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THE LOCAL AND GLOBAL IN CONTEMPORARY SPORT

What appears as globalisation for some means localization for others (Bauman 1998:2).

'Global culture' cannot be understood as a static phenomenon, but only as a continent and dialectical process (which is not economically reducible to some one-sided logic of capital), in accordance with a model of 'glocalization' in which contradictory elements are conceived and deciphered in their unity. It is in this sense that one may speak of paradoxes of 'glocal' cultures (Beck 2000:49).

This paper deals with the relationship between the local and the global in sport. It starts with the idea that the local and the global confront each other in the contemporary world in the context of capitalism and consumption, which is why categories of nation and globalization or community culture and popular culture are taken as reference points. Accordingly, some views of nation as well as perceptions of the effects of globalization are questioned in order to present in a new light the clash of globalization and nation in the field of contemporary sport.

The move from community culture to popular culture is also considered to be an important assumption for adequate understanding of the global-local nexus in sport. Juxtaposition of these two research paradigms implies an interdisciplinary attempt at linking historical concepts of nation with sociological explanations of globalization and cultural studies interpretations of culture and community. In the end, the specific nature of sport as a cultural phenomenon is pointed out, something that should not be neglected in forthcoming research into sport in the context of local-global confrontations.

Keywords: contemporary sport, local, global, nation, globalisation, community culture, popular culture

INTRODUCTION

The question that integrates the ideas of social transition and consumption in the anthropological discourse and reads "How are global institutions experienced by people in the developing world?", with the emphasis usually being placed on the manifestations of capitalism and mass consumption in the local contexts (D. Miller 1995), is definitely not one that should bypass the scholarly field of studying contemporary sport. But any attempt at an interdisciplinary effort to answer it would find it difficult to avoid the deconstruction of the global-local axis in two contexts – firstly, in confronting the national and globalisation and, secondly, in the shift from community culture to popular culture.

The social and particularly the cultural framework of contemporary sport justifies understanding the concept of the national in the sense of local, largely because global power, both at the material and the non-material level, is primarily opposed by the power of nation. There is an undeniably growing tendency for sport to function in world frameworks (Hargreaves 2002:25), which depends on the existence of globalised economic, political, cultural and technological processes. However, since that is, nonetheless, a complex series of processes that act in mutual contradiction, local-global turmoil in contemporary sport renders fairly incomplete the thesis on globalisation as a drawing away of power or influences from the local community and nations into the global arena. In that process, it is not even crucial which principle of conception of nation is taken into account, since both its primordialistic and modernistic comprehensions (Katunarić 2003) offer resources for recognising the resistance of nation to globalisation. These are all very convincing reasons for the non-existence of a coherent globalisation theory, although its manifestations and effects are certainly speculated about at length.

While this context of deconstruction of the global-local axis is perhaps linked more, although not exclusively, to the systemic position of sport in society, the second context included in this discussion, which concerns community culture and popular culture, encroaches into the sphere of sport consumption. However, it does connect logically to that part of the debate about the effects of globalisation that place in the forefront the cultural dimension of both nation and globalisation. Consequently, there is definitely a relative melding of those two seemingly contradictory approaches to the nexus of the local-global in contemporary sport, put conditionally as that from *above* and that from *below*, while it remains to be seen whether the task of their reconciliation is achievable and in what manner.

We will be attempting in this paper to establish on a theoretical level the relevancy of sport in the issue in question as a social, but also as a cultural phenomenon, mentioning that here one can and must speak only of contemporary sport, since only discussion about it can be topical. In this process, con-

temporary sport is taken to be sport from the second half of the 20th century, that is, the period in which there was first an inkling, and then the realisation, of the fact that international sport had become globalised. In other words, numerous sociologists explained the changing nature of sport in the several preceding decades by the influence of the process of globalisation, usually linking the notion of contemporary sport with epithets such as "commodified", "commercialised" and "media-oriented" (Crawford 2004:6-12). An equally legitimate line of argument is the one that asserts high professionalisation and strict organisation of contemporary sport, starting from the idea of how completely serious it has become and its shift away from the area of mere games (Jennifer Hargreaves 1982:15-16). Such sport in this text will represent a field for sketching the outlines of the relationship between local and global in the indicated contexts.

