symonds accused the Indian off-spinner Harbhajan Singh of abusing him racially, which almost resulted in the tour being called off. Barring this things aside, it is worthy to note that Symonds, who emerged as the "villain" of the piece in the Indian media discourse, 'was valued by IPL's buyers at least as much for his recall value as for his cricket skills' (Mehta, Gemmell, Malcolm 2009: 696). Furthermore, many players from an erstwhile colonial country are representing Indian franchise. Players such as Eoin Morgan, Kevin Pietersen and Paul Collingwood who are regular representatives of the English national team also feature in the Indian Premier League playing for different clubs.

Thirdly, the relevance of the space has also been well portrayed by the rise of certain transnational business classes who have their origins in a definite country. In the literature of globalization, this category of the business class is known as the Transnational Capitalist Class (TCC) (Sklair 2002). In turn, they form an important cog in the formation of transnational corporation (TNCs). To get a proper definition of this new capitalist class, it is essential to understand the meaning of TNCs. They are considered global as they are mobile in their scope and reach, moving to whichever locale that offers it the highest competitive advantage. In real terms, most corporations, while having arms and branches internationally in the case of both production and dissemination of the product, are firmly based in one country. On most occasions, it may be the home country of the company.

In the case of globalization of the game of cricket, we notice the rise of many Indian business classes who ultimately became global business giants. Shakya Mitra has explained the rise of the Indian big business into the global stage through the ownership of cricket franchises. Apart from owning clubs in the IPL, they were able to market Indian products all over the world.

Mitra goes on to argue that one of the new elements brought in with the franchise ownership in cricket which is similar to professional sport in North America and Europe is the business of the owners. As Mitra puts it, 'the money paid by Vijay Mallya and T.V. Reddy, to buy the Bangalore and Hyderabad franchises respectively, may seem inflated in cricketing terms. In other words, the popularity of these cricket teams, it was felt would help boost the sale of spirit and wines produced by Mallya or the sale of newspapers brought out by Reddy' (Mitra 2010: 1316). The real essence of the transnational character of the franchises was realized when we find that Rajasthan Royals, one of the teams in the IPL, is trying to create a first global franchise as it has expressed its desire to collaborate with some of the major T20 Leagues of other countries. It is vying for a tie up with English county club Hampshire, Australian cricket

club Victoria, the Cape Cobra club of South Africa and Trinidad and Tobago of the West Indies (Rumford and Wagg 2010).

This newly emergent business class can be accorded the status of a transnational capitalist class. This is because it controls the level of an emergent transnational state apparatus and of global decision making (Robinson and Harris 2000). So, people such as Vijay Mallya and his club, Royal challengers Bangalore have their host state in a definite country (in this case India), their activities and interests are largely identified with the interests of the capitalist global system.

Our final illustration would show that the response of the state in the case of economic globalization. It is true that both the state and the market became vulnerable to one another. To reap the benefits of economic globalization, the onus lies with the state to provide the infrastructural facilities and maintenance of political stability within the territory. The state should make necessary adjustments to reap the benefits of the market. Globalized cricket bears evidence to this statement. Initially, the four Asian Countries (India, Pakistan, Sri Lanka and Bangladesh) was supposed to host the Cricket World Cup. Later on, it was seen that the ICC were skeptical about the prospects of Pakistan hosting the World Cup matches. The International Cricket body was not satisfied with the infrastructural and the security issues of Pakistan. As a result, there was a rescheduling of the games of the ICC Cricket World Cup 2011 (Sharma 2010).

This act of rescheduling had an immense impact on the stock markets of those countries. After the rescheduling was over, it was seen that, the stock markets of those countries which got more matches revealed positive signals. On the other hand, Pakistan's stock market registered loss as it lost the chance to host the matches (Sharma 2010).

## CONCLUSION

In the introductory chapter, I have tried to put forth the view that studying globalization and sport from the perspective of international political economy mainly involves tracing the impact of two major players - the state and the market. The main theoretical schools on Globalization theory, that is, the Hyperglobalist, the Sceptics and the Transformationalist (Held 1999) have followed this path. Therefore, in our study, we have looked at globalization and sport by observing the role of the state and the market. The conclusions we reached from the chapters is that Globalization of Sport, as viewed through the prism of the international political economy has given due importance to both the state and the market. We have explicated the manner in which globalized sport has manifested the relevance of this claim.

