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Attention to Sport in a Globalizing World: A Cross-National Analysis

Andrew Breidenbach

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**ATTENTION TO SPORT IN A GLOBALIZING WORLD: A
CROSS-NATIONAL ANALYSIS**

by

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B.A., SOCIOLOGY, EMORY UNIVERSITY, 2010

THESIS

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ABSTRACT

Throughout the last century, sports have become more important than ever to individuals around the world. This project seeks to explore and help explain variation in attention to sport among 34 countries in 2007 using two theories about world development coupled with modernization- and globalization-related arguments. The aim is to show how the host of concepts contained within these theories can be used cohesively to help understand world regional and national differences in participation and viewing rates, as well as the motives which drive these forms of attention to sport. The project seeks to push predominant development theories to consider how current attitudes and behaviors in sport can be explained by both world-systems and world polity theories. I find that modernization and world polity processes bolster active participation while shifting and creating a multitude of attitudes about the meanings and functions of sport. World-systems processes constrain participation but contribute to higher visual attention through increased commercialization while simultaneously promoting a paradigm of competitive

sport. The interaction between global forces and local settings helps create and maintain unique regional variation in attention to sport due to historical processes of diffusion and exploration. The findings suggest that processes deriving from the global spread of capitalism create opportunities to engage in sport in some regions at the expense of other regions. The analysis suggests a need for increased research and specification of the top-down mechanisms which either enable or restrict participation and visual attention, as well as the shift over time in attitudes towards sport in modern, as compared to modernizing, countries.

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Introduction

Throughout the last century, sports have become more important than ever to individuals around the world. There are more activities than ever before to choose from for physical recreation needs. Participation has risen, boosted by the well-publicized health benefits of sport and propelled by global economic growth which is allowing more people to pursue sports as hobbies. People spend more time watching sports now, too, from local games to overseas professional matches, thanks to advanced media technology. Commercialization processes have been increasingly mediating sport and raising its public profile, making sport a staple on TVs, radios and computer screens worldwide. These facts only begin to demonstrate how people seem to be paying more attention to sport currently than in the past- by playing it more, watching it more, and finding it overall more important in individual and social life. Although it is clear that attention to sport has certainly increased over time, it is much less clear how this attention varies across countries. The implications of this are huge. Without systematic analysis of the differences between nations in their reasons for partaking in sport, in their frequency and type of participation, and their frequency and preference of televised sport, we remain without a clear understanding of how sport operates in different national contexts and fail to grasp the significant differences in how residents in one nation approach sport versus residents of another country.

In this project, I explore and help explain variation in attention to sport among countries in 2007 using two theories about world development coupled with modernization- and globalization-related arguments. The aim is to show how the host of concepts contained within these theories can be used cohesively to help understand the differences in attention to sport across countries today and to see how country-level aggregate factors are related to

attention to sport. The project seeks to push predominant development theories to consider how current attitudes and behaviors in sport can be explained by both world-systems and world polity theories. Overall, I seek to make a theoretical contribution to both schools of thought by demonstrating how the domain of sport actually fits quite neatly within the frameworks of both world-level theories, though neither in their respective fields have gone into a significant discussion on the significance of sport. Empirically, I hope to contribute to the literature of the growing field of sports scholars who find significance in studying international variation in sporting attitudes and behaviors.

Globalization processes contribute to an increasingly complex, interdependent and dynamic world (Giulianotti & Robertson, 2007). These processes circulate capital, as well as people, their attitudes, beliefs and practices among an ever-growing number of countries which decide to take part in the global system. Sport and physical activities are part of the overall cultural diffusion which spreads from country to country. Although still understudied, the domain of sport has grown in significance in multiple ways in the last half-century (Washington & Karen, 2001). One need only compare the global economic importance of sport today, in contrast to the 1950s, to see sports' heightened prominence in modern life. Sports' cultural significance likewise seems to be more important than ever in providing individuals with a sense of community, identity and way of life. Sports and recreation are no longer mere hobbies, but lifestyles and rationalized roles with entire identities and industries based around them (Frank & Meyer, 2002). Within modern polities which demonstrate commitment to human rights and freedom, and compared to earlier eras, individuals are relatively more free to pursue and enjoy various athletic activities without the restrictions and exclusivity of earlier times. This is represented everywhere from increased racial diversity in

the NCAA to the entrance of women into new, previously male-only sporting domains like rugby and hockey. Globalization's impact on this overall expansion in the sport and recreation domain should be examined with respect to how it might affect people's attention to sport, particularly how they conceive of sport and the best uses for it.

In a most general way, studying and comparing how different nations spend their leisure time outside of work seems like a fruitful endeavor. As cultural practices, sport and leisure time activities can tell us much about the "psyche" of a nation and what values are deemed to be important there (Pacheco, 2010). How people spend their free-time should reflect to some degree the socio-cultural attitudes they hold, because the activities people freely choose to participate in should logically resonate for the most part with their internal value and belief systems. In other words, people's social and cultural attitudes are reflected in the hobbies and pastimes they enjoy. These attitudes are shaped in part by local institutions, but these institutions, like the actors themselves, are affected by globalizing processes which both enable and constrict social actors at all levels, from individual people to ethnic communities and nation-states. This project attempts to frame the current variation in attention to sport within the ongoing processes and effects of both the world political economy, with its complicated and uneven division of labor, and the new world cultural order created after World War II which sets strong global standards on rights, welfare and progress.

Several scholars have sought to connect sport and leisure time activities with larger cultural and structural dynamics, most notably Bourdieu in *Distinction* (1984). Bourdieu focuses on crystallizing the connection between class *habitus* and the sports that a class participates in, but his theory can become overly deterministic when class becomes the sole

factor in explaining why people play the sports they do. This project approaches the connections between sport/leisure time activities, socio-cultural attitudes and globalization processes using different strands of globalization and institutional theories. These theories should prove useful in thinking how sports and leisure activities, as well as the cultural belief systems behind them, became established in countries, regions and the global community. Historical trajectories resulting from the rise of inter-state exploration and trade and the subsequent structural characteristics provide many of the parameters within which sport and leisure opportunities in a country develop. Global diffusion processes seem to do much of the rest of the work, although there is much to be clarified in exactly how that plays out. This project, as an exploratory investigation of cross-national variation in attention to sports, takes the first steps in articulating how structural and cultural factors at the global and national level might be associated with how people conceive of, watch and play sports.

Study Rationale

The rationale for this study comes primarily from the reasons mentioned in the previous section, namely a steady growth in the general importance of sport in people's lives, the potential usefulness of examining sport and leisure activities as evidence of cultural attitudes and legacies, and a need for theoretical clarification on sports diffusion. The project also draws on the availability of recent and relevant data to inquire about the state of sport across the world in the 21st century. The data comes from the 2007 module of the International Social Survey Program which queried individuals from 34 countries on their attitudes and behaviors concerning sport and leisure (Scholz, Lenzner & Heller, 2009). Data collection took place from mid-2006 to mid-2008 via face-to-face interview, mailed survey, and self-completion questionnaire. Sampling procedures differed across countries, but were

based on part simple, part multi-stage stratified random sampling procedures. Although the data is cross-sectional and does not allow for identification of trends over time, one can still make valid inferences about the differences in attention to sport across countries at one point in time. The total n for the sample amounts to nearly 50,000 individual cases, an ample number for cross-national analysis. The module contains a rich amount of information at the individual level, such as respondents' sex, age, race, education and income, as well as individual beliefs about the motivators and purposes behind sport and leisure activities. This allows for a wide range of possible independent and dependent variables, at least at the individual level, as well as at the country level using mean scores. In addition to these sport-related variables, I compiled and integrated additional country-level variables for each of the 34 nations, or for as many as I could find (Taiwan often was difficult to obtain separate data for). A detailed discussion of the character of the data will be found in Appendix B: Study Data. Using country mean scores from the ISSP data combined with these additional country-level variables allows one to perform an array of analyses. This type of approach has not been frequently used, although recently Humphreys et al. (2012) utilized the same 2007 ISSP data and added different country-level factors in a working paper which attempts to build probit models of sports participation across countries. Recently, though, few if any sociologists have taken note of the wealth of cultural data available in the 2007 ISSP module. This study will more thoroughly investigate the data for trends, patterns and regional characteristics and will follow in the footsteps of recent scholars who have also examined sports participation across countries.

Few studies have embarked on a cross-national analysis of sports participation and those that have tend to rely on standardized questionnaires like the Physical Activity

Questionnaire and the International Physical Activity and Environment Network

questionnaire. The exceptions are Rütten and Abu-Omar (2004) and Van Tuyckom (2011), which both use Eurobarometer data. Charlotte Van Tuyckom (2011) supplemented data from Eurobarometer 64.3 with data from the World Health Organization and the World Bank. Her results are among the first to expose the interconnections between country-level factors and individual physical activity. Although the results are limited to one continent, she finds that physical activity is positively associated with political stability, effectiveness of government, control of corruption, independence of the media, public expenditures on health and GNP. Humphreys et al. (2012) as noted above, extend the inquiry further in the economics field, their results mostly aligning with Van Tuyckom's, concluding that institutional characteristics which promote economic freedom and gender equality are positively correlated with individuals' decisions to take part in physical activity. This study attempts to verify Humphreys et al. (2012) and Van Tuyckom (2011) and to further discussion by incorporating sociological theoretical concepts as guidelines along which to view the overall variation in attention to sports and leisure.

In chapter one, I review relevant theoretical materials and present propositions that logically emerge from those materials. The chapter concludes with the creation of a synthetic model which represents the propositions that will guide the present inquiry. In chapter two, I define key variables of the synthetic model and note measures that will be used to capture those variables. The chapter ends with a more specified version of the synthetic model, now with key variables and the measures that will be used to guide the empirical inquiry. The model represents hypotheses to be investigated. Chapter three provides an analysis of the current data describing the character of attention to sport among the 34 countries in the study,

and then examines correlations that provide an assessment of the hypotheses represented in the model presented in chapter two. In the fourth chapter, I conclude with an overview of the current inquiry, a discussion of the limitations of the study and a forecast for where the study will proceed from here.

Chapter 1: Theoretical Guidelines

The goal here is not to falsify or verify these theories, since all are quite broad, overlap to a degree and could be used equally well to argue for the current state of affairs regarding sport and leisure opportunities around the world. I approach the theories as if they were toolboxes full of concepts and driving structural principles and trains of thought. Just as some of the theories I work with deal with the same concept, some of the variables I employ can be used in multiple contexts, for example democracy and GDP per capita. As such, the boundaries between variables are loose and permeable. For example, democracy is a variable that can appear in all three theories. As I develop each theoretical framework, I make a few propositions (in *italics*) along the way regarding the direction of variation or the specific patterns I expect to observe, based off the proposed causal logic for each theoretical field. The contribution I seek to make lies in exploring the theoretical utility of each model and how each can explain different sides of the same story. World-systems and world polity theory have been little used to demonstrate globalization's impact on the sport and leisure field. I seek to apply these theories in new ways and to further develop their utility by examining how sport and leisure pursuits, as cultural practices, can reflect a nation's past history of domination or oppression as well as its current status in the international community. Modernization theory is used here to help elaborate the process of development- the economic changes, the structural-functional changes, and the evolution of individual psychologies in a modernized society. The other theoretical field that I draw from is the global-local culture literature, which deals with how local culture reacts to the reach of global culture into more corners of the world.

In the following sections, I will review the main concepts and features of each theoretical area and intermittently theorize and put forth propositions regarding the patterns I expect to see in the data. This review of the relevant theories and their respective propositions will be followed by a general model which represents those propositions. This model will guide the inquiry and will be expanded on later.

Modernization

The first useful literature to draw from in terms of world development is the modernization school, which examines the “processes of transformation from traditional or underdeveloped societies to modern societies” (Armer & Katsillis, 1992, p. 1883). The theory is built on basic assumptions about societal development: that societies evolve over time in stages from basic forms to more differentiated and complex forms (Bellah & Durkheim, 1973) and that in this process cultural values can inhibit or promote evolution (Weber, 1946). Essentially, modernization explains societal development as Westernization whereby lesser-developed countries begin to make changes so that their social, economic and political systems end up resembling those countries in Western Europe and North America in the late 18th and 19th centuries. In particular, modernization looks at the consequences of capitalist economic development and industrialization, including social-psychological changes (Inkeles & Smith, 1974). It should be noted that modernization views societies as generally composed of harmonious, interdependent structural and cultural components. As the degree of specialization and differentiation of these components grows, societies end up becoming much more productive when compared to earlier times. The upshot is that societies eventually all end up developing in the manner of Westernized countries which began the transformation first. The import of advanced Western technology often starts the process of

transformation from pre-modern to modern. As this technology transforms the division of labor, new social forms and patterns arise which permit more productivity or functionality. Parsons (1964) emphasized the power of “evolutionary universals” such as money markets and organizational forms like the bureaucracy as universally applicable social forms which raise the adaptive capacity of a society and lead to more efficient social arrangements, as well as the inculcation of a set of internalized, abstract and universalistic norms which structure and propel a smoothly-running modern society. Some of these norms include the possession of empathy (Lerner & Pevsner, 1958) and a great trust in abstract systems of knowledge (Giddens, 1990). Without these norms, which in pre-modern society do not exist in such form, modern society could not operate coherently. Thus, pre-modern society is seen as the opposite of and incompatible with modern society. A relatively succinct and helpful summary of the actual concrete, empirical effects of modernization is worth quoting at length:

[Modern] societies are characterized by high levels of urbanization, literacy, research, health care, secularization, bureaucracy, mass media, and transportation facilities. Kinship ties are weaker and nuclear conjugal family systems prevail. Birthrates and death rates are lower and life expectancy is relatively longer. In the political realm, the society becomes more participatory in decision-making processes and typical institutions include universal suffrage, political parties, a civil service bureaucracy and parliaments. Traditional sources of authority are weaker as bureaucratic institutions assume responsibility and power. In the economic realm, there is more industrialization, technical upgrading of production, replacement of exchange economies with extensive money markets, increased division of labor, growth of infrastructure and commercial facilities and the development of large-scale markets. Associated with these structural changes are cultural changes in role relations and personality variables. Social relations are more bureaucratic, social mobility increases, and status relations are based less on ascriptive criteria as age, gender, or ethnicity and more on meritocratic criteria. There is a shift from relations based on

tradition and loyalty to those based on rational exchange, competence and other universally applied criteria. People are more receptive to change, more interested in the future, more achievement-oriented, more concerned with the rights of individuals and less fatalistic. (Armer and Katsillis 1992, p. 1884-5)

This description of what modernization looks like leads one to several expectations regarding attention to sport. The higher levels of education, health care, mass media and transport provide more stable institutions which satisfy more efficiently the needs of humans and overall contribute to increased leisure time, which would then be spent on increased participation and viewing attention. More modern societies structured around abstract norms and principles are supposedly more rational-functional, have a higher adaptive capacity and in that sense are open to and more accessible to more people.