SPORT BETWEEN NATION AND GLOBALISATION

The culturo-political and economic dimension of contemporary sport, as what stimulates the freshest research interest in sport studies, is recognised, among other, in permanent encounters, and even confrontations, between the local and global in the field of sport,¹ while the phenomena of nation and globalisation should definitely be taken as inescapable associative adjuncts to this statement. While the local/global contradiction invokes irreconcilable attitudes to a lesser extent, reading off the multi-dimensional relation between nation and globalisation in the historiographic, and particularly, in the sociological discourse, has given shape to two divergent currents in understanding the same thing – opponents and supporters of globalisation.² This is the most elementary division that is based on insight as to whether globalisation is only a myth, or it signifies the new world order. This is an insight that should definitely be expanded and intensified, due to the interpretation of the inevitability of globalisation and/or to recognition of the powers and scope of its effects on the idea of nation.³ All those who over-emphasise the effect of globalisation would have no problem in the world of

¹ For Bourdieu, the field represents a metaphor in the social arena within which battles take place and manoeuvres are undertaken (Hughson, Inglis, Free 2005:156). Bourdieu observes that the field of sport practices is a scene of battle about the definition of the legitimate body and the legitimate use of the body in sport – 'amateurism against professionalism, participation in sport as opposed to watching sport, top-grade sport as opposed to popular (mass) sport' – which is part of the broader field of the struggle for monopolistic power over the body between the moral category of the 'ascetic' and 'hedonistic' definitions and the use of the body (Jennifer Hargreaves 1982:13).

² On the basis of opposing viewpoints, Giddens makes a division in relation to globalisation between sceptics and radicals (2002:7-9).

³ Hargreaves divides those globalisation theorists, who do not question its certainty, into the more extreme – *hyperglobalists* – and the more moderate – *transformationists* (2005:150).

sport in registering examples of suppression of the national on the part of globalisation trends, but they could overlook the factors of resistance by the national or, at least, examples of adaptation on its part, since one-dimensional cognisance of the symbiosis of the global and local phenomena fails to see that "there is no global production without a form of local appropriation at the point of consumption; there is no national identity without the participation of the individual and the cultural accretion of the local" (Tomlinson 2005:XV).

There are several important factors that manage the development of globalisation, while Giddens (2002) singles out capitalism, western imperialism and global communications. If the expansion of capitalism is primarily taken into account in the evaluation of globalisation effect, there is no doubt that power relations at the world economic level are changing to the detriment of the "nation-state", to the benefit of global capital, but it remains debatable to what extent this ultimately threatens national identities. In other words, when the cultural dimension of the problem is grafted onto the economic, rhetoric about the extinction of the nation loses its foothold somewhat so that "while many learned commentators decry the demise of the nation at the hands of rampant globalization, some display a steadfast belief in the enduring relevance of the nation as a source of identity and differentiation" (Andrews and Silk 2005:172). The political factor in globalisation processes has been felt so far in the emergence of the new political world order, which threatens earlier types of national and/or State regulations.

In any event, over the last few decades, the zones of contiguity between the local and global in sport have been expanding, with contacts intensifying, and while that is connected with the influences of globalisation currents on diverse segments of what were once internal State marketing policies, it could be concluded that "the traditional structures of governance in sport have been altered by the dual processes of commodification and globalisation" (Foster 2005:64). Here the term "governance" stands primarily in the context of legal regulation, while commodification and globalisation clearly indicate the rule of capital. The dance between capital and the commercial logic of governance defines the American sports model,⁴ according to Foster, from which the European model differs through its efforts to resist globalisation tendencies and preserve national identity by way of regional regulation (Foster 2005:73-77).

However, it seems that the prevailing inclinations to economic explanations in numerous analyses, sometimes even denunciations of late-capitalist

⁴ The free market principle, hastened along by refuting sport's social and cultural dimensions, results in phenomena like NIKE or Murdoch. "Nike has built such a formidable presence in the sports and leisure industry that it's ubiquitous: everywhere at the same time" (Cashmore 2005:374). Murdoch, the media magnate, has "revolutionized the sports' marketplace by investing for long-term value rather than short-term profits and building globally rather than nationally" (Cashmore 2005:365).