Firstly, the concept of identity in the globalized context has gone a long way in reviewing the notion of identity that we normally associate with the nation state. We have argued that the identity accorded by the nation state to an individual represents its monolithic character. But this does not imply that we have repudiated the case for national identity. Indeed, we have elaborated how sport unifies a nation and represents national identity. The message which we have tried to put forth is that apart from putting up a strong claim for national identity, sport has also provided the basis for a transnational sense of identity. The study has attempted to put forward an alternative version of identity through the sporting events such as the transnational football league (The UEFA Champions League, The English Premier League).

The market has opened up new horizons in globalizing identity. The version of identity which the market enunciated underlined the idea that the concept of the imagined community associated in defining the nation and consequently national identity can also be exemplified through the market. Globalization of sport has established the idea that due to the rise of global capitalism, players, apart from acquiring identity from their

national state also acquire an identity which is designated to them through the market. The primordial version of the identity used in defining nationalism (Smith 1998) has certain shortcomings in explaining identity in a globalized context.

Globalization of sport has shown that ethnicity no longer determine the identities of the people residing within a definite territorial demarcation. The market has backed the idea that the relationship between the players and the club sponsors can be viewed as the one that exists between the employers and the employees. The 'imagined community' in the context of globalized sport has been defined through the global football fandom which developed due to the coalescence of the market and the communication technologies. The players are now identified more through the market (the brands) they represented than the institutional form of identity accorded by the state.

On the other hand, in the chapters of the study, we have come across several terminologies such as 'Canadianization', 'Europeanization' and 'Post-Westernization' of sports. This shows the role of the nation state in undertaking processes of globalization of sport. In the study, we have tried to argue that relative importance of both the state and the market in facilitating the globalization process in sport. Both of them have contributed substantially to the phenomenon. In some case, the state played a greater role than the market in globalizing the sport whereas in other cases, the market scored more than the state in initiating the globalizing process.

I have put forth the argument of Martell who stated that in the 'qualified globalism' of Scholte, the territory was relevant even after being transcended (Martell 2007). Global capitalism has reflected the rise of a network society (Castells 1996) which has come about as a result of the development of communication technology. It has played a key part in de-territoriaizing (Scholte 2005) the territory. I have examined the de-territorializing phenomenon argument in case of the global sport. This was made possible because of the satellite television networks and the internet. It created a new category of audience, 'the arm chair audience' (Cashmore 2000). Nevertheless, the importance of the territory still remained.

The relevance of the state was observed when we discussed the global spread of cricket. Ehsan Mani, former chief executive of the ICC (The International Cricket Council) has envisaged that the non-western nations are emerging as major players in globalizing the game of cricket. He emphasized the fact that the headquarters of the game has now shifted from Lords to Dubai (Mani 2009). This is because it is the South Asian countries which are providing the market for the game. Also, they are controlling the market of cricket to a large extent. A somewhat similar argument is also given by Chris Rumford who stated that globalization of cricket has led to post-westernization of the game. He too, advocated that the power centre of cricket has now been shifted from Lords to Dubai. In addition to this, he argued that the steps towards commercialization of the game are now undertaken by the non-western countries such as India as it encouraged the shift from the traditional version of the Test matches to more and more one day internationals and twenty-twenty in the recent years as these would facilitate the commercialization and the subsequent globalization of the game of cricket (Rumford 2007).

I now turn to our second broad argument. Globalization of sport has not only de-territorialized the boundaries of the state but also has re-territorialized the same. The study has argued the process of re-territorialisation at some length. This process of re-territorialisation has shown both the triumph of the market. The study has mentioned the case of football in this regard. The impact of the market and satellite television has transformed the game from the enclosures of the stadium onto the television screens (Gerrard 2004). Re-territorialisation as a process was undertaken by the market. The space (territory), which was once controlled by the state, is now being managed by the market. The study has shown increasing impact of the market in influencing the globalization process as in sport.

The state is pivotal to the globalization process, but it has undergone certain transformations so that it becomes more responsive to the dynamism of the market. As per the study, the symbiotic relationship between the sport and the market has contributed

a long way in altering the role of the state. The study demonstrates the transformation of the character of the state by emphasizing the relevance of the market in the context of the International Olympic Movement. After, some earlier reservations, the IOA (International Olympic Association) eventually allowed their official logo to be used by the multinational corporations like Coca Cola, Kodak. Hence, the rigidities which used to exist earlier between the activities of the state and the market had to be revised.

Globalized sport reveals that both the state and the market have acted in tandem. The study has developed this view in the context of the globalizing phenomenon in cricket. Apart from cricket, the Olympic Movement has also demonstrated the transformation of the International Olympic Corporation (IOA) from an international organization to a corporate body.