Proposition 1a: *A modernization perspective would expect more modern societies, then, as measured by higher levels of GDP per capita, public health expenditures, public education spending and tertiary school enrollments, to end up having higher levels of attention to sport than less modern societies. Governments that embrace abstract norms and principles in the name of modernization end up providing more for their citizens as far as job opportunities, health care and educational institutions, and create the stable infrastructure needed for larger segments of the population to enjoy sport.*

One primary effect of modernization is the spread of democracy, witnessed in the 20th century around the world in multiple waves. Lipset (1959) in an influential piece examines some of the social requisites of democracy. For him, stable democracies result from an effective economic development complex. This complex is characterized by four trends: industrialization, increasing wealth, urbanization and education. The presence of these trends

alone is not enough to bring about democracy, he notes, citing Germany as a case where all four were present but because of adverse historical conditions imposed on the Germans after WWI, democracy was not seen as a viable option. Weber (1949) made a case early on that differences in national patterns across countries frequently were a result of certain, local historical events which set in motion one sequence of events in one country, and a different sequence in another. Thus, in a country which has had a history of democratic institutions, there is likely a higher chance for democracy to succeed there. He notes that fledgling democracies can help foster conditions which support their growth by encouraging literacy, education and the growth of civil society which is autonomous from the state. He also recognizes that democracy is not an either-or condition and is actually a scale variable which is made up a complex of characteristics. Weber (1906) might have been right when he made the case that ideal democracy only occurs under the specific conditions of capitalist industrialization. For when Lipset in 1958 attempts to characterize the locations of democracy around the world, he notes that only in the traditionally underdeveloped, non-industrialized regions (Eastern Europe, most of the global South) is there a lack of enduring political democracy. Economic development has most consistently been linked with democracy, essentially meaning that the wealthier a country, the more likely it is to have democratic features. This line of argument stretches back to Aristotle who, along with others, claimed that only in a society where all the basic needs of man were met could there exist a capable populace which had the time, education and motivation to intelligently participate in local politics. A country which has grossly unequal wealth distribution and where self-sustaining economic development has not really “taken off” was seen to foster oligarchy or tyranny, and he remarks that this is the case in the USSR and in Latin America. He finds

industrialization, measured as a drop in levels of agricultural labor, as well as urbanization, measured by the percent of the population living in cities of at least twenty thousand residents, to be correlated with democracy. Education is also found to be a basic ingredient of democracy:

Education presumably broadens men's outlooks, enables them to understand the need for norms of tolerance, restrains them from adhering to extremist and monistic doctrines and increases their capacity to make rational electoral choices. (Lipset, 1958, p. 79)

Overall, what economic development does is, in effect, moderate the "class struggle" (p. 83). The higher levels of economic security and income, coupled with education, allow those in these growing middle classes to develop more balanced and gradualist views of politics which are not heavily extremist in one direction or another. Wealth and education also expose this class to more cross-cutting affiliations and pressures which lessen their commitment to any one given ideology and promote them to make rational, weighted decisions concerning political allegiances. In essence, their eyes are opened to participation in a larger national culture which is promoting good citizenship in the post-war era, and they are less grounded in strictly working- or lower-class based cultures. The growing wealth in the middle classes changes the stratification pyramid into a diamond with a more normal distribution of income centered around the median. This middle class can help advance democracy by rewarding politicians who align with their increasingly modern and rationalized views and ostracizing those who exhibit extremist orientations. The development of civil society (De Tocqueville & Frohnen, 2003) goes hand in hand with the education and wealth increases. These relatively independent organizations help balance political and economic power away from the state and serve as a hotbed of new ideas, opinions and

beliefs. They are an essential democratic vehicle outside of the state. These changes have implications for how sport develops and is conceived in a country.

Proposition 1b: *A modernization perspective would expect wealthier and more educated countries to have more moderate and less extremist views on the importance of sport, due to their realization of the importance of balanced, middle-ground views. That is, more modern countries will rate sport not as minimally or maximally important, but as moderately important.*

Moore (1965) discusses some of the consequences of industrialization. First and foremost is the change in productive organization. Workers develop new relationships with technology, and workers' relations to technology influence their relations with each other. Work relations, now structured by money exchanges, become impersonalized and rationalized. This flies in the face of the traditional division of labor in pre-modern societies which is structured more by kinship or loyalty obligations. Administration of labor comes to be organized under codes of abstract rules which are essential for efficient operation. Other economic consequences help restructure life outside work. Occupational hierarchies shift and labor becomes more mobile as various job opportunities flourish with the increase in education and technology. The movement of goods and services through the economy also takes on a more balanced nature as the middle classes begin to participate in a growing consumer economy. Consumption and lifestyle patterns change in response to the flexibility and efficacy of the new system. Lastly, economic security and growing wealth levels promote population growth and urbanization. Modernization first brought lowered death rates as a result of better medical technology, and only later did it lower fertility rates,

leading to a long period of population expansion in modernized societies. Accordingly, the demographic structure in these countries changed- those nations which were most developed contained the highest proportions of seniors while the underdeveloped regions contained the most youth highest proportions of youth. Migration patterns also change. In response to growing variation in economic opportunities around the world, cross-national flows of people accelerate. Urban living gains appeal in contrast to rural areas due to the greater availability of public and municipal services in cities. Especially considering these examples of effects of industrialization,

Proposition 1c: *From a modernization perspective, I would expect to see increased attention to sport in more modern societies, particularly in the light of increased income, production and the promotion of a consumerist lifestyle. Greater relative income, assuming general costs of living stay about the same, should foster more leisure spending, which could easily lead to greater attention to sport. The growth of markets and the incredible expansion of advertising should promote sport as a marketable cultural activity and in particular predict higher viewing attention and likely the burgeoning of professional, corporate sport.*

World-Systems

The world-systems perspective has several driving trains of thought or proposed causal processes. One of the main ones is the spread of capitalism to the modern world. The crisis of feudalism combined with recent advancements in technology gave Western European countries motive to explore the world and seek new markets and materials for profit. These countries also, by capitalizing on initially small differences and specializing in activities which would become vital to world commerce (Wallerstein, 1974), set the

standards and expectations of what would become the global institution of capitalist trade and commerce. They created and enforced the “rules of the game” which all other countries must now more or less abide by if they wish to take part in global trade. As rational-minded business interests developed in the European core, they sought ways to increase profits, which led to more outsourcing of jobs to low-wage labor zones, not to mention areas that lacked effective political organization. This was the beginning of the world-system division of labor, a soon to be global core-maintained hierarchy which kept capital-intensive work in the core countries which had stronger states and sent labor-intensive work to peripheral countries which had weaker states.

Massive entities known as transnational corporations (TNCs), which can have economies that are bigger than some nations’ (Coakley, 2009), thrive off the decentralized global political economy by “running away” to developing countries and exploiting their labor force, which is used to living off of relatively low wages. Further, when the corporation funnels most of the profits back to the homeland, workers aren’t left with enough to save and the corporation ends up contributing very minimally to the growth of the local economy, fostering dependency on them as the primary local employer. This maintains an inequality between the rich and the poor nations, especially when offers of aid or “official development assistance” to the periphery from the core are backed up by international organizations like the IMF and the World Bank and conditional upon developing countries’ adoption of neoliberal “structural adjustment programs” in which they open their fragile economies up to the pressures of the world system, despite the severe risks involved (Chase-Dunn, 1998). The inequality plays out with opposite consequences for the core and periphery- the core nations get relatively richer as their proportion of free time and disposable income grows. The

periphery nations suffer from long working hours under often more strenuous conditions; they have relatively less free time and disposable income. The inequality also shows up in how much nations contribute to the global economy, demonstrated in the value of their merchandise exports. Much of the real valuable export material comes from core countries with advanced technology like Germany and the U.S., with Japan and France in a distant third and fourth. Countries like the Dominican Republic and Uruguay simply do not have the technology to export goods at the same level and value that core countries do.

Proposition 2a: *From a world-systems standpoint, core nations, as a function of their increased free time and disposable income, as well as their relatively less labor-intensive work, should participate in sports more often. Underdeveloped and developing nations, because they are less politically and economically powerful, would not enjoy the relative incomes or amount of free time the richer nations do and would have less participation in sport.*

Proposition 2b: *A world-systems lens would expect more merchandise exports, as a measure of how much a country contributes to the world economy, to be associated with higher attention to sport. This demonstrates that the country is economically productive, has more leisure time, and thus can afford more attention to sport.*

Proposition 2c: *The world-systems perspective would expect peripheral regions, where the cost of labor is very cheap compared to developed countries, to have a more unequal income distribution than in core countries. This inequality is usually associated with concentrated wealth at the top of the pyramid and a large and impoverished lower-class, which would likely be less able to afford participation in sport.*

Proposition 2d: *From a world-systems point of view, I would expect official development assistance from organizations like the OECD or the IMF to indicate that a country's population cannot afford much attention to sports, but ODA might have a longer-term positive association with attention to sport if that development comes with strings attached like neoliberal economic reforms, which open up the country to many more imports, and democratic-oriented policy changes, which encourage further political participation from the population.*

A second main causal sequence involves core nations' attempts to impose their culture as hegemony on the rest of the world. One can see this historical process via a brief look at various colonization efforts, as well as in contemporary times by media diffusion. On their quest for capital around the world, fueled by the gains to be made from commodification, European and North American exploration and conquest colonized foreign lands and extended their borders through imperial forces. As British, French and American traveled around the world on military and commercial diffusion processes, they brought their cultures with them. Among their cultural practices were sports and games. Competitive and highly-rule bound sports like soccer and baseball were introduced to local cultures and quickly garnered a following and established a fan base. This still occurs today when television viewers around the world find themselves able to tune into a growing network of elite professional sport coverage, mainly devoted to following the most competitive European and North American sports leagues. In both cases, the popularity of Western sport would rise relative to native or traditional sports.

Proposition 2e: *From a world-systems perspective, I would expect to see similar viewing attention to popular televised sport in peripheral countries as well as core countries.*

Though peripheral populations may not be able to afford to play sport as often as other countries, they still likely give visual attention to sport just as much if not more than core countries.

Unequal capitalist development and colonization processes do quite a bit of initial shaping of state-level differences in political and economic structures. The specific configurations of both the political and economic sectors seem crucial to the development of sport and leisure opportunities in a nation. Strong states, because of their militarily powerful army, as well as their diverse economy and institutional structure, could likely foster more opportunities for attention to sport than weaker states which have more specialized economies, less powerful militaries and less stable governments (Wallerstein, 1974). For instance, in weaker countries, certain institutions dominate over others, such as religion in theocratic regimes or the military in juntas and dictatorships. These are examples of states where power is held by force and not usually by popular legitimated authority. Other institutions such as education, health, science or sport are given diminished status and resources in comparison to other countries' similar institutions. As a result, certain cultural domains such as sport are restricted to a large degree, either because people cannot obtain adequate equipment because of legal constraints or because actually practicing the sport would result in prosecution. In strong states, power is more balanced among institutions and democracy is common, which helps provide a general framework for multiple groups to contribute to the political, economic and cultural tapestry of a nation. The outcomes would be that more segments of the population would be able to participate in social life on an equal playing field, as well as a more stable government which is legitimated by the people and responsible to the people.

Similarly, political systems vary on what activities count as sport, which sports get funding and who gets to participate (Coakley, 2009). Conceptions about sport in multi-party democracies likely differ from those in autocratic regimes. Democratic governments are characterized by cultural diversity and the promotion of individual choice, likely leading to a broad array of sports and leisure activities. Autocracies have more restricted views about what activities and sports are acceptable, as well as conditions for them, and thus there is likely to be less variation in sport and leisure there. Certain autocracies such as the former USSR and China have embraced the chance to gain prestige on an international forum by investing heavily in state athletics. In these countries, resources for sport are often directed to elite athletics and not to local participation, meaning sports shops and facilities open to the public are few and far between. Market economies usually have few restraints on imports, meaning a range of diverse cultural products and services on the market, encouraging the individual to explore and exercise freedom of choice in taste and preference. On the other hand, closed or planned economies are more insulated from external influences and would presumably have less foreign cultural exchange, leading to a nearly-fixed number of activities which are mostly seen as traditional and ritualized by the state. I would be aware of a country's recent history, if it was annexed in the last century or so, whether it was part of the USSR and see what the attention to sport might look like in those countries which have been occupied or annexed.

Proposition 2f: *A world-systems perspective would expect attention to sport to be lower in areas which have been colonized or militarily occupied. Long-term colonial occupation often results in a legacy of economic underdevelopment that constrains residents' incomes and results in lower participation than in non-colonized countries.*

In the WS model, dominant groups end up controlling institutions like the government and using them to stay in power and also to make money. Government's role in sport is presumably self-interested and self-benefiting. One needs to keep in mind the multiple functions which sport may be fulfilling for governments. For example, governments which promote more competitive sports like Olympic sports do so for good reasons. These sports often make reference to the fact that success is attributable to individual achievements and hard work in highly competitive environments. Governments generally have vested interests in maintaining the idea that success is based on loyalty, determination, discipline and a strong work ethic in the face of difficulties. Competitive sports, then, help to reproduce values necessary to drive the capitalist engine, but they also are co-opted by the socialist state. When sports are used to help foster such ideologies, they advance particular interpretations of how social life should operate (Coakley, 2009). They make it seem natural and universal that competition is the only way to allocate resources amongst populations. This acceptance of competition as the reigning paradigm of social life works in favor of the core countries which benefit most from global capitalism. As these core countries promote their competitive sports around the world, other populations are exposed to these "value-added items", since one can't remove sport from the ideology which accompanies it. Competitive sports function fluidly and globally as cultural vehicles for the promotion of capitalist values.