"exploitational" and globalisational "enforced" appropriations of the oasis of sports, which was isolated not so long ago, are of no help at all in demystification of the complexity of the contemporary field of sport. The local-global axis is only one part of the complex social sports world, made up of a large number of various sports and mottled by dichotomies, such as those between amateurism and professionalism, or, for its part, that between high-profile sport and sport for everyone. Even when we look at the effects of globalisation in the field of sport, or even generally, as being broader than mere economic effects, and recognise the interaction between mutually dependent economic, cultural and political forces, we are still, nevertheless, far from identifying all the diverse aspects of globalisation, and by that very fact, also from definition of the nature of the relationship between the global and the national and/or local. Doubts about that question commence, of course, much earlier and independently of the characteristics of the global-local nexus in the world of sport, while it is challenging to establish how they reflect in the not always neutral or ideologically uncommitted discussions of sports analysts.

The English historian and researcher of sport, John Hargreaves, bases his thesis on the disparagement of nation, national identity and nationalism, as significant sites of resistance to the domination of globalisation forces. It reveals the methodological error on the part of a considerable number of globalisation theorists who, in their dealing with the nation-State, concentrate on the State as being the more indisputable entity, and favour the modernistic notion of nation as a ideological, quasi-real phenomenon. When he includes the globalisation of sport in the flow of his discussion, Hargreaves points the finger at Anderson (1983), Gellner (1993), Giddens (2002), Hobsbawm and Ranger (1983) as the indirect culprits for non-recognition of the potential of nation as a cohesive force in the struggle against further development of the global power system in sport. According to him, the first authentic capacities of nation emerge only when those historians and theorists who support the primordial interpretation of nation, such as Smith (1991), Hastings and Armstrong. (Hargreaves 2002:36-37),⁵ are permitted to take the centre stage. They are more concrete and precise in explaining the sources, survival and strengthening of nation and nationalism in the contemporary period, since they insist on the deeply-rooted nature of national identity and nationalistic

⁵ Hargreaves emphasises, in fact, that the authors mentioned refer to the deeply historic and ethnic roots of nation, which help in the understanding of their capability of surviving the most profound changes and terrible trauma. When I call that the primordialist interpretation of nation, I am guided by the typology offered by Vjeran Katunarić in his book *Sporna zajednica*. He divides the diverse approaches to the phenomena of nation and nationalism based on the type of argumentation applied by the two theoretical schools – primordialistic and modernistic (Katunarić 2003:150-264). However, Anthony Smith, in his search for historical and symbolic-cultural attributes, locates ethnic identity between two extremes – the comprehension of «ethnicity» as a primordial quality and the *situacionistic* conception of "ethnicity" (A. D. Smith 1991:20).

feelings that place strict restraints on the development of global identity and global culture.⁶

Although Hargreaves is somewhat sceptical regarding the acceptance of newspaper commentaries on sport as precise measures of the status of national identity (2002:37), analyses of newspaper discourse are not rare, and are aimed at seeking out in their narrative strategies the mechanisms of constructing the cultural concept of national identity.⁷ Whether one leans towards the primordialistic or modernistic notion of nation and national identity, it still holds that they indeed play an interesting and important role in the field of sports, particularly in the intensified globalisational challenges in that area.

The idea, for example, that sport in general, or one sport in particular, creates or fosters a sense of nationhood is important, not least because international competition generates a seemingly endless number of occasions when nations are embodied in something manifestly real and visible (Smyth and Porter 2004:1).

However, since the mid-19th century, sport has distinguished itself as a stimulator of national feeling, in exactly the sense that interpreters of the national, such as Hobsbawm and Anderson, to whom Hargreaves is so averse, facilitate by their treatment of nation.

What has made sport so uniquely effective a medium for inculcating national feelings, at all events for males, is the ease with which even the least political or public individuals can identify with the nation as symbolized by young persons excelling at what practically every man wants, or at one time in life has wanted, to be good at. The imagined community of millions seems more real as a team of eleven named people. The individual, even the one who only cheers, becomes a symbol of his nation himself (Hobsbawm 1990:143).

Anderson's "nation as an imagined community" (Anderson 1983) and Hobsbawm's "invention of tradition" (Hobsbawm 1983) embody the discursive-constructivist conception of nation, which offers assumptions for a fairly

⁶ The limitations, defence and resistance of national cultures towards globalisation policies should be placed in the corresponding frameworks of power relations. Hargreaves claims that it is important to accept "that social power cannot be adequately analysed in terms of a zero-sum game conception of power relations – that is, a conception in which power is a fixed sum and gains by one party to a power relationship are necessarily gained at the expense of the other(s)" (2002:40).