The monolithic character of the state was transformed by the co-option of the market by the state. Such instances are observed when the study repudiates the assertion of the postcolonial identity through the globalization of cricket (Rumford 2007). The importance of the English County League in globalizing the game of cricket has already been discussed at some length in the study. The introduction of the Indian Premier League has also performed the same function. In the IPL (The Indian Premier League), we notice that players from the former colonial state (read here Great Britain) and other countries such as South Africa, West Indies are representing Indian franchises.

The plausible argument which can be made in this regard is, while conceptualizing the globalized version of sport, we must agree that the players represents their franchises and not their countries. In fact, through the role of the market, we have also tended to revise the Wallersteinian view of the phenomenon of globalization. The argument about the division of the world into core and periphery and the subsequent domination of the latter by the former must be revisited. This is because the study has already argued that in the case of cricket, we find the South Asian nations (which are being traditionally regarded as the periphery) are now dominating the globalizing process of cricket. This is

because, globalized sport has led to the intertwining of the state and the market in a manner which is something very hard to trace through the Wallersteinian line of thinking.

Studying the globalizing phenomenon through sport, we have inferred that the state has forgone its rigidity in order to benefit from the actions of the market. By doing so, the study claims that even in the process of regionalization (which is generally regarded as an adjunct to globalization), one can observe the interdependence between the state and the market. The study forwards this claim by citing the transformation of the rules of the European Union in the case of controlling the inflow the foreign players in the English Club Football (Parrish 2010) and the relaxation of the laws of the English County Cricket so that players from all over the world can participate in the County League (Maguire and Stead 1996). In this context, we can easily argue along the lines of Karl Polanyi that even if the market became self-regulating in character, this was made possible due to the intervention of the state (Polanyi 1944). The study has extrapolated the reasons for the limited success of the Kerry Packer's World Series Cricket (WSC) (Marqusee 2005) and the rebel cricket league in India, The ICL (The Indian Cricket League). Both in the case of the Kerry Packer and the Indian Cricket League, the state apparatus played a role in setting the contours for the market to follow.

Finally, the study has traced out the ontology of globalization by viewing the phenomenon through the tussle between the state and the market in the context of global sport. The political economy of sport has been instrumental in defining globalization. Globalized sport reveals that the concept of 'glocalization' (Robertson 1995) needs to be looked at differently. This is because, although there has been a symbiotic relationship between the global and the local, the latter gets enmeshed or embedded within the former. In other words, 'glocalization' remains a truism. The local becomes integrated with the global. The local becomes a brand due to the impact of the market forces.

This has been illustrated when the study argued that the clubs became a global entity when its jerseys became a popular merchandize product. Hence, as per the study, in the glocalization theses, the local was defined as an element which owed its origin within a



definite territorial demarcation. It did not possess the transcendental character. Our prime objective has been to argue that in the case of globalized sport, the local adapts itself with the global phenomenon. The study argued that the local gets recognition when it is viewed through the lenses of the global. In other words, the local got 'dis-embedded' and finally got 're-embedded' (Giddens 1990) in the global.

Globalization of sport has been successful in describing the two most important aspects of the phenomenon, the 'time' and the 'space', through the hands of the market. Hence, the study concludes that 'time space compression' (Harvey 1994) and 'time space distanciation' (Giddens 1984) are driven by the market. The study argued that televisualization and the impact of the media in sporting globalization has been pivotal in changing the concept of the 'space' (territory). Globalization of sport has reflected the transformation of the 'space' from a static entity to a dynamic one. Thus, the study tried argue that both the 'space' and the 'time' became the incarnation of the market. As per the study, through the globalization of sport, both the market and the state operate under certain mutual obligations.

The study has sought to convey the message that globalization of sport neither attempted to project the state as a necessary evil nor does it ask for a minimalist role of the state. On the contrary, it stresses on the interdependence of the state and the market. It is true that sport provides the market for the MNCs (Multinational Corporations). To strengthen this argument, the study has shown the dominating position of the market through the case of ambush marketing (Smith 2008) which involves the tussle between several Multinational Corporations in sponsoring the leading global sporting events. But the consensus of the state is equally important for the commodification of sport. This is because as a shield against the exigencies of the market, the sporting world has developed Player's Association. These associations are supported by their respective sporting associations of their respective country. A case in point is the development of the Indian Cricket Players Association which is an organization to deal with the sponsorship deals with players.

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