Proposition 2g: *World-systems perspective would also expect to see developing countries as those countries which rank competition as being most important for sport. I would also look for the reverse, that developed countries will be the ones which rank competitive sport as less important and would pursue sport for other reasons. The ideology*

of competition is already well-established in the most developed countries, and sport in those countries does not need to function solely as a tool to reinforce that.

World Polity/Culture

Since at least the 1850s, there has been the development of a rationalized and institutionalized world cultural order with normative and moral dimensions. This world culture is reflected in an array of standardized world models which provide nations, organizations and individuals with blueprints for how to structure themselves and define their goals. The growing adoption of similar forms of government, organizational structure and education, for example, leads to rampant isomorphism as more places around the world subscribe to similar models and scripts about how social life should operate (Lechner, 2000; Meyer, 2010; Meyer & Jepperson, 2000). The high institutional pressure is exposed as countries often adopt these policies and structures without the economic means of actually implementing them, merely seeking the veneer of legitimacy from more powerful states and world-level actors. So despite powerful groups commanding state institutions, their self-interests are tempered by the world cultural order which legitimates organizations and individuals to hold their political assemblies accountable.

As with modernization, several interrelated trends contribute to further enable growth and progression in society. First, democracy comes to be championed as the pre-eminent model of political organization, especially after World War II. Its equal representation principle makes it the model which fits best with the new cultural mentality of individualism and human rights which sweeps through the world after the horrific revelations of the atrocities of the War and the Holocaust. Subsequently, marginalized and disadvantaged

groups (women, gays and lesbians, ethnic groups) take advantage of this shift in great numbers and begin demanding greater recognition and rights from the state (Frank & McEneaney, 1999). Their political representation rises and with their newfound power they gain the ability to maintain local distinction by supporting traditional or local sport. The expansion of education has much to do with the rising tide of social action in the global arena. States begin to recognize that there is no such thing as “too much education” for someone or too much cultural capital (Meyer, 2007), in the face of rising competition from other nations for economic power. As people move through the education system, they gain the knowledge and skills to truly become agentic actors, in the constructivist sense. Their schooling provides them with a common background and understanding of what it means to participate in the world. With their increased set of skills and resources, they can then contribute locally as well as globally in the cultural diffusion process (Boli, 2005). Perhaps the most general link one might be able to draw in this scenario is one between the overall freedom in a country and the number of sports and leisure activities which are permitted there.

Proposition 3a: *From a world polity point of view, I would expect to find more variation in the types of sports most often played and watched in countries with higher levels of individualism and personal freedoms. These should be places which tolerate a wide range of sports and leisure pursuits- namely the developed regions such as North America, Europe and Scandinavia. The diversity in sport in those countries will likely be associated with more active populations and a wider distribution of attention to sport, meaning attention is not concentrated around just a few sports, but spread among many.*

Different activities and experiences come to be regarded as acceptable in a nation through a long and constantly negotiated process among social actors at all levels. One way to conceptualize more activities being legitimated by the state is a simultaneous population-driven upward and world-cultural downward pressure which is put on states to recognize more individuals and their cultures as deserving of equal status with others. More groups come forth to assert their entitlement to certain rights, while world culture, promoted by and embedded in international social movements but also college students, backs up these groups' claims to the common buzzwords of the modern day: equality, liberty, freedom, tolerance, and diversity. In a sense, conforming to world models implies homogeny: groups use similar tactics and arguments to fight for the same basic rights (Frank and Meyer, 2002), while governments all increasingly model their political structures based on well-known democratic configurations (Przeworski, Alvarez, Cheibub & Limongi, 2000). But world culture in the modern polity also argues for the maintenance and preservation of very distinct and famous cultures. For example, UNESCO now actively promotes and preserves traditional sports and games in its mission to protect cultural heritage around the world. In comparison to yesteryear, people nowadays have unprecedented ability to select from an ever-growing number of lifestyle and consumption choices. Gradually, more and more people have gained rights to culturally express themselves in a near-countless number of ways. This evolution is remarkable when compared to life in earlier, pre-modern times, before true global consciousness and establishment of a global moral order ever set in.

An under-theorized (in the world polity literature) but in my view important sequence in the cultural diffusion process is the incredibly expedited and unimpeded flow of information across the world and how the Internet largely carries this process nowadays.

Multiple different actors come into play in this process. In the first place, this technology develops in the West and then with time becomes standard in the middle- and upper-classes of the world. People increasingly learn how to use it for their own purposes but their use of this technology is heavily influenced by the most popular forms of publication and dissemination. In other words, if someone is going to make a video and post it online, they will likely take influences from other videos they have already seen online and they will construct the video in a way similar to many others. The choice to publish it on YouTube might even be a taken-for-granted choice, considering that YouTube has rationalized and perfected the video-uploading and publishing process perhaps more than any other platform.

At the same time, governments are being petitioned, from international organizations to their own citizens, to allow their population more access to information and media. A country's connections to world society matter much here, with a strong predictor of "linkage" to this global culture being the amount of international non-governmental organizations (INGOs) active in a country. International organizations, like Amnesty International, The Red Cross, Human Rights Watch and Greenpeace disseminate cultural scripts, shared cognitive frames and understandings about the identity, goals and activities of actors at all social levels (Drori, Meyer & Hwang, 2006). The goals of INGOs are often optimistic in the sense that they strive toward an ideal utopia, demanding ever more progress and improvement in their respective fields. Overall, they emphasize a world where societies should strive for cooperation.

They do not emphasize competitive, hostile and oppositional relations, but stress the importance of civic virtue on a world scale. So it is good to open boundaries, not to close them. It is good to communicate and exchange, not to intensify (let alone militarize) conflict. (Meyer, 2007, p. 263)

One shared cognitive frame might be that countries which want to participate in the modern world should be connected to the Internet and moreover should allow predominantly unfiltered access (Pearce, 2012). In sum then, both the top-down and bottom-up processes dismantle barriers to the flow of information.

Proposition 3b: *A world polity perspective would expect counts of INGOs in a country to be positively associated with sports participation, as more policies and guidelines are disseminated through schools and the media which encourage physical activity.*

Proposition 3c: *The world polity lens would also anticipate INGOs, spreading a universalistic and overall peaceful world culture, to have a positive association with sport for health reasons.*

Proposition 3d: *Through the world polity lens, I would expect Internet use to have a positive effect on all viewing attention to sports and perhaps even for reasons such as looking good, if the Internet broadens someone's sports viewing and exposes them to foreign elite talent.*

Proposition 3e: *A world polity perspective would expect Internet users to be more socially connected, so I would expect a positive relation between increased Internet use and playing sport for social purposes.*

Global-Local Interaction

Though the previous world-level development theories have been useful in providing concepts and causal logics for analysis of the data, they are certainly not complete in their explanations of the current state of sports. Thus, I draw on sociological literature which has

examined the nature of global-local cultural diffusion concerning sports. In particular, I would also like to draw attention to the way those world-level processes have been theorized to play out in the context of varying regional and local cultures and how that interaction leads to differences across countries, as well as similarity within regions, in attention to sport. As such I will briefly describe the globalization and sport debate that took place in the *Sociology of Sport Journal* in the early 1990s.

In one of the first issues of the journal, Joe Maguire (1990) touched off a debate that would last years when he used the term Americanization to describe the making of American football in England. His argument was essentially that the introduction of American gridiron football into British culture had to be examined within the context of a more general Americanization of British culture. He also highlighted how media corporations and multinational corporations had interwoven interests in creating a market not just for football but for the lucrative merchandise, sponsorships and endorsements which accompany it. Wagner (1990) in the same issue comments and argues that instead of specific Americanization occurring, what is more generally happening is a growing homogenization, a mundialization. All sports are becoming more ubiquitous, international competitions are taking off, the media has an unprecedented ability to televise and broadcast all of this to an ever-growing population, and there's a growing recognition of the political importance of sport, especially in Asia and Africa. In general he claims sports are getting more similar and less different over time and that modernization and economic development are largely behind the other trends.

Guttmann (1991) in the next issue responds to both, claiming that the most important factor behind sports diffusion is the relative political, economic and cultural power involved

with the interacting countries. He cautions against the use of cultural imperialism, noting that dominated countries sometimes influence the sports of dominant ones, citing the cases of polo and judo. Instead, the term cultural hegemony works better because cultural interaction and diffusion isn't simply just a top-down imposition on the powerless, but rather a negotiated terrain. Sports diffusion also happens within countries among various demographics and social class is of great importance in this matter (Bourdieu [1978, 1988] is well-known for going into considerable detail on this). Traditional sports are likely to survive for quite a while, only their formal structure might undergo some renovation in order to modernize it and keep it current; sumo wrestling, for instance, has become heavily quantified in recent decades. With all this in mind, I would examine how the participation and viewing attention for the top three sports to play and watch varies by country.

Proposition 4a: *From a global-local perspective, I would expect lower numbers for the two “top three” variables to possibly signal increased sports diffusion and thus a greater variety of sports reported played or watched. Higher numbers point to more general consensus on what the most popular sports really are.*

Proposition 4b: *The global-local view would also expect the presence of some sports which are coded as “other” in this survey because they are too localized and do not have a broad enough base. These lesser-known sports still command significant attention in their home regions and demonstrate how not all attention to sport is globalized.*

Houlihan (1994) revisits the concept of cultural imperialism and identifies separate varieties of globalization which occur when a local culture (recipient country) exhibits a passive, participative or conflictual response to global culture (foreign sport). First, Houlihan problematizes the idea of analyzing culture as a totality. In turn, he attempts to separate core

from peripheral elements of culture (Hannerz, 1990). This turns out to raise many questions about the reach of global culture and the nature of reaction to that reach. Much of the reach is the spread of consumer culture, and neo-Marxists like Schiller (1985) condemn the media as playing a crucial role in the manipulation of local cultures, making capitalism seem ordinary as advertisements “[saturate] the cultural space of the nation” (p. 18). However, cultural imperialism loses value when the local culture is not coerced anymore and when they begin to participate in the process of diffusion. Scholars have shown that consumption of global cultural products is an interpretive process, usually done acutely aware of the underlying ideology (Ang, 1985; Morley, 2006; Katz & Liebes, 1985). As a sport example, the Irish tried to resist rugby at first because it was seen as an attempt by Britain to undermine them once again. South Africans on the other hand embraced it and attached their own localized sentiments to the sport (Van der Merwe, 1998). Others have shown the same phenomenon happening across other sports (An & Sage, 1992; Cantelon & Murray, 1993; Stoddart, 1990). Ultimately Houlihan concludes that the interactional context is always set against the backdrop of economic power distribution, with the table always tilted towards the more economically powerful one. This implies that the richer countries usually prevail in transmitting sport to poorer countries.

Proposition 4c: *From the global-local standpoint, I would look for sport from the richer, more developed regions to be prevalent in less developed regions.*

Proposition 4d: *The global-local perspective would also expect the favorite sports to play and watch in a country to demonstrate some aspect about that country’s history or region. Favorite sports on a country-level do not appear overnight but are the continually negotiated results of many historical world-level and country-level processes.*

In the remainder of the article, Houlihan goes into brief detail on different relations between countries and notes that for cultural imperialism arguments, ex-colonies of Britain and ex-territories of the US are good places to start. For many in the Caribbean and in the Dominions, cricket is still seen as a symbol of British hegemony (Patterson, 1969; Tiffin, 1995; Stoddart, 1987). Meanwhile Klein (1989, 1993, 2001) thoroughly demonstrates how the Dominican Republic operates like an unregulated minor league and how American clubs undermine the development of a strong baseball organization in the country. In conclusion, he presents a preliminary six-cell table which distinguishes between a country's response to the global culture (passive, participative or conflictual) and whether the reach of global culture is partial or total in nature. He ends up being able to place many countries in the model, noting some like the Dominions where British sports influence is total but response is participative, as Canadians and South Africans have adopted their own codes of games. Other countries which actively reject Western sports influence, such as those with Islamic fundamentalist regimes, have a conflictual response and reach is at best partial. He is wary himself of creating such a typology, but admits that dissecting cultures in globalization is a messy business, and that in striving to think coherently about such matters, sometimes simplification is needed.

In 1994, Maguire publishes a piece clarifying his views on globalization and sport. On the one hand, globalization leads to diminishing cultural contrasts but on the other hand, it leads to increasing varieties of cultural practices. First, he criticizes recent literature for thinking too dichotomously and for presenting an either/or ultimatum. He claims that globalization processes are closer akin to a "balance or blend between intended ideological practices and unplanned sets of interdependencies" (p. 399). In short he has no clean answer

to the nature of globalization processes. There is no single factor driving all of it; each process is individually determined by shifting power relations among social actors. Essentially, he likens it to “multidirectional movements of people, practices, customs and ideas” (p. 401). The figuration of nations, though, influences much of the movement, with well-established core nations in the West trying to hold ground against up-and-coming developing nations in the South. Maguire points out the beginnings of diminishing contrasts as colonized peoples adopted more civilized modes of conduct from their colonizers. Try as they might, the aristocracies in newly settled lands could “not prevent a gradual flow of ‘distinguished’ models of conduct into other strata” (p. 403). Western societies had modeled themselves as exemplars of civility, and so their cultural practices, sport being one of them, became symbols of the refined, the powerful and the successful. Lower groups emulated what they saw and heard, resulting in new varieties or nuances of civilized conduct (Elias, 1939/1978). Non-Western codes of conduct also crossed back into the West. For example, East Asian martial arts now have an established presence in American culture. The nature and degree of these cultural flows varied by country and were dependent on the specific type of colonization used there, the political, economic and military relations between countries and that particular region’s history. The sportization era (Elias & Dunning, 1986), or the period of rapid sport development and diffusion emanating from England in the 18th and early 19th century and from America from then until the 1950s, was a time when Western hegemony was at its height. Intense forms of nationalism also flourished during this time and in this way, global-introduced sport was co-opted as a vehicle for national identification and for competitive community struggle (Maguire, 1994, p. 405). In any event, the sports being disseminated often carried a specific type of Western masculine culture (Galtung, 1982),