⁷ One more recent example is Ivan Đorđević's text (2006) "Sport and national identity. The football story of the 'non-existent nation'", *Antropologija* 2:22-34, in which the author comprehends the discursive strategy of the Serbian press in treating two sporting events as a project of "imagining the nation", but at the same time he claims that what is in question in both cases is the identical principle of primordialist understanding of the concept of national identity.

different understanding of the issue of "the clash" of globalisation and nation on the sports field than the one supported by Hargreaves. While Hargreaves, starting out by emphasising the ethnic roots and specifics of nations, their myths, traditions, institutions and customs, analyses capitalistic processes and political pretensions⁸ within globalised sport through the categories of domination and resistance,⁹ a possible and fully legitimate approach to the reconciliation of the global and the local is one such as that represented by Andrews and Silk.

The two of them study the campaigns of transnational sports corporations, whose objective is to capture world markets, establishing the importance of rethinking national cultures within the marketing discourse and the promotion policies of those gigantic corporations (Andrews and Silk 2005:176-177). Such strategy leads them to a clear understanding of the possibilities, but also the practicalities, of the symbiosis of nation and globalisation in the sphere of sport and marketing. While not negating the fall in the political and economic significance of nation, Andrews and Silk insist on comprehension of nation with respect to its residual supplement of "imagined community and source of identity". Hence the claim that one can speak in a well-founded manner exclusively of the change in context and processes by which national cultures are produced and reproduced, but not make definitive statements about the "fall of nation". If the death-knell has been rung for nation as largely autonomous and distinct political and economic formation, it is playing an increasingly important role as a cultural object in the manoeuvrings of transnational corporate capitalism (Andrews and Silk 2005:172-175). This is particularly evident in the field of marketing, where the "over-articulated national" shows itself to be more than vital, and, above all, usable. Registering the change in strategies of transnational corporations in their advertising campaigns, Andrews and Silk apply the stamp of "cultural Toyotism" to the new management methods. This is an expansion of Castells' notion of "Toyotism", coined for the sector of material production in the automobile industry.¹⁰ Castells' "Toyotism" implies co-operation between

⁸ "Globalised sport is, by and large, driven by the West, and since America in so many ways leads the West, it should come as no surprise that globalised sport is highly Americanised" (Hargreaves 2002:32).

⁹ In the process, Hargreaves expresses his disagreement with the assumed consensus among sports commentators and about the fact that globalised sport represents an expression of power and universal triumph of advanced consumer capitalism. In fact, this is how he concludes his article: "It is time that nations, national identity and nationalism came to be seen as potentially major bulwarks against domination by the globally powerful, and not simply as bogey men responsible for so much of world's ills" (2002:42).

¹⁰ The origin of this notion is connected with the aggressive globalisation of the automobile industry during the 1970s, within which the Japanese manufacturer of automobiles, Toyota, gave up the practice of selling identical merchandise in an identical manner all over the world, and decided to consolidate the corporation and its products through a differently

management and workers, multi-purpose labour, and full supervision of quality and reduction of safety hazards, while flexible, adaptable and globally dependent production regimes act as an extension of sorts to "Fordism", if not even a shift away from it, and represent a new winning formula adapted to the global economy and the flexible production system (Castells 2001:169-172). The entrepreneurial strategy in which the global-local nexus plays a focal role in the calculations of large concerns, becoming more significant in globalisation practice, is called "localism" by Ulrich Beck.

Coca-Cola and Sony, for example, describe their strategy as "global localization". Their bosses and managers stress that the point of globalization is not to build factories everywhere in the world, but to become part of the respective culture (Beck 2000:46).

The marketing campaigns of Coca-Cola, NIKE or McDonald's are based on integration of the local, and also on redirecting the course of popular national sensibilities and conceptions. Those corporations have realised the futility of trying to neutralise cultural diversity through a strategy of global uniformity and have instead entered into "negotiations with the local" in order to ensure a profitable global presence. "Cultural Toyotism" is expressed on the sports market by relying on sporting activities, celebrities and spectacles as culturally resonant means that are utilised in the commercially motivated processes of re-imagining of nation. The fact that many brands are promoted in that way is thanks to the status of sports as globally present forms, but those that are significantly coloured by local dialects (Andrews and Silk 2005:181). However, neither should it be overlooked that some transnational companies have invoked the national in their most recent publicity campaigns, with the emphasis on the local sometimes giving place to emphasising life's values and everyday preferences,¹¹ which opens up the possibility for discussion on the "post-national geography of consumption". The indifferent stance towards the concepts of nation and national identity among certain campaign leaders in marketing agencies indicates diversity; moreover, the contradictory nature of the strategies of particular transnational corporations, just as it unambiguously depicts the changeable context in which nation is continuously being produced and reproduced on the criss-crossed geographic markets of the "global age". With a certain interpretational shift, perhaps such advertising practices that ignore the symbolic echo of the national could be understood not as the "erasure" of local traces, but as a strategy of "higher synthesis"