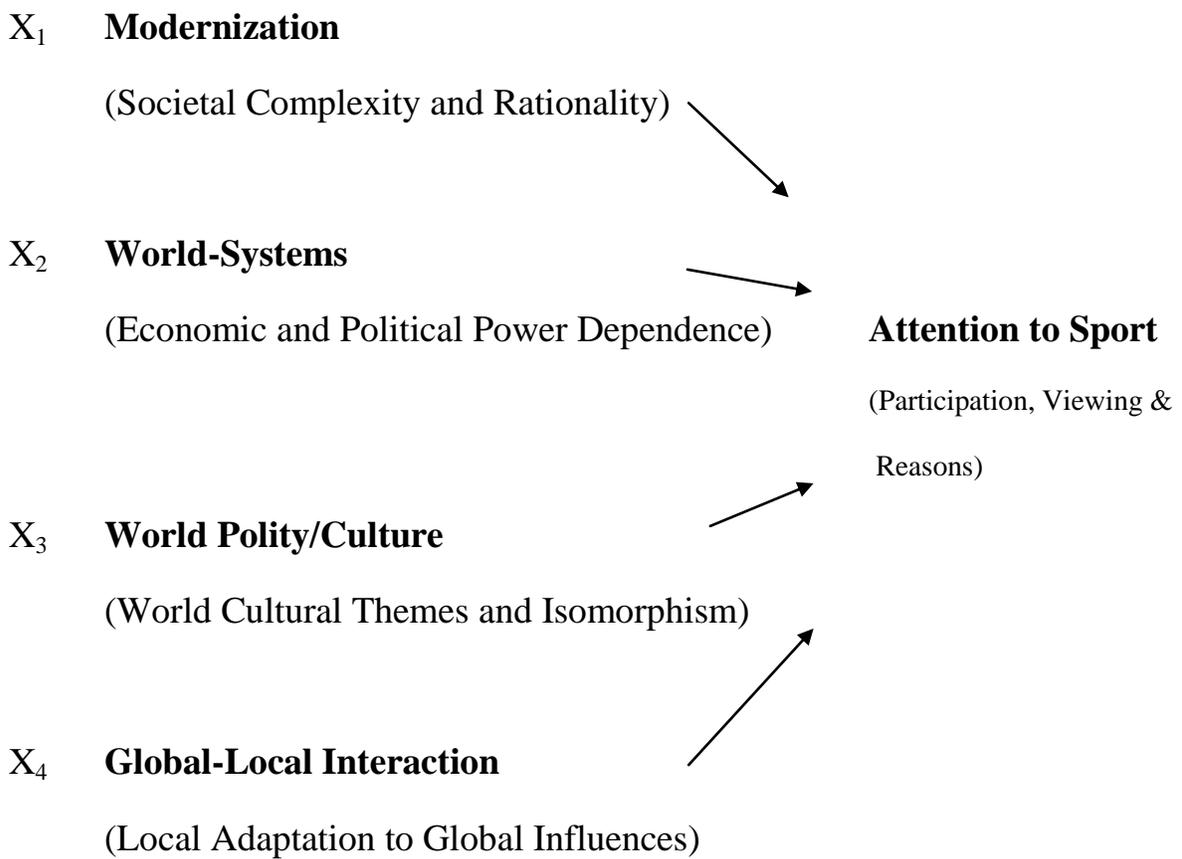
replete with ideas of the heroic athlete, individualism, success, prestige, and so on (Brohm, 1978). Indigenous cultures have often proved capable of embracing a sport, reinventing it through modifications and then selling it back to the country where it came from. As a prime example, Americans did just this with football, although the extent to which Britain has embraced our version is still up for debate. Regardless for the British, who can claim themselves founders of many of the world's most popular games, many of their former territories have won their independence and beaten their masters at their own game while they're at it.

Theoretical Overview

Figure 1 (next page) is a comprehensive model which represents the storylines discussed in the theoretical materials and formal propositions expressed in the review of them. This model depicts how the propositions drive the present inquiry. Modernization processes, centered largely around increasing complexity and rationalization of social life, are likely to have a positive effect on attention to sport by creating cultural and social forms which foster healthier, smarter, more mobile and more active populations. World-systems processes, on the other hand, mainly lower active participation by creating economic inequality and dependence, but they also commercialize sport and create enormous potential for visual attention. World polity processes stress world cultural themes of freedom and personal wellbeing that advocate for more sport participation and more positive social reasons for sport, such as meeting others or for physical health. Elements of the world polity also contribute to similar structuration and the quasi-bureaucratization of all sports on a global scale (for example, most sports have an international federation which is the highest

recognized level of authority for a sport). Global-local interactive processes gradually create unique variation among countries in terms of the actual sports played and the reasons why.

Figure 1: A Synthetic Model of Factors Shaping Attention to Sport



Chapter 2: Conceptualization and Measurement [Methods]

This chapter discusses key concepts explored in the preceding chapter's theoretical development and explains how those concepts of interest will be captured and measured as variables. I explain operationalization of dependent variables and independent variables separately. Then, I provide a more specified version of Figure 1 which provides a summary of key variables and how they will be measured. As mentioned before, a more detailed discussion of the data and its limitations and merits can be found in Appendix B.

Dependent Variables

Attention to Sports

The concept of attention to sports is essentially an umbrella term for the different ways people pay attention to sport. In this project, I conceptualize three different forms of attention: playing sport, watching sport, and developing attitudes about sport and its purposes. Attention to sport is a major phenomenon has not been well studied. It clearly has quantitative dimensions we see in frequency of participation and viewing. There are also semblances of a qualitative component of attention within people's different motivations for sport and physical activity. Analysts wishing to understand similarities and variation in attention to sport should investigate similarities and variation in regions' motivations for sport. The ISSP data will allow me to do that. As far as recent conceptualizations on such terrain, Koning (2009) theoretically differentiates between active sport consumption (participation) and passive sport consumption (watching sport). Passive sport consumption is on the receiving end of a sport production chain. Athletes create the spectacle and fans pay to

watch it, either live or through some medium like television, the Internet or print media. Since those participating in sport are obviously giving it attention and contributing to its popularity, both active and passive consumption imply attention to sport. This distinction between active and passive forms is valuable as it is, but I press it further. Due to the availability of data which capture individual reasons and beliefs for taking part in sport, I extend the concept of attention to sport into the psychological/interpretive domain. The concept now is conceived of as threefold; reported reasons for participating imply (sub)conscious individual attention to sport and the function it serves for each person. These are the invisible motivators for sport, the rationales, both individually and socially constructed, which drive empirical and observable attention to sport. The concept now includes these un-observables, as well as participation and viewing rates.

A Definition of Sport

There are many different definitions of sport put forth by scholars, government officials, policy-makers and last but not least athletes in the modern day. Sport is often differentiated from organized play and games and narrowly cast as competitive physical contests (Guttmann, 2006). In reality, people's conceptualizations of what sport is vary considerably across the world. This project attempts to shed light on this cross-national variation. Thus, I will utilize a broad and inclusive definition of sport which captures several different conceptualizations: "*all forms of physical activity that contribute to physical fitness, mental well-being and social interaction, such as play, recreation, organized or competitive sport, and indigenous sports and games*" (UN, 2003). This is the definition set forth by the UN Inter-Agency Task Force on Sport for Development and Peace. For the purposes of this

project, this conceptualization of sport will work well with the pre-coded variables I utilize from the ZA4850 data.

Participation

Active sport consumption (participation) rates are captured at the country level in three variables. Country means were taken for two variables from the ISSP data, frequency of sports/gym participation and frequency of participation in sports groups or associations.

Frequency of sports/gym/physical activity is measured on a zero to four scale where zero is “never”, one is “several times a year”, two is “several times a month”, three is “several times a week” and four is “daily”. **Frequency of participation in a sports group or association** is measured also on a zero to four scale, where zero is “never”, one is “at least once a year”, two is “several times a year”, three is “several times per month” and four is “at least once a week”. In addition I created three other variables which measure the percent of the national sample which reported playing one of the top three most popular sports. These percentage variables were then summed to produce a final variable which measured the total percentage of the national sample which reported playing one of the top three respective sports. The **percent of national sample which reported playing one of the top three sports** (in the respondent’s country) ranges in theory from 0 to 100, where 0 means that no one reported playing sports in the country and 100 means that the entire national sample reported playing one of the three most popular sports. I compiled this variable by getting frequency scores for each country on one variable from the ISSP data which inquired about the respondent’s favorite sport to play. For each country, I went through the frequency tables and noted the top three reported sports to play. The summed top three percentages for each country became this new variable. This measure demonstrates how engaged the population is with the reported

most popular sports, or the extent to which certain sports dominate in certain countries and have a strong hold on the population.

Viewing

Passive sport consumption (viewing) rates are captured by measuring the **percent of national sample which reported watching one of the top three most popular televised sports**. As in the previous similar variable that summed the top three reported sports to play, I went through each country's answers on a variable which asked about the respondent's favorite sport to watch. For each country, I noted the top three most reported sports to watch and summed the percentages of the national sample which reported watching one of those three. Again, this variable serves to show the reach or hold of certain televised sports over segments of the sample, and theoretically, the national population. Since this is a percentage variable, the scale ranges from 0 to 100, where 0 means no one reported watching sports in the country and 100 means that every respondent in the country reported watching one of the top three reported sports to watch. Ideally sports viewing rates would have been captured by a question that asked specifically how often the respondent watched sports. There were questions in the original data that asked how often the respondent watched TV, but not sports specifically.

Rationale

The extension of attention to sport into the psychological domain is explained above. Variation in attitudes towards sport can be thought of as attention, because the world of sport in each country has a respective history and set of meanings that come to be attached to it. Attitudes about sport are shaped by exposure to it in some way; throughout the course of

one's life, an individual is exposed to a range of different sport-related events that over time help craft one's attitude about the meaning and function of sport, i.e. one's attitude about sport is continually negotiated. However, it is the specific country-level dynamics respective to each nation that largely determine the scope or range of one's exposure to qualitatively different types of sports events (for example, hiking with one's family in Finland versus competitive soccer league match in D.R.) If nothing else, attitudes about the importance of sport are the result of a long-term recognition of and distinction between the potential uses and the "right" or "best" uses for sport. Again, this happens very much within a local, national or world regional context. Country means were taken for four variables from the original dataset which asked respondents to rate how important they found four pre-prepared reasons for participating in sport: **for physical or mental health, to meet others, to compete against others** and **to look good**. These means became variables in the new country-level dataset which measured on average how important each country found the reasons presented for taking part in sport. A higher country-mean for some reasons over others is construed as a national average preference for taking part in sport for some reasons over others. The scales for these variables range from one to four, where one is “not important at all”, two is “not very important”, three is “somewhat important” and four is “very important”.

Independent Variables

The independent variables in this project directly follow from the four theoretical guidelines established earlier. They are meant to capture some statistic about the country in 2007 that is of interest to the four guidelines. In the case of modernization theory, relevant indicators included measures of economic productivity and government spending on universal needs like healthcare and education. For world systems theory, indicators that capture a nation's history of being colonized were of import, as were measures of dependency and economic inequality. Indicators relevant to world polity theory were measures of international non-governmental organizations present in a country, as well as freedom of information and ratings of civil and political rights. Globalization variables stem from the extensive literature on world culture and its relation to the local, as well as the globalization debate in the sociology of sport. These variables indicate regional location in the world. Combined, these different IVs provide leverage to use in analyzing the variation across countries in attention to sport around the world.

Modernization

Modernization indicators first and foremost look for signs of economic development and productivity. I included the World Bank's 2007 measure of **GDP per capita** in current US dollars. Technically, it is a country's gross domestic product divided by the mid-year population. As a measure of modernization, this figure should represent the extent to which a country's population is adding value to its own economy. I also included two measures of governmental coverage of the population's healthcare and education needs, **public health expenditures as % of total health expenditures** and **public spending on education as % of total government expenditures**. A modernized society is a rational and efficient one;

presumably in such a scenario, governments would meet more of the needs of the population within its borders than pre-modern societies. Lastly, I added as a follow-up the **total tertiary school enrollment** as a percent of the gross five-year cohort leaving secondary school. This shows the percent of the total population of the five-year cohort that was in tertiary education in 2007. Growing ranks of academics are among the hallmarks of a modern society.

World-Systems

The world-systems variables were conceived of as ways to highlight if the country has been militarily conquered, colonized, underdeveloped and/or made dependent. They also look at how the country currently contributes materially to the global export market and the degree of economic inequality within the country. World systems theory is concerned with unequal economic relations among countries, and to a lesser degree, within countries. These variables should capture those concerns adequately. First, I did text-based research and coding of scholarly history articles, as well as the CIA World Factbook (2010) and the Europa World Yearbook (Maher, 2001), to develop my own variables which tracked whether a country had a history of being colonized by a stronger, more dominant country. This resulted in several variables which individually tracked affiliation with Spain, Nazi Germany, the U.S., the U.K., the USSR and Imperial Japan. France and Belgium, which both were in my sample, were also major colonial powers in the nineteenth century. However, none of their former colonial subjects showed up in my sample, which made France and Belgium for this project less analytically significant as colonizers. I also came up with other variables which measured whether a country had been militarily occupied or whether a country had invaded other countries. In the end, I decided that British and Spanish influence in my sample was strong enough and significant enough to warrant its inclusion in my correlations,

so I created a dummy which was coded 1 if a country had **British or Spanish colonial heritages** and 0 if it did not. British and Spanish colonial legacies have made a huge impact on these nations, perhaps more so than any of the other major world powers, with the exception possibly being the USSR and Soviet influence during the Cold War. This “Soviet” variable is ready for analysis but is not included in the project due to limitations on space and scope.

The second world-systems variable comes from the World Bank and tracks a country’s **net official development aid** (ODA) received as a percent of government expense. This is meant as a measure of dependency, as those countries which have received grants and loans from the OECD are considered in the international community to be “behind” in economic development and human welfare. The third variable measures a country’s **merchandise exports** in millions of U.S. dollars for the year 2007. It is meant as a basic measure of how much a country contributes to the global market of goods and products. Lastly, I imported the **GINI coefficient** from the World Bank for 2007 as a measure of income distribution (0 represents perfect equality and 100 represents perfect inequality). A big gap between the rich and poor in a country paints the backdrop for much of how day-to-day life unfolds there, including how people think of, watch and play sport. These measures satisfactorily capture world systems concerns like economic inequality and military occupation.