conceived publicity initiative in diverse national contexts (Andrews and Silk 2005:178-179).

¹¹ Advertisements focus on the seemingly universal moral and heroic characteristics of sportsmen, going beyond their nationality and the national context within which they themselves are consumers (Andrews and Silk 2005:189).

whose aim is to supersede the opposition between the local and global by its synthetic transcendence and its consequent annulment.¹²

THE CLASH BETWEEN COMMUNITY CULTURE AND POPULAR CULTURE IN SPORT

It is precisely in those corporative strategies referred to above, at least as regards the sphere of the production of meaning, that the intersection of the nation-globalisation axis by that of community culture-popular culture comes most to the fore. Namely, the transformation of national sport into global is, nonetheless, still only one form of the local and global relationship on the field of sport, while the other no less important one, fairly much connected with the first, would be the shift of sport from community culture towards popular culture. It is even more important to mention the principle of the "post-national geography of consumption" in regard to the field of sport, as this principle is reshaped and remodelled on various levels. If we were to expand the fan community to the notion of the community of sports consumers, in keeping with Crawford's idea, the mechanisms of social exclusion and inclusion in such communities would assume new and altered contours, while the concept of "popular culture" would become at least as usable in their identification as the concept of the "community culture". If we recall Hargreaves' argumentation on the resistance of nation to globalisation in sport, which leads to the conclusion on nation as the most potent *community* in that sense, Crawford's theses on the changing nature of community, given in the context of an article on the new and different following of sport, would be appearing as an overall revision of the traditional and once self-explanatory meaning of those categories.¹³

Moreover, as a sense of community is lost in many other aspects of wider society and the notion of a 'local community' becomes increasingly fragile, it is the possibility of connecting with more geographically dispersed communities which becomes increasingly significant (Crawford 2004:59).

Sport consumption from above, where the outlines of the community are possibly sketched, offers essentially different insights into the clash between

¹² Bobbio uses the terms *included centre/inclusive centre* regarding the antithetical pair at issue – *right* and *left* – in his book of the same name (1998:33-35). Since the global and local primarily embody contrast rather than complete opposition, the discursive creation of the "post-national geography of consumption" in sport does not in any way need the *third-between*, but rather the *third-beyond*.

¹³ Crawford sets out from Bauman's interpretation of *community*. Since the frameworks of everyday life have become fragile, temporary and fluid in the era of liquid modernity, *community* is experienced as Paradise Lost, a warm place that connotes security and a sense of belonging for the individual (Bauman 2001).

the global and local than is provided by the systemic position of sport in the world of business. The latter reduces complex relations within the structure of the global-local nexus on the principle of domination of global capital, which dictates qualitative and quantitative modifications.

What we once called spectators or audiences are now markets, what were once measured in thousands are now measured in dozens of millions. The global technological and commercial developments at the end of the twentieth century ensured that the shape and character of sports would be changed more radically than at any stage in organized sports history (Cashmore 2005:369-370).

Fragmentised and individualised society urges its members into diverse consumer patterns and practices for the purpose of coping in the world of systemic contradictions and seeking out their own identity (Bauman 2001). All that is manifested in sport, firstly through the new principles of production, and then through the new mechanisms for following and consumption of events and information. Also linked with that are sports products seen as texts that are suitable for reading (consumption) and lived cultures as groups of cultural elements that are active within particular social communities, together creating a circulation of culture.¹⁴ When contemporary sport is in question, one is, of course, speaking about popular culture that rests on foundations other than community culture, perceived as some sort of simultaneous nursery and sanctuary for sport as an historical phenomenon and cultural practice.

Community culture achieves such status as regards sport at least from the perspective of cultural studies, starting from Richard Hoggart when he speaks of the life of the British working class prior to World War II; calling it the "older order" that would later relinquish its place to the new.¹⁵ Hoggart anticipates the possibility of profitable participation in sport through mass production of market goods, while he himself argues for preservation of the traditions of the community, for example, through support for local football clubs. However, what was still possible at his time, the mid-20th century, is out of the question today. However, Hoggart's rare observations on sport were also "enriched" by Hughson, Inglis and Free with his deliberations about the categories of "us" and "them" and his observations on the articulation of working class leisure time, all aimed at showing that the British "community culture" was a more than suitable terrain for identifying everyday practices

¹⁴ Richard Johnson (1996:82-85) writes about the circuit of culture, each phase or aspect of which depends on the others and is an essential part of the whole.

¹⁵ In question are the first and second parts of Hoggart's book *The Uses of Literacy* (1957) (Hughson, Inglis, Free 2005:30-41).

connected with sport.¹⁶ In the early phase of cultural studies, attention was still being drawn away from sport by "more visible" areas of working class culture such as popular music, popular literature or Hollywood films, which could possibly erroneously shape our conception of the status of sport at that time. Jennifer Hargreaves insists particularly on the fact that sport was followed closely by the working class and, in fact, belonged in every aspect to the expanded comprehension of culture, while she is more critical of Hoggart than her colleagues, reproaching him for his merely peripheral mention of sport in a descriptive, superficial and incomplete way (1982:82).

Just like Hoggart, Raymond Williams really only touched on sport in fact, classifying football among the "real" components of culture, in the sense that, like jazz or gardening, it belongs among the products of authentic cultural expression, while he saw watching sport as an enriching form of entertainment.¹⁷ In his democratic social vision, Williams also included fan share-holding in the clubs as a prototype of building community culture. In that process, he believed that, through collective struggle, the fans could ensure their club quasi-independence from commercial corporative ownership. For their part, Hughson, Inglis and Free filled in the blank spaces between his sporadic and rare references to sport and his treatment of "community culture" as the field for overcoming diverse comprehensions of culture – as "lived experience" and as "selective traditions". However, in his book *Television: Technology and Cultural Form*, Williams in some way "saw off" the relocation of sport from the field of "communal" into the "popular", concluding that the democratic and communal traditions of sport had been potentially shaken by the popularisation of sport through the media and its exposure to commercialisation and sponsorship (2003:64-65). For fifteen years now, those same traditions have come under attack on the Internet and in electronic communications, which has resulted in the emergence of a group of fans and their specific mode of shaping contemporary leisure and consumer activities. Paul Willis calls those peculiar relicts of community in popular culture the "proto-communities" (Hughson, Inglis, Free 2005:69-70). It remains debatable to what extent popularisation of sport mediated by the public media, whose accompanying effect would be the integration of sport in the sphere of popular culture, would deactivate the sport consumer and thus appear undemocratic in its ultimate consequences.¹⁸ Watching sport on television, which is becoming a mass phenomenon as a result of the appearance of new globalised models of communication, is still not the same as doing it,

¹⁶ Reading newspaper articles about sport, conversations about sport during breaks at work, and male bonding after matches are some such practices.

¹⁷ This refers to the theses put forward by R. Williams in *Long Revolution* (1961) (Hughson, Inglis, Free 2005:42-43).

¹⁸ Such an evaluation of sport as popular culture is near to Robert Putnam's views given in his book *Bowling Alone* (2000) (Hughson, Inglis, Free 2005:64-67).

so the distinction between an active and a passive stance towards sport can readily be established. However, it is more difficult to accept the statement that watching sport results only in limited forms of community, while following sport on television then implies even more radically the gradual isolation of the individual (Putnam [2000], according to Hughson, Inglis, Free 2005:73-74). This ignores the diverse modes of enjoyment, and also the critical reflections that popular culture puts at people's disposal, establishing itself as pluralistic and socially inclusive and enabling them new means of self-expression (Shils [1961]), according to Hughson, Inglis, and Free 2005:74). Sport consumption, of which watching television is only a small segment, opens up channels of social communication that constantly produce meaning, since the final effect of the circulation of culture is that the consumers become producers.