World Polity/Culture

Indicators relevant to world polity concerns mainly captured the connectedness of a country to world culture and the degree to which the country allowed its citizens basic civil, social and political freedoms. I used the New Empowerment Index from the Cingranelli-

Richards Human Rights Database as a measure of **civil rights**. This is an additive index constructed from the Foreign Movement, Domestic Movement, Freedom of Speech, Freedom of Assembly & Association, Workers' Rights, Electoral Self-Determination, and Freedom of Religion indicators also in the CIRI dataset. It ranges from 0 (no government respect for these seven rights) to 14 (full government respect for these seven rights). For a measure of the degree of **democracy**, I also added the democracy variable from the Polity IV dataset which codes regimes on a scale from 0 to 10, with 10 being the most democratic and 0 being the least. This indicator is derived from codings of the competitiveness of political participation, the openness and competitiveness of executive recruitment, and constraints on the chief executive. I also used the World Bank's measure of **Internet users** per 100 people as a measure of freedom of information in the modern age, although one should remember that not all countries enjoy unfiltered access to the Internet (Pearce, 2012). Finally, I used the Yearbook of International Organizations to find the 2007 counts of **international nongovernmental organizations** in a country as a measure of how connected the country is to the international community and hence, to world culture.

Global-Local Interaction

The main rationale behind the regional indicators is the salience and significance of national and regional culture. Certain areas of the world share certain cultural attitudes, beliefs and behaviors. This concurrence might not be explained by other more complex, socio-structural variables, and physical geographic location in the world seemed basic and important enough to create separate dummy variables tracking which region a country was located in: **Latin/South America, U.S., Western Europe, Eastern Europe and Middle East, Scandinavia, South Africa and Australasia**. A few words on difficulties with this

process: I struggled a bit with whether to code region as one categorical variable or as separate dummies. I was worried that a category (region) with only one country in it would not hold great enough statistical weight, so to say, as a category with two or more countries (more on this below). Mainly for this reason, I decided to keep the regions as separate dummies, some of which have only one country. Those dummies essentially get at national culture, not regional. The sample is a peculiar one in that several useful countries for balancing the regions out are absent. One main drawback of the sample is that South Africa is the only nation representing Africa. Obviously, I cannot include an Africa region dummy and have South Africa the only nation in the category, because one cannot in good conscience generalize results to all of Africa after looking at only South Africa, with its long British influence. Israel also made problems for me because culturally, it did not fit very well in an Eastern Europe region and it would have made sense to create a Middle East region. But again, it was the only country which would have been in the region, with countries like Turkey not available. Geographically, it was close enough to Eastern Europe and the former U.S.S.R. that I included it in that region, but not after some serious debate as to whether it really belonged there and changing the name of the region to reflect this inclusion more. And without Canada, the U.S.A was the only country in the North America region. Canada's sport participation is likely not too different from the U.S., based on what Canada's modernization indicators would be, for example. Including the USA in a general Americas region would not have made sense if my aim was to show variation between the U.S. and other countries. Thus, ultimately, my region codings ended up with two regions which are really single countries, U.S.A. and South Africa.

Figure 2 (next page) gives an overview of the independent and dependent variables just discussed in a model which sees Figure 1 broken down into empirical, measurable variables. In the next chapter I will analyze how each of the independent variables affects attention to sport and provide theorizations as to what processes are at play.

Figure 2: Measurements of Independent and Dependent Variables in a Synthetic Model

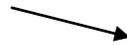
X₁ Modernization

- GDP/capita (USD)
- Public health expenditures
- Public education spending
- Tertiary school enrollment



X₂ World-Systems

- Spanish/British colonial history
- Net ODA as % of gov't expense
- Merchandise exports
- GINI coefficient



Y₁ Attention to Sport

- Frequency of sports/gym
- Frequency of sports group/assoc.
- Percent playing a top three sport
- Percent watching a top three sport
- Reasons: physical/mental health
- Reasons: to meet others
- Reasons: to compete against others
- Reasons: to look good

X₃ World Polity/Culture

- Civil rights
- INGO Counts
- Democracy
- Internet users



X₄ Global-Local Interaction

- Latin/South America
- U.S.A.
- Western Europe
- E. Europe and Mid. East
- Scandinavia
- South Africa
- East Asia
- Australasia



Chapter 3: Analyses

Overview of Attention to Sport in a Global World

Table 1 presents descriptive statistics on several measures of participation, viewing and reasons for sport participation among the 34 countries in the sample.

Table 1: Attention to Sport Among 34 Countries

	Mean	Min	Max	S.D.
Participation: In sports/gym	1.8547	.77 Cyprus	2.69 Switzerland	.56054
In sports groups/assoc.	.7471	.12 Bulgaria	2.37 New Zealand	.42562
In a top 3 sport	36.7971	6.60 Russia	57.30 Norway	13.09986
Viewing: Watching a top 3 sport	53.9059	35.30 Russia	75.40 Dominican Republic	9.77138
Reasons: Physical/mental health	3.4100	2.93 Bulgaria	3.83 Uruguay	.17502
To meet people	2.8121	2.36 Japan	3.47 Dominican Republic	.25723
To compete against others	1.9912	1.48 Finland	3.23 Dominican Republic	.34163
To look good	2.5059	1.67 South Korea	3.53 Dominican Republic	.49477

Mean Participation in Sports/gym: 0 (never), 1 (several times a year), 2 (several times month), 3 (several times year), 4 (daily); Mean Participation in Groups: 0 (never), 1 (at least 1 time year), 2 (several times year), 3 (several times month), 4 (once a week); Mean Percentage of Sample Participating in any of the top 3 sports in any amount; Mean Percentage of Sample Viewing any of the top 3 Sports in any amount; Mean Rank of Reasons for Participating in Sport: 1 (not important at all), 2 (not very important), 3 (somewhat important), 4 (very important)

Mean participation in physical activity, exercise, sports or gym was 1.85, meaning on average that the sample participated about once or twice a month in physical activity. Mean participation in sports groups was .75, meaning most people did not take part in sports groups and those that did participated perhaps once a year. Participation in a top three sport is measured on a percentage scale as the percent of the national sample which reported playing one of the top three sports for that country. On average, just over a third of a given country in the sample plays one of the top three sports. In that regard, it is important to realize that by far the top sport for participating was walking and trekking (see Appendix A3). Viewing attention to one of the top three most watched sports in the nation is also measured on a percentage scale. The top three most popular sports to watch captured on average about half the nation's attention.

The rationale variables which measure importance of sport for different reasons are measured on a four point scale where one is "not at all important", two is "not very important", three is "somewhat important" and four is "very important". Physical and mental health were rated the most overall important reason for engaging in sport with a mean importance of 3.41, meaning the sample on average found sport for health reasons as fairly important. The next most popular reason for sport was to meet people, which had a mean importance of 2.81, in between not very and somewhat important. Playing sport to look good was the third most popular reason with a mean importance of 2.51, also in between not very and somewhat important. Last, playing sport to compete against others was deemed on average the least important reason for sport with a mean of 1.99. Less consensus exists on the importance of these last two reasons. While countries like South Korea and Finland find little

importance in playing sport for competitive or appearance reasons, other countries like the Dominican Republic still find value there.

In sum, Table 1 shows mean participation in sport at a level of about 37%, with the level of participation being nearly several times a month. Active participation in sports lags behind viewing sports, which has a mean value of 54%. The table also shows there is good variation in the dependent variables. The minimum, maximum and standard deviation in all variables is substantial, with the possible exception of playing sport for physical/mental health and to meet people. A cursory look at the table shows core countries like Switzerland and Norway leading participation rates while Russia, Bulgaria and Cyprus characterize Eastern Europe as largely inactive. Second, it also demonstrates that lesser-developed, formerly colonized countries like Uruguay and the D.R. find the given reasons for sport more important than more prosperous countries like Finland, South Korea and Japan. Next, I discuss variation among world regions for the dependent variables.

Table 2 (next page) provides a useful window on plausible local-global factors by examining regional variation in attention to sport. The table is organized with a world mean column transposed from the first column in Table 1.

Table 2: Attention to Sport, World Regional Means

	World Mean	Scand.	Austral.	N. Amer.	W. Euro	E. Asia	Latin Am.	E. Euro	S. Africa
Particip. Sports	1.8547	2.5900	2.5800	2.3300	2.2243	1.8650	1.5000	1.4755	1.0400
Sports group	.7471	1.0167	1.7400	.6600	1.0014	.5275	.7280	.4227	.8000
In a top 3 sport	36.7971	53.7667	48.2500	38.8000	44.4857	40.3250	32.8200	27.1000	19.6000
Viewing: A top 3 sport	53.9059	53.2333	58.4000	46.6000	51.3000	62.4500	62.7800	47.4273	65.2000
Reasons: Health	3.4100	3.4900	3.5050	3.3800	3.3943	3.3000	3.6380	3.3182	3.4300
To meet people	2.8121	2.5600	2.5500	2.7000	2.8014	2.6725	2.9480	2.9073	3.1100
To compete	1.9912	1.6133	1.9200	2.1500	1.8814	1.7250	2.3980	2.0045	2.7600
To look good	2.5059	2.2167	1.9100	2.3400	2.2629	2.2400	3.1420	2.6209	3.0500

Looking at regional variation in Table 2, we find the most developed countries in Europe, North America and the Anglosphere lead participation rates while Latin America, Eastern Europe and South Africa trail. Participation in sports groups had substantial variation; Eastern Europe barely participated while Australasia took part closer to once a month. Participation in a top three sport also seems to follow the pattern set in the sports/gym variable. Half of the population in Scandinavia takes part in one of the top three sports in the three respective countries of Norway, Sweden and Finland. In lesser-modernized regions like Eastern Europe, Latin America and South Africa, participation drops.

Viewing attention somewhat follows an opposite trend. Latin America, South Africa and East Asia watch the most nationally popular televised sport. More physically active regions like Australasia and Scandinavia tended to watch the next most, followed by the European regions. North America actually has the lowest viewing attention to the top three sports, likely because the region is a cultural hotbed of different sports which helps to more evenly distribute visual attention beyond the top three, unlike those regions such as Latin America and East Asia where baseball and basketball enjoy a strong following, almost to the neglect of more local sports.

With regards to mean regional motivations and rationale for sport, most countries seem to agree that health maintenance is a strong reason to participate in sport. Playing sport to meet people is overall mildly important, but does not hold much weight by itself. The last two reason-oriented variables brought a more mixed response and significant variation. Competition as an important reason to participate in sport is rated the most important in the semi-peripheral areas of Latin America and South Africa. Competition was given minimal importance in Scandinavia and East Asia, both regions where economic development in the post-WWII era have resulted in mostly stable, strong states. Looking good as a reason was only rated important in lesser-modernized Latin America, Eastern Europe and South Africa.

A few important trends begin to become more apparent in Table 2. **First**, participation in physical activity seems linked to development and modernization. Core countries enjoy the most sport and physical activity while semi-peripheral states participate perhaps once a month or every other month. **Second**, viewing attention is not necessarily linked with modernization or development and even shows signs of acting in the opposite direction. North America actually has the lowest visual attention rates to the top three

televised sports in the country, while in South Africa and Latin America, over 60% of a country will tune into one of the top three televised sports. **Third**, there is a good deal of agreement across the world, and thus little variation, in the importance of sport for health reasons. **Fourth**, rating sport for competitive reasons as important brings about polarizing responses in some regions, but this as well does not yet seem directly linked to modernization or development. Scandinavia and East Asia, both well-developed regions, find sport for competition as minimally important, while the U.S., Latin America and South Africa deem competitive sport the most important out of all regions. It should be noted that on average, though, no region found competitive sport even somewhat important. All regional means hovered around “not very important” for that variable. **Fifth**, playing sport to look good, or what I interpret as playing sport for appearance reasons, is deemed important only by Latin America and South Africa, and as not very important or not important elsewhere. Next, I elaborate on these trends as I present two tables and an analysis on the correlations between macro-level factors and attention to sport.

Attention to Sport and Key Social Processes

Tables 3 and 4 present information regarding the role of factors illustrated in Figure 2. More specifically, these tables note the roles of modernization, world-system, world polity and local/global processes in shaping attention to sport in 34 countries. As a whole, the modernization variables which captured economic development and government spending on health and education were linked with higher sports participation. World systems variables which captured colonization, dependency and economic inequality overall were associated with less participation. World polity variables which captured civil rights, democracy, information flows and linkage to the world cultural order were associated with greater participation. Lastly, the world regional correlations with active participation in sport are a mixed bag. The heavily former-Soviet Eastern European countries were much less likely to participate in sport, whereas the core of Western Europe and Scandinavia were much more likely to be active.

Table 3 (next page) examines the association of independent variables with measures of participation in sport, while Table 4 (following page) looks at the association of independent variables with viewing sport and reasons for participating in sport.