Uncritical use of the notion of "mass culture" in interpreting the position that sport occupies in society reflects the culturo-elitist attitude on the inherent passivity of the recipient, while adoption of contemporary changes in sport as a step forward by the same towards popular culture offers predispositions for a more complex, and thus probably a more exact, insight into the relation between local and global in the field of sport. That is why it is necessary to re-examine Jennifer Hargreaves' evaluation of the relative unsuitability of sport as a research subject, stated at the beginnings of the definition of cultural studies on sport.

Sport, without question, constitutes a central component of popular culture but it cannot be satisfactorily analysed as an undifferentiated whole. In addition, many of the various forms of sport are irrecoverable for analysis: because sport is immediate and transient it can rarely be reduced to artefacts for examination (Hargreaves, Jennifer 1982:16).

It is evident that the author was thinking of the "common-sense" conception of sport and/or the idealised view of it that impedes every scholarly, let alone interdisciplinary, approach to that social phenomenon. Nonetheless, things are changing for the better in that respect, so that the categorised instruments necessary for adequate theoretical preoccupation with sport have already been crystallised to an extent.

CONCLUSION

Recognising the phenomena of the local and global in sport, firstly through discussion on the relationship between nation and globalisation, as this relationship is presented in the sphere of the local and the global, and then through the presentation of the process of replacing community culture by popular culture, despite how they may be interpreted by various authors, is

not only far from exhausted in this paper, but is barely sufficient for a more relevant evaluation of the issue.

It is theorizing *about* the empirical cases that furthers our understanding of global trends in sport and leisure, the relationship of those trends to expressions of national identity in sport, and the place in that wider context of local cultural forms and practices (Tomlinson 2005:XVIII).

Guided by such a viewpoint, Lozada (2006:207-231) made an attempt on the example of "postsocialist Shanghai, a global economic and cultural center that connects the heartland of central China to the world" to establish how "competing claims of cosmopolitanism and nationalism that are present in everyday cultural practices" (Lozada 2006:207-208) manifest themselves in relation to sport. Including in his research the interest of Chinese citizens in domestic and European football, along with the categories of "community", "popular culture" and "consumption", and describing the ways in which modern sports have served for expression of nationalism in China, he comes to the conclusion that:

Chinese nationalism is neither a privileging of local cultural tradition nor a rejection of modernization and cosmopolitan ideas and practices (Lozada 2006:226).

Such a concluding statement that is fairly general in character manages to be a reminder rather than to provide a concrete answer to the question posed at the beginning of this text, and, for that very reason, one should once more point out the specific feature of sport that should be taken into account in every possible theoretical systematisation of empirical research projects in this field. In other words, something that could be called the mechanism of defence from the calculating nature of corporative capitalism is characteristic to sport. The uncertainty of sport and its capability to induce moments of collective bliss, that are waiting – if at all possible – to be understood validly, ensure the persistent expressions of supra-individual identity. Such forms of collective expression can be well sustained by the strengthening of local cultural phenomena, such as an increasingly down-to-earth view as regards the globalisation project (Tomlinson 2005:231).

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LOKALNO I GLOBALNO U SUVREMENOM SPORTU

SAŽETAK

U članku se pokušava pronaći adekvatan teorijski pristup odnosu lokalnog i globalnog unutar sportskog polja. Pritom se kreće od ideje da se lokalno i globalno u suvremenom svijetu ponajprije sučeljavaju u okvirima kapitalizma i potrošnje te se kao referentne točke rasprave odabiru nacija i globalizacija, odnosno kultura zajednice i popularna kultura. U tu svrhu se problematiziraju pojedini pogledi na kategoriju nacije te određena prepoznavanja učinaka globalizacije, ne bi li se eventualno uvidjelo kakav je konačan rezultat sraza globalizacije i nacije na području suvremenog sporta. Tomu se pridodaje ispitivanje pomaka od kulture zajednice prema popularnoj kulturi kao važne pretpostavke za shvaćanje globalno-lokalnog nekusa u sportu. Supostavljanje ovih dviju istraživačkih paradigmi podrazumijeva interdisciplinarna nastojanja oko povezivanja historiografskih koncepata nacije, socioloških interpretacija globalizacije i kulturnostudijskih tumačenja kategorija kulture i zajednice. Na koncu se ukazuje na specifičnost sporta kao društvenog fenomena, koja bi trebala utjecati na oblikovanje teorijskih i empirijskih modela njegova istraživanja u kontekstu lokalnog i globalnog.

Ključne riječi: suvremeni sport, lokalno, globalno, nacija, globalizacija, kultura zajednice, popularna kultura