Table 3: Sport Participation and Modernization, World-Systems, World Polity, and Global-Local Variables

		Participation		
<i>Independent Variables</i>		Avg. freq. of sports/gym	Avg. freq. of sports assoc.	% playing top 3
Mod.	GDP/capita	.733** .000	.447** .008	.644** .000
	Public health expenditures	.532** .001	.238 .183	.369* .034
	Public education spending	.062 .734	.344 .054	.259 .152
	Tertiary school enrollment	.486** .006	.222 .239	.276 .139
	Span/Brit colonial legacy	-.305 .079	.215 .222	-.081 .649
	Net ODA as % of gov't exp.	-.362* .038	.023 .897	-.228 .202
WS	Merchandise exports	.263 .139	.068 .708	-.020 .912
	GINI coefficient	-.459** .008	-.016 .931	-.295 .101
	Civil Rights	.303 .081	.298 .087	.337 .051
WP	INGO Counts	.547** .001	.297 .088	.354* .040
	Internet users/100 ppl	.802** .000	.351* .045	.614** .000
	Democracy	.372* .030	.155 .383	.393* .021
	Latin/South America	-.267 .127	-.019 .916	-.128 .471
G-L	North America	.150 .398	-.036 .839	.027 .879
	Western Europe	.341* .049	.309 .075	.303 .081
	Eastern Euro. & Mid. East	-.475** .005	-.535** .001	-.520** .002
	Scandinavia	.414* .015	.200 .257	.409* .016
	South Africa	-.257 .143	.022 .902	-.232 .187
	East Asia	.007 .970	-.191 .279	.100 .574
Australasia	.328 .058	.592** .000	.222 .207	

Table 4: Viewing Attention, Rationales and Modernization, World-Systems, World Polity, and Global-Local Variables

	<u>Viewing</u>		<u>Rationale</u>			
	<i>Independent Variables</i>	% watching top 3	Health	Meet others	Competition	Look good
<u>Mod.</u>	GDP/capita	-.111 .533	.038 .830	-.411* .016	-.439** .009	-.587** .000
	Public health expenditures	-.321 .069	-.210 .242	-.289 .103	-.559** .001	-.504** .003
	Public education spending	.375* .034	.394* .026	-.057 .757	.183 .315	.072 .694
	Tertiary school enrollment	-.049 .797	.072 .704	-.310 .096	-.356 .054	-.324 .081
<u>WS</u>	Span/Brit colonial legacy	.508** .002	.564** .001	.196 .268	.526** .001	.364* .035
	Net ODA as % of gov't exp	.628** .000	.267 .134	.649** .000	.510** .002	.539** .001
	Merchandise exports	-.267 .134	-.132 .465	-.344* .050	-.208 .246	-.372* .033
	GINI coefficient	.413* .019	.464** .007	.271 .133	.682** .000	.639** .000
<u>WP</u>	Civil rights	.179 .310	.164 .354	-.011 .951	-.199 .258	-.388* .023
	INGO counts	-.370* .031	-.107 .548	-.395* .021	-.461** .006	-.411* .016
	Internet users/100 ppl	-.285 .108	-.211 .239	-.549** .001	-.648** .000	-.771** .000
	Democracy	.027 .881	-.026 .884	-.235 .181	-.302 .082	-.510** .002
<u>G-L</u>	Latin/South America	.383* .025	.549** .001	.223 .205	.502** .002	.542** .001
	North America	-.132 .456	-.030 .865	-.077 .665	.082 .644	-.059 .739
	Western Europe	-.138 .437	-.046 .794	-.021 .905	-.166 .348	-.254 .147
	Eastern Europe & Mid. East	-.465** .006	-.368* .032	.260 .138	.027 .877	.163 .356
	Scandinavia	-.022 .903	.144 .415	-.309 .075	-.349* .043	-.185 .296
	South Africa	.204 .247	.020 .910	.205 .246	.398* .020	.194 .271
	East Asia	.324 .062	-.233 .185	-.201 .254	-.289 .098	-.199 .259
	Australasia	.117 .511	.138 .437	-.259 .140	-.053 .767	-.306 .079

Modernization variables, though they were associated with more participation, are at the same time tied to lower overall importance for sport. Increased government spending on public education was linked with higher viewing attention and more sport for health reasons, but more economic development and more spending on healthcare were consistent with less importance for social reasons for sport. The world systems variables displayed the opposite trend; namely, that participation was lowered but viewing attention and importance of sport were elevated. Those countries with British or Spanish colonial heritage, with dependencies and with more unequal income distributions were linked with more enthusiasm for the presented reasons for sports and more visual attention to televised sport. More valuable merchandise exports, as a measure of how much a nation's goods are worth in the global economy, resembled the modernization processes and were linked with lower importance of sport.

World polity variables continued in the manner of modernization processes and were associated with lower overall importance for sport and even less visual attention. Regional variables again present a varied picture for the sample. Latin America was much more likely to watch more televised sport and to claim sport, for whatever reason, as being important. The Eastern Europe region continued to show minimal interest in sport and was much less likely to watch popular televised sport and to play sport for health reasons. Scandinavia was significantly less likely to rate sport for competition as important, while peripheral, formerly colonized regions like South Africa were that much more likely to rate sport for competition as important. In the following sub-sections, organized by theoretical lens, I review in more detail the various processes which might be occurring and speculate about how causal mechanisms might be operating.

Modernization

Based on the variables I selected, modernization processes were strongly associated with higher participation rates, but lower importance for the given reasons for sport. People in countries with higher **GDP per capita** on average scored higher in all three measures of active participation, corroborating the trend identified earlier that linked modernization with participation. Economic development usually implies higher incomes and a greater proportion of leisure time. On the other hand, GDP per capita had no real relationship with viewing attention for a top three sport or importance of health reasons for sport, which is interesting considering that modern societies should have greater technology usage, leading more people to be able to tune into sport. Modern societies would also presumably be more educated about the health benefits of sport, which could lead them to give that reason for sport increased importance over other reasons. Finally, countries with a higher GDP per capita were less likely to give to importance to sport for meeting others, for competition or for looking good. This might suggest that more modern citizens do not attribute as much importance to doing physical activities for social reasons as they do for individualist reasons. From this picture, they claim they do not care as much about “looking good” or how their physical appearance is interpreted by others. However, this is doubtful, since concern for appearance is basically a universal in modern social life and does not vanish with economic or educational development. Rather, there might be a social desirability effect that occurs with modernization that is linked to a greater sense of awareness about oneself in the world. This would mean more modern citizens would be more self-conscious about how they present themselves and more concerned with managing their impression. They would be less likely to say they do sport to “look good”- when asked on a questionnaire, over the phone, or

face-to-face by an interviewer- because it can come across as vain and conceited. On the other hand, less modern citizens might be more likely to see sport as a way to test their skills against others and as a way to determine dominance and status. Or the social desirability effect might be occurring in the other direction. Participation in sport as a way to look good seems to be more important in lesser economically developed societies than more modern ones. Overall, it seems that lesser economically productive societies attribute more importance to sport for external reasons, while more economically productive ones don't see external motives for sport as being so important.

Countries with a higher **government health expenditure rate** on average had a higher rate of sports and gym participation and a higher percent of the population participating in one of the top three sports. Institutionalization of health care would seem to foster the development of an athletic subculture. Increased knowledge and technological advancements in the fields of medical science, health science and kinesiology, for example, would lead to a promotion of the fitness and health agenda, thereby stimulating increased growth in usually non-competitive aerobic sports, like walking, jogging and fitness- which just so happen to be the some of the most popular sports in the sample. Countries with higher government health expenditure rates also mimicked GDP per capita by attributing less importance to sport for competition and looking good. This might be related to the fitness/sports agenda advanced by modern institutions like the state or the health and sports industries. In this scenario, modern societies advance the message that sport is for one's own wellbeing, not about beating others or even looking good for others. Less modern societies which do not cover much health care for their populations might not promote such a message

because their institutions do not put a priority on personal physical health or because sport has traditionally been seen as a social activity that should be done with other people.

Countries with a higher **rate of government spending on education** had a higher percent of the population watching a top three sport and attributed more importance to sport for health-related concerns. Those nations which subsidize education more presumably want to see their population invest in themselves and their future. Education brings exposure to many different cultural activities, some of them being sports. Thus, more spending on education in a country could expose a greater number of people to sports and thereby create larger segments of the population which watch one of the top three sports in the country. At least in the U.S., school-based sport promotes the three most popular spectator sports. School-based physical education also draws direct attention to the relationship between sport and health. Countries with a higher **tertiary school enrollment rate** also on average had a higher frequency of sports/gym participation. An increase in college and university enrollment usually means an influx of youth into the area, many from out of the country. Youth (teens and twenty-somethings) in general are more active than older folks. One effect of modernization might be an increase in proportion of youth, youth-based activities and sport due to the magnetizing pull of universities and colleges.

Overall, modernization indicators were associated with increased participation in sport and lower importance to sport for competition and looking good. Viewing attention was only bolstered by public education spending. Modernization seems to enhance economic opportunities to participate in sport, but also creates psychological changes in people which make claiming sport for external or appearance reasons less appealing. From this picture,

more modern societies have populations which claim to be more physically active and less motivated by competitive and appearance reasons than less modern societies.

World Systems

Based on the variables I selected, world-systems processes were associated with less participation, but increased viewing attention and increased importance of the given reasons for sport. Table A2 reviews country-level means for the dependent variables organized by history of colonial or military occupation. Countries with a history of **British or Spanish colonialism** took part in sports or gym activities less than those with no such history. But apart from that, British or Spanish colonial legacy is associated with more participation in sports groups or associations. This could be read as higher involvement in team sports, and that would make sense considering that most of the countries with British or Spanish roots are fans of soccer, cricket or rugby. Countries with a colonial legacy had on average 10 percent more of their population tuned into the top three televised sports for that country. They also consistently rated the reasons for sport as more important relative to their non-colonized counterparts. Formerly British or Spanish colonized countries in general seem to be more visually engaged and more enthusiastic about sports, especially competitive sports, than non-colonized countries. Moving to the next variable, a country's history of being occupied in World War II or the Cold War, those nations which weren't occupied had slightly higher participation rates and slightly lower viewing rates. Military occupation by a foreign power in a country can have a lasting effect on the cultural psyche of that nation. Many of the countries which were occupied by Nazi Germany or Soviet troops endured horrific tragedies, such as ethnic cleansing campaigns, labor camp internments and mass

executions. There might be less enthusiasm for physical activities if coerced physical labor as punishment has a history in a country.

Lastly, countries which had invaded other countries before had lower sport participation, lower viewing attention, and less overall importance for sport. The countries which were coded positive for invading another country included Russia, the U.K., the U.S., Japan, Germany and a few other former COMECON countries affiliated with the USSR. It is unclear why this particular mix of core and semi-periphery share lower levels of attention to sport. One partial explanation is that the participation and viewing attention variables used here only capture attention to the top three sports to play and watch, and does not capture many other sports reported to play and watch. This means that attention to a top three sport is lower in some countries, likely the more established core countries, because more of the population is evenly distributed among other sports and physical activities. In other cases, as I suspect with the Eastern European countries, frequency of all sport participation and viewing is down, not just for the top three sports. Participation rates in a top three and viewing rates for a top three increasingly come to represent how much of the population's participation and viewing attention is clustered among just a few activities. Lower numbers for these variables do not necessarily mean less attention overall, just less attention to the top three played and televised. Finally, moving to the correlations in Tables 3 and 4, countries with British or Spanish colonial heritage are much more likely to watch a top three sport, and to play sport for health, competition and looking good. Although the colonial factor is not significant in relation to actual sports participation, it is quite significant in determining higher viewing attention and higher overall importance for sport. Perhaps the colonial effect is to raise overall enthusiasm for sport, but to actually reduce opportunities to participate.

Regardless, formerly British and Spanish countries seem to share a heightened fervor for televised sports and the importance of sport that eludes non-colonized countries, at least in this sample.

Merchandise exports turn out to have minimal relation with the participation and viewing attention variables, which is interesting considering that those countries with the most valuable exports are the richest, most developed countries in the world. One part of the explanation might be that merchandise exports can be made up of lots of unrefined or raw materials, as well. The point is that those exports are too diverse to have any kind of linear relationship with sports participation or visual attention to a top three sport. One cannot differentiate between lots of low-value goods or fewer high-value goods using this figure, as well. However, more merchandise exports is linked to lower importance of sport, making it resemble a modernization indicator. Those countries with more capital which produce more valuable exports are less likely to see sport for meeting others and for looking good important. Merchandise exports overall had a negative relationship with the rated importance of sport. It is a bit difficult to determine how to read this. One can say that those countries which contribute more to the global economy find sport, particularly social reasons for sport, to be on average less important. There might be a relationship between merchandise exports and individualistic reasons for sport, but such variables were not included in this study.

The countries with the most inequality were in Latin America, and these tended to be places where participation was low. Countries with more inequality have significantly less participation in physical activity. If the **GINI** could be thought to measure the existence or absence of a middle class, then it seems like countries with less of a middle class participate less frequently in sports or exercise. In countries where the poor outnumber the rich, there

will be less time, money and effort for sport participation at the end of the day compared to countries with a more equal income distribution. Countries which were more unequal had a higher proportion of the population watching a top three sport and were more likely to rate sport for health, competition and looking good as important. The highest correlation was .682 for GINI and sport for competition. There seems to be a real trend among more unequal, less economically developed societies to watch popular televised sports more and to think of sport as a means of establishing yourself and your status among others. That inequality and the ideology of competition are so strongly associated is not a surprise. People every day see around them neighbors, friends and loved ones fighting to make a living and earn wages for their family. This account is probably much more salient and widespread in poorer countries.

Countries with **net official development assistance**, of which there weren't many, had significantly less sports participation than those without. ODA signals less active populations. While correlated with lower active participation, ODA is associated here with a higher proportion of the country watching a top three sport and for playing sport for meeting others, competition and looking good. Countries with ODA included the Philippines, the Dominican Republic, South Africa, Croatia, Uruguay and Chile. Again, the trend of less economically powerful countries watching more sport as opposed to playing more sport continues. The average mindset in those countries continues to emphasize external reasons for sport. More prosperous countries find less importance in competing against others in sport and physical activities, while countries still undergoing industrialization and free-market reforms still hold the attitude that competition is a prime reason for engaging in sport. Economic development, then, perhaps as a sub-process of modernization, seems to have an

effect on the meaning of sport in a country, broadening sport's potential uses beyond matches and tournaments.

Ultimately, the world systems indicators were associated with less participation in physical activities, more viewing attention to the most popular televised sports and overall increased importance of sport. World-systems processes such as colonialism and military occupation sow the seeds of dependence and subordination of periphery to core while competitive team sport which originated in core states diffuses into and becomes firmly implanted in peripheral states. The resulting and maintained economic inequality both between core and periphery and within the periphery itself reinforces the idea of competition as a way to structure social life, and thus competitive sport becomes more meaningful and more often viewed. From this picture, *peripheral and semi-peripheral countries have less active populations, but watch more popular televised sport and seem overall more enthusiastic about sport than core countries.*

World Polity/Culture

Based on the variables I selected, world polity processes were, like modernization, related to higher participation rates, slightly lower visual attention and decreased importance for the given reasons for sport. Increased **civil rights** are positively linked with more sport participation across the board. In countries with more civil rights, there are simply less barriers- economic, social or political- to engaging in sport. The atmosphere is overall more condoning of it and the populace is more protected to express themselves in a variety of ways. However, civil rights, like other world polity or modernization variables, were linked to lower importance for sport for external reasons. As mentioned in the modernization discussion, these variables that represent changes stemming from economic development are

consistently correlated with less importance for sport for those social reasons such as looking good, meeting and competing against others. This leads one to believe that the growth of world culture, like modernization processes, helps promote psychological changes that, for whatever reason, make sport for external or appearance reasons less attractive. Civil rights measures across countries had, for the record, relatively little significant variation, confirming the growing conformity to globally-recognized human rights standards across the world. The New Empowerment Rights Index had a range from 4 to 14, a mean of 11.5 and a standard deviation of 2.2. The democracy variable taken from the Polity IV data had a range from 5 to 10, a mean of 9.3 and a standard deviation of 1.1. Russia scored the lowest for both measures.

Democracy is positively associated with participation in sport, confirming previous findings. Democratic countries have a less repressive and more tolerant cultural atmosphere which allows for more variation in what activities are deemed acceptable as physical exercise. This allows various forms of physical activity to flourish and lead to greater overall country-level participation in exercise. However, democracy, like civil rights, was linked to lower overall importance for sport, especially social reasons for sport. Institutionalized competition in a country is linked with less importance to competitive sport. This is intriguing; why would a more democratic country rate sport for social reasons as less important? In a country of supposedly more fair and equal representation, why the distaste for externally-motivated sport? The answer probably has much to do with the social-psychological changes that occur when a country moves from a more autocratic regime to a more democratic one, from a repressive police-type state to a state with more civil rights to protect and enable the population. In this scenario, pre-modern sport, which was likely

legitimated much more by group-based competition and team-building/-bonding, makes room as new conceptions and understandings of sport and physical activity, perhaps brought in by foreigners or developed by inhabitants but in any event certainly spurred by the modernizing changes, slowly start to diffuse within a country which adopts democratic measures and increased civil rights. I have a feeling many of the world polity indicators and modernization indicators capture the same effects and that the two overlap and are related to some degree.

Countries with more **INGOs** were more likely to have higher participation rates. World culture is likely more embedded in those countries, meaning that they are more informed by global standards of what a healthy population should look and act like. INGO counts were associated with a lower percent of the nation watching a top three sport, which lends credence to the argument that increased exposure to world culture leads to greater variation among sports watched and less clustering of public preference along a few main popular sports. In general, the question seems to be why the increased connection to the world polity through INGOs promotes lower overall importance to sport, even to sport for health reasons and while participation rates seem to grow. One explanation might be that connection to the world polity promotes participation in sport but for different reasons than the ones offered in ISSP 2007. There are other variables included in ISSP 2007 which probe deeper into people's reasons for free-time activities, but which have not been included in this study due to space and scope. I find it hard to conceive of world cultural sources from authorities like INGOs and professionals like doctors and educators discouraging sports. There are simply too many benefits to staying active to not encourage it at some level. It might also be that the world polity indicators are not picking up direct results from world

cultural processes but are actually presenting spurious results; i.e. these correlations are not the result of world polity features but are simply coinciding with them.

Countries with more **Internet users** were highly likely to have greater sports participation at the gym, in associations and in a top three sport. The maximum correlation and the single highest predictor for sports and gym participation was .802 for Internet users. Clearly, higher levels of Internet use are related to more active populations in a country. The exact mechanisms through which this materializes have yet to be uncovered. But one could argue that higher levels of information and culture diffusion through the Internet could lead to a more informed and broadly exposed population. This population could then take its cues for physical activity from a more diverse number of sources, leading to greater variation in sports pursued and overall greater participation in sport. However, Internet users, like INGO counts, were significant in predicting lower importance to sport for external reasons. Any argument that increased Internet use would lead to more social reasons for sport clearly must be rethought. Though the Internet is a powerful platform through which millions of us connect and interact with each other and with culture, increased usage of it in a country does not seem to be linked with increased importance for sport at all. More Internet use in a country exposes that population to many more new ideas and cultural resources, meaning that though participation rates in activities like walking, jogging or working out might remain high as a result of economic development and increased technology, visual attention to and rationales for sport are weakened simply by a plethora of new culture available to explore and enjoy on the web.

In any case, countries with higher civil rights freedoms, more INGOs, more Internet use and more democracy seem to find sport less important than countries which have less of

these features. Countries which are more plugged into the world polity perhaps may have found other ways to occupy their time than through sports. Growing cultural diversity and the values coming to be deemed important in modern life may be shifting away from the importance of sports to a growing emphasis on other technical fields, like math and science, as well as cultural domains like art and music. Sport for self-conceited appearance reasons and for competing against others and establishing dominance and status may come to be seen as outdated and overly conservative in a growing atmosphere of individualized sport as a pathway to personal fulfillment. In summary then, the world polity storyline and the modernization sequence I outlined contain significant overlap and the dependent variable correlations for both mimic each other's results. *Greater presence of linkages and conformity to the world polity were associated with more active populations, but less enthusiasm for sport.*

Global-Local Interaction

Based on the variables I selected, global-local interactive processes were associated with higher participation in Western Europe and Scandinavia and lower participation in Latin America and Eastern Europe. The Latin America region, and South Africa to a lesser degree, were the only areas strongly associated with increased viewing attention to popular televised sport and increased importance for the given reasons for sport. As mentioned earlier, the two "top three" variables, which measured the percent of a country's sample which reported playing or watching one of the top three participatory or televised sports for that country, are a bit deceiving in their presentation. Turning to Table 2 (world regional means), regions with very low sports participation in a top three like South Africa actually have the highest percent out of any country of people who reported watching a top three

sport. Thus in this case, physical participation ranks last but visual attention ranks first. On the other hand, countries like the U.S. report an average participation rate, but the lowest visual attention. Surely this is not because the U.S. watches less sport than the rest of the world, but because the U.S. watches a more diverse number of sports which contributes to a more even distribution of visual attention among sports. The general rule is that those countries or regions with higher percentages watching a top three sport focus their visual attention around a much smaller subset of physical activities, usually ones which are competitive and team-based, like soccer, baseball and basketball. These sports have more dominance in regions like Latin America, South Africa and East Asia. As far as lesser-recognized sports which still have prominence, one need only look to Australia in Table A4 which voted “other team sports” the most popular sport to watch. This likely represents Australian rules football, a unique code of the game which, like the American version of football, is distinct from the more international, kicking-only game. Although the sport was clearly popular enough on the continent to warrant its own category (in a show of bias, American football received its own category), it lacks significance and thus popularity outside of Australasia. It truly is a regional interest and commands high viewing attention in that area.

Tables A3 and A4 (in Appendix A) are illustrative from a globalization lens. Starting with Table A3, the Philippines’ obsession with basketball stems from US occupation in the early part of the 20th century. The U.S. possessed the islands as a territory until just after WWII and in their time of control over the land introduced the game, which eventually caught on. By the 1950s the Philippines played some of the best basketball in the Asian region (Bartholomew, 2010). Similarly, South Africa was introduced to football in the late

1890s by British soldiers who favored the game (Goldblatt, 2008). Soon, the sport became a crucial part of socialization in the country, as a way to learn identification and social place. Bulgaria's low participation rate mixed with its claim that fitness and exercise is the most frequent sport there draws parallels with other lesser developed countries' loose coupling between attitudes and actions. However, Bulgaria does have a long history of achieving success in the gym; the country has received over a thousand gold medals in weightlifting in international competitions over the years. Unfortunately, this history has been marred in 1988 and 2000 by instances of doping by the national team (Longman, 2000). Russia and Uruguay's claim that jogging is the most frequent activity there comes up against some of the lowest participation rates in the sample. Walking, trekking and climbing make up by far the most popular physical activities, and seem in general more accessible and less physically exhausting than jogging and fitness/exercise, making it quite understandable that large proportions of populations all over the world turn to these activities most often as a form of casual exercise. Belgium and Germany's claim that bicycling is the most frequent activity is backed up by extensive miles of bike path networks which cater to a population likely in the millions who depend on the bicycle as sustainable transport. For instance, in Berlin and Munich, it is estimated that 13 and 14% of traffic respectively in both cities uses bicycles (Use, 1997). Belgium likewise has a long history of success in bicycle racing (Stoffers, 2012).

In Table A4, the U.S. favors American football, its own code of the original football game which gets its roots from early association football games played in the British boys' schools such as Eton. Meanwhile, America's sports have found welcoming homes in Taiwan, Japan and the Dominican Republic. Taiwan, then a Japanese colony, was first introduced to

the game around the turn of the 20th century. Japan in its turn found out about the game through Horace Wilson in 1872 who taught at the Kaisei School in Tokyo (Staples, 2011). The D.R. was exposed to the game through Cuba, who spread it throughout the Caribbean after learning about the game from American sailors in the mid-19th century (Klein, 1995). Finland, Latvia and Norway all show their northern, wintry sides by favoring snow sports or ice hockey. These sports likely hold special significance for these countries because they are really incapable of being globalized entirely due to weather and environmental conditions which limit participation, although some places like Dubai have tried to circumvent Mother Nature. Winter sports are a privilege which not all nations get to enjoy. Much has been said about Australasia's predisposition for rugby and ARF, and as far as soccer being the most popular sport to watch around the world, what more should really be said? Soccer attracts such a large following partly because of its relatively minimal expenses, but also due to the well-rounded athletic nature of the sport, which demands agility, accuracy, timing and speed. The sport provides a shared community to bond with, other teams to build solidarity against and a fascinating mix of cooperation and competition which electrifies audiences when performed by the best teams.

As mentioned in the world-systems discussion, countries with a Spanish or British colonial legacy were much more likely to rank sport for competition as important. These were countries like the D.R., South Africa, Uruguay and Chile. Western countries, instead of overall rating competitive sport less important, were mixed. Beginning with Table 2 (world regional means), Scandinavia represents a distinctly anti-competitive sentiment about sport which resonates firstly with the social democratic welfare state model, which one could say emphasizes cooperation and empathy for the fellow citizen more than competition against

him, and secondly with the region's long-standing neutrality in the international community. North America stands out from Western Europe and Scandinavia by ranking competition more important than they do, which is not a surprise considering that America is a world hub of capitalism. North America actually had the lowest percent of people watching a top three sport. This is a result of increased availability of sports coverage on American cable networks, and occurs simply as the result of a less clustered, more widely dispersed visual attention distribution. East Asia, like Scandinavia, also regards competition as minimally important for sport. Latin America, following the trend of lesser developed countries having higher viewing attention and lower participation, consistently rated the reasons for sport as more important than other regions, except for South Africa in a few cases. It seems like the Latin America region overall finds more importance for sport than other regions. Eastern Europe is characterized by inactive populations and lower viewing attention to top three sports. But they are middle of the road when rating sport as important.

Table 3 presents the correlations for active participation and world region. Latin America tended to have lower participation. North America, despite its seemingly developed economic state and geographic location as a hub for professional sport, had no clear relationship with participation rates, which in part represents the significant proportion of Americans who have little interest in exercising. There also might be a lack of statistical weight because of the U.S. being the only country in the region. Western Europe on the other hand was much more likely to have higher participation rates. Eastern Europe's strong negative correlations with participation in physical activities can be approached in several ways. If there is one thing that much of Eastern Europe shares, it is the overall influence of Soviet ideology in political, economic and social life for the second half of the 20th century.

Soviet life came to be structured around communism and industrialization, not around democracy and an emerging post-industrial economy like other places in the West. This leads to a radically different social arena in which sport attempts to survive. I can see an industrial culture centered around physical labor and heavy machinery not being as conducive to physical recreation as a post-industrial culture which emphasizes democratic values and building knowledge, due simply to the fatigue of labor and the developed attitudes about the meaning of physical activity. The answer is likely economic in nature, as well. Eastern Europe and GDP per capita are significantly negatively correlated, at $-.403$, and GDP per capita is one of the best predictors for active participation. Scandinavia tended to have higher participation rates. This was re-confirmed in Eurobarometer 72.3 (2010) which showed that the Nordic citizens of Sweden, Finland and Norway were the most physically active in the EU. South Africa and East Asia have no real relationship with participation, while Australasia tended to have much more participation in sports groups and more formal associations. Rugby and Australian rules football (ARF) both have large followings in the two countries, thus contributing to a growing grassroots movement which organizes neighborhood leagues and teams (Park, 2000).

Table 4 concludes with the correlations for the world regions and the viewing attention and rationale variables. Latin America demonstrates greater viewing attention to sport than other regions and is much more likely to rate sport as important than other regions. Sport for health, competition and looking good are especially important in that region. Sport seems to have a multi-functional history and use in Latin America that has woven it tight into the fabric of society there. It should be noted that Spanish/British colonial legacy and the GINI coefficient both correlate with the viewing and rationale variables in this same manner

as Latin America. North America and Western Europe surprisingly don't have any distinct regional attitudes toward sport. This could represent the more diverse populations in these countries which often don't have the ethnic or religious homogeneity present in smaller, lesser developed countries that produces more tight-knit and similar views. As mentioned before, Eastern Europe was much less likely to watch sport and to not give sport for health reasons importance. East Asia was the only other region to give less importance to sport for health. Eastern Europe's priorities are elsewhere, with the population on average finding sport for meeting others and looking good more important. Here, it is important to remember that the correlation is relative, and that all countries in the sample rated health reasons as at least somewhat important. Populations in Scandinavia were much less likely to rate sport for competition as important. Cooperation, on the other hand, as a regional and cultural ideology between nations and people, was documented early on (c.f. Padelford 1957). South Africans, on the other hand, were more likely to rate sport for competition as important. South Africa continues the trend of formerly colonized and lesser-economically developed countries rating sport as very important but actually having low sport participation rates. South Africa's participation is the third lowest in the sample, yet they claim to enjoy physical activity far more than any other nation and, along with the D.R., give the most importance to sport for competition. This trend lends support to the argument that in these two countries, as well as other Latin America countries, inculcation of a competitive ideology by powers like the British Empire, the U.S. and Spain has played a role to dominate people's conceptions of what sports are and should be. East Asia emulates developed countries by rating sport on average as less important. However, East Asia also comes close to significance with a positive association with watching a top three. As we will see in the next tables, East Asia is

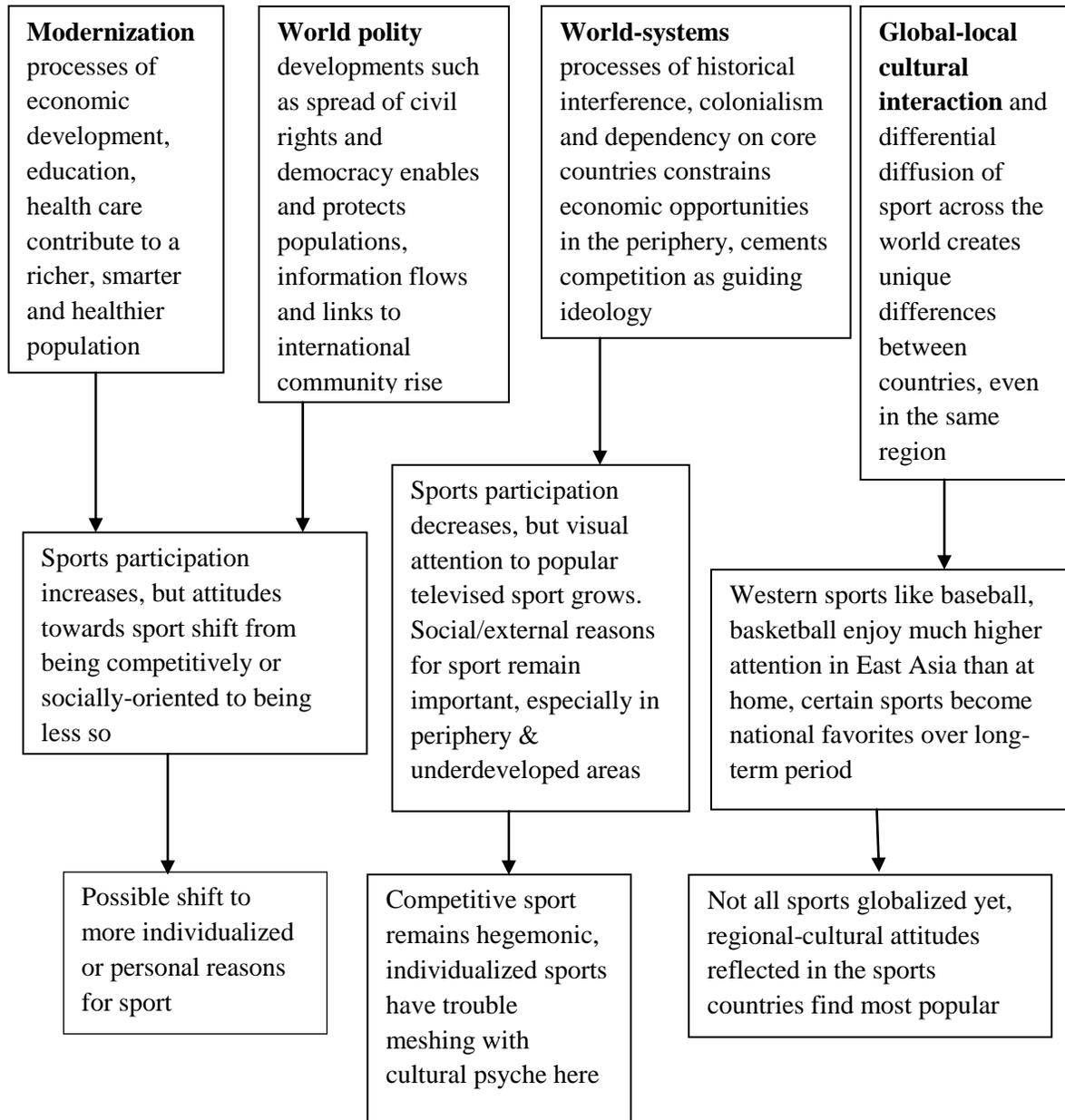
a fan of baseball and basketball, which both are American inventions. Australasia straddles the boundary between developed nation and formerly colonized territory. In the former sense, it assigns less importance to sport but in the latter, there is a slight positive association which likely reflects again, the dominance of rugby and ARF in those countries.

In sum then, *the world regions variables displayed three primary trends. First, Latin America, Eastern Europe and South Africa- mainly areas which have been under colonial rule or Soviet influence- claim high importance of sport, but have low participation rates. Second, Western Europe, Scandinavia, Australasia and North America- areas which have either been the site of colonial powers or which have avoided colonial occupation- seem to attribute less importance to sport, but are more physically active. Third, distinctly regional or national favorite sports are the result of unique diffusion processes and historical tradition.*

Chapter 4: Conclusion

Figure 3 provides a brief summary of the manner in which four world level processes appear to operate in explaining dynamics of attention to sport in the early 21st century.

Figure 3: World-Level Processes and Attention to Sport



What does this theoretically-driven analysis tell us about the state of sport in the early 21st century around the world? How does this data inform us about differences in attention to sport around the world? First, the provided world-level theories help in setting a world timeline and context within which sports are disseminated and practiced. Modernization processes of economic development, education and health care have helped to change people's conceptions of sports and even sports themselves in the last few centuries. Modern citizens come to view sports as a growing cultural arena within which they can carve an identity for themselves and find a path to personal welfare. The data shows clearly that modern citizens tend to find sport for external, socially-oriented reasons as less important. However, other processes within modernization such as the increase in technology and the rise in education can also bring about heightened attention to popular televised sport. In sum then, modernization can be argued to be shifting people's conceptions of sport away from social reasons and promoting greater attention to televised sport. Similarly, world polity cultural features are also working to shape sport opportunities. Greater conformity to world models of democratic governments which respect human rights is creating a growing space for cultural diversity within countries. The presence of international organizations is helping to bolster increased civil rights and democracy, and simultaneously provides standards and policies for physical education, activity and health. Finally, and building off the modernization processes, societies with increased information flow via more Internet users and thus those societies with a higher adaptive capacity and level of productivity foster more active participation in physical activity. Linkage to the world polity seems to overlap with modernization processes, as both seem to contribute to lowered overall importance to sport. The data seem to show an economically developed core participating more often but not for

socially-oriented reasons, while the periphery participates less often and finds social reasons for sport quite important.

Competitive processes captured in the world systems variables point at how opportunities for participation (but not visual attention) have been restricted and how competition as a guiding ideology has been inculcated and ingrained in lesser-developed regions. Colonial interference and the absence of a middle class in some countries are highly tied to the lacking participation rates. Ultimately, those indicators which capture economic inequality within and between countries show that more inequality is linked with increased importance of sport. Sport seems to be more significant for those countries which are worse off in the international community. For citizens in poorer and more unequal countries, competitive sport, and in particular becoming a good athlete, may be regarded as an avenue to success, as a way out of poverty and as a legitimate career path. In areas where modernization has as yet failed to reshape the values of society to be more meritocratic and less hostile to change, sport may still hold much significance in determining identity and status, especially in young, uneducated males' lives. Further, these modernization-related world level processes are unevenly distributed across parts of the world, as shown by the regional variables. Latin America and South Africa were hard hit by intervening imperial forces, contributing to strong world-systems salience there. In other places, like Scandinavia and Western Europe, world polity and modernizing processes highlight a broad and diverse sport participation base as well as attitudes toward sport which de-emphasize winners and losers. Regions like Australasia and East Asia, with their high viewing attention and anti-competitive attitudes, represent places where both processes of imperialism and

modernization are apparent. Sport across the world is shaped by these differential, historical processes in complex and inter-related ways.

The discord between nations' average opinions on "importance of sport" and their actual active and passive sport consumption rates is intriguing. The developed world increasingly does not appear to take part in sport for externally-oriented reasons such as meeting people, competition or even for one's appearance. Health reasons are even fading in importance. It seems that a modern attitude toward sport participation, in avoiding the external, perhaps favors the internal, the personal and the individual experience. There are surely other reasons which ISSP did not capture that motivate people to deliver the higher participation rates found in modernized countries. Future studies should address these shortcomings by exhaustively coding for themes in open-ended questions first. The clustering of lesser-developed nations and formerly colonized nations' visual attention around a few sports as opposed to a more even dispersion across a wider range of sports also has important consequences. These are countries where the dominant model of sports is largely a hegemonic competitive one. The cultural atmosphere might prevent the establishment of an alternative, internally-oriented rationale for sport participation and a more individualized socialization of what physical activity and exercise mean. Likewise, the narrow visual attention distribution in these countries which are dominated by one sport, like South Africa or the Philippines, makes them appealing advertising markets for Western sport corporations like Nike which sponsor many clubs around the world.

This project has been a first attempt at explaining cross-national variation in attention to sport. I incorporated sociological theories of development and globalization to illustrate how sport has evolved and come to function in different ways across the globe. I hope that I

have contributed theoretically and empirically by putting the various concepts used in these theories to work in a dataset of nearly 50,000 interviews. And in the future, I hope to contribute to the field further, especially in the area of individualized sports and globalization.

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Appendix A: Study Tables

Table A1: Countries by World Region

Scandinavia	Australasia	North America	Western Europe	East Asia	Latin/South America	E. Europe & Mid. East	South Africa
Finland, Norway, Sweden	Australia, New Zealand	United States	Austria, Belgium, France, Germany, Ireland, Switzerland, UK	Japan, Philippines, South Korea, Taiwan	Argentina, Chile, Dominican Republic, Mexico, Uruguay	Bulgaria, Croatia, Cyprus, Czech Republic, Hungary, Israel, Latvia, Poland, Russia, Slovakia, Slovenia	South Africa

**Table A2: Attention to Sport Among Countries with
History of Colonialism or Military Occupation**

	Brit/Spain colonialism		Ctry was occupied in WWII or Cold War?		Invaded another ctry?	
	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No
Participation In sports/gym	1.6267	1.9791	1.7978	1.9187	1.6910	1.9229
In sports group/associa tion	.8692	.6805	.6689	.8350	.4820	.8575
In a top 3 sport	35.3833	37.5682	35.7722	37.9500	25.8500	41.3583
Viewing A top 3 sport	60.5250	50.2955	54.6278	53.0938	45.9900	57.2042
Reasons Health	3.5417	3.3382	3.3433	3.4850	3.2690	3.4687
To meet people	2.8792	2.7755	2.8683	2.7488	2.7620	2.8329
To compete against others	2.2308	1.8605	1.9233	2.0675	1.9540	2.0067
To look good	2.7458	2.3750	2.5022	2.5100	2.4490	2.5296

Table A3: Most popular sport to play in 34 countries

Basketball	Football, soccer	Fitness, exercise	Jogging	Walking, trekking	Cycling
Philippines	South Africa	Bulgaria	Russia, Uruguay	Argentina, Australia, Austria, Chile, Croatia, Cyprus, Czech Republic, Dominican Republic, Finland, France, Hungary, Ireland, Israel, Japan, Latvia, Mexico, New Zealand, Norway, Poland, South Korea, Slovakia, Slovenia, Switzerland, Taiwan, UK, USA	Belgium, Germany

Table A4: Most popular sport to watch on TV in 34 countries

American football	Baseball, softball	Basketball	Ice hockey	Football, soccer	Rugby	Other team sports	Snow sports
United States	Taiwan, Japan, Dominican Republic	Philippines	Finland, Latvia	Argentina, Austria, Belgium, Bulgaria, Chile, Croatia, Cyprus, Czech Republic, France, Germany, Hungary, Ireland, Israel, Mexico, Poland, Russia, South Korea, Slovakia, Slovenia, South Africa, Sweden, Switzerland, UK, Uruguay	New Zealand	Australia	Norway

Appendix B: Study Data

This discussion of the data used in the study focuses on its limitations and merits. First, I discuss the ISSP data used for the dependent variables and then I move on to the multi-source data used for the independent variables.

The ISSP data, although it is cross-national, covers only a select group of countries and focuses largely on Europe and the Americas to the neglect of Africa and much of Asia. This is unfortunate, considering the substantial amount of the world's population which lives on these continents. Large and rapidly growing countries like Brazil, China and India are absent from the data, thus leaving a gap in our knowledge of what attention to sports looks like in the most dynamic countries of the current period. Peripheral, underdeveloped countries in Central America and Africa are excluded from the ISSP study, which makes it more difficult to stand by generalizations which might emerge from this data about the nature of attention to sports in less modern and economically developed countries. The inclusion of Taiwan in the ISSP data is helpful for gauging variation or similarity of attention in East Asia, but cannot be reliably used for any kind of generalizations about mainland China, of which the region is a part. Taiwan, being a semi-autonomous region within a larger country, in turn was difficult to find independent variables for, as many other sources of world-level data report only on China as a whole, and not on each of its provinces or regions. Thus, Taiwan was a missing case for several independent variables.

The study monitoring report for the 2007 ISSP data (Scholz & Heller 2009) reveals other limitations, as well. As with all international surveys, language and translation issues arose, apparently in Finland, Germany and Sweden. Several countries fielded this survey as part of a larger study, which could have implications for how respondents perceived and

responded to the sport and leisure questions. Other countries often forgot to administer background demographic variables. Some countries conducted the survey by mail, whereas others administered face-to-face interviews or fill-in questionnaires on site. Countries also varied in how they sampled. Some countries used advance telephone calls or pre-contact letters. Some sent out more mailings than others in attempts to remind potential participants of their eligibility and opportunity. Further, incentives were used in some countries and not others for participation, which raises the question of motivation for participation in the study and whether potential material benefits received influenced the outcomes at all. Data gathering periods also ranged significantly- the Philippines completed their fielding in four days while Argentina took nine months to gather data. The data collection periods ranged from 2006 to 2008. Women were also oversampled in the ISSP data, which is usually construed as a benefit and not a consequence, considering the dominance of men in sport, in general. More female responses help to give a more accurate picture of sport behaviors and attitudes across sexes. Perhaps most damaging is the lack of data on youth in the study. Participants generally had to be eighteen years of age or older, although in some countries this age was lowered to seventeen or sixteen. Still, the absence of data on youth behaviors and attitudes in relation to sport is disappointing. Children and adolescents are a prime demographic for sport participation and viewing, and their current behaviors and attitudes would be useful to have in order to make predictions about what that international cohort will look like in the future. In short, there was substantial variation in how each country approached administration of the survey.

However, taking these factors into account, one is still left with an incredible amount of sports-related data from a broad and diverse global sample. The collection of this data in

one place amounts to a treasure trove of insights into how several culturally, economically, politically and socially different countries approach sport. There are still several variables left to explore cross-nationally in the ISSP data and in the future, I will attempt to mine the data further for explanations of the trends uncovered in this exploratory study. One could likely put together a fine analysis of sport in the modern world using only variables from that data. However, I found it more intriguing to complement the ISSP data with separate country-level variables to try and examine the relationships between macro-level factors and mean behavior and attitudes regarding sport on a country-level.

The independent variables are drawn largely from the World Bank and other supra-national institutions. Combining World Bank data gathered at one time and in one fashion with ISSP data gathered at another time and in an entirely different fashion raises a potential issue. One needs to be aware of how accurately the national sample in ISSP represents an entire country. The data collection in most countries occurred in urban areas, often the capital of a country, as opposed to various regions within one country. ISSP data may more accurately capture attitudes and behaviors of city-dwellers than rural populations, while World Bank and related data takes more of a country into account. The use of country-level independent variables, although they may be drawing their data from different sources, is still preferable to leaving out such data.