

Chapter 3. Products, Training, and Technology

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Introduction

Sports products can be divided into three major categories. First, spectator products, which are sold either at the sites of events or mediated electronically and made globally available by satellite technology. Secondly, player products which may include games, equipment and costume, instruction and assistance, facilities, clubs, and training. Thirdly, associated products which are goods and services which have been allied with sport in some way, but which are not really necessary to the playing or watching of sport, though they can heighten the enjoyment (Vamplew 2018). These might include a varied range of products which stand alone, but are integral to experiential enjoyment, such as music, food and drink, social media, mainstream media, merchandise, and different spectator experiences (including VIP boxes and special areas with enhanced hospitality) and so forth. As will be shown below, technology had a significant role in developments within all these categories. All sports products can be affected also by cultural values through the beliefs, attitudes, and emotions of both producers and consumers. While income, wealth, and prices clearly have a major role in the marketing of sport, as with any other visitor attraction experience, culture also influences the taste demand. Tastes can vary across individuals who maybe like to experience “value for money” or a “grand day out” and are also affected by class, gender, and nationality. Tastes can also be influenced by opinion-makers including entrepreneurs and commercial advertisers, or dictated by law, as the “safe standing” movement in Britain at association football grounds indicates. This chapter, though far from comprehensive, explores some of these cultural issues in an introductory overview.

Spectator Products **[insert illustration 3.1]**

Increased leisure time and greater disposable incomes meant that people increasingly watched those sportspersons who were more proficient than themselves. Spectatorship also grew as the media industries allowed enthusiasts to access sport in an increasing variety of ways. The media and sport have a symbiotic relationship historically, as the regular scheduling of sport enabled it to become a staple news item, widely available to a readership who perhaps could not attend in the stadium itself. As an illustration, London has hosted the Olympics three times: the 1908

Games were the first to be filmed; those of 1948 were part-televised; and in 2012 many people accessed the events at their leisure using social media and the Internet.

The Cultural Significance of Mega Events

One of the most significant drivers of both sporting products and specialist training was the creation of large, ambulatory, regularly staged international tournaments with attendant visitor attractions, mediated reach, high costs, and the attendant infrastructure projects necessary to stage sport on such a scale (Müller 2015: 627). These mega sporting events have cultural meaning in that they have captured the public imagination (Roche 2000: 101) **[insert**

illustration 3.2]

The Olympic Games as a mega sport product have cultural significance in several senses. First, in line with de Coubertin's aim to create an Olympic environment in which artists and athletes could be mutually inspired, the IOC emphasizes that a host city must organize and promote a cultural program alongside the sporting events. Not until Stockholm in 1912 was an arts competition actually organized but, from then until London in 1948, such contests were organized in parallel to the sporting competitions, and gold, silver, and bronze medals were awarded to the successful participants. In 1950 it was decided that from the Melbourne Games in 1956 the presence of arts in the Olympics would take the form of concurrent cultural exhibitions and festivals instead of competitions. Yet the Olympic audiences did not seem particularly interested in the arts program so, instead of staging the festivals at the time of the games, the cultural lead-in to the Barcelona Olympics of 1992 was a four-year Cultural Olympiad, a format that has been followed by subsequent host cities, allowing them to project their international image for a longer period of time than in the past (Garcia 2008). Second, the opening and closing ceremonies have been used to exhibit aspects of the culture and cultural history of the country in which the Games have taken place. The Sydney opening ceremony in 2000, for instance, featured a parade of the iconic Victa lawnmowers which had cut grass in the Australian suburbs for over half a century, and also a tribute to the Country Women's Association, an institution for the rural Australian matriarchy. Third, Olympic memorabilia not only provide memories when bought as souvenirs but have become collectors' items as aspects of cultural heritage (Budd 2012: 106–12). The Olympics have enabled the host country to display a sense of self-identity on a world stage, and also project that self-image to its domestic audience thereby using culture through a sporting lens for both domestic political and international relations purposes.

Soccer World Cups share mega-event status with the Olympics but vary in that they are hosted by a nation (or even nations as in 2002 when Japan and South Korea shared the event) rather than individual cities and deal with only one sport. England may have invented soccer and given it to the world, but other countries put their own cultural imprimatur on the game. The World Cup, first played for in Uruguay in 1930 and avoided by England for reasons of sporting politics, enabled those cultures to be displayed beyond national boundaries. It allowed teams to demonstrate their distinctive playing styles and, as international travel became more accessible, fans their devotion to a nation as represented by its football team, and indeed by the related ephemera which includes posters, artifacts, and, since 1966, the mascot for each tournament (Williams 2018: 215). The first World Cup poster, for instance, created by Guillermo Laborde, had inflections of Uruguay's Planismo movement, with levels of opposing planes in the design. This interpreted global trends in art and design, contextualized by Uruguay's increasingly confident industrial economy and commercial awareness. Again, unlike the Olympics which emphasized its heritage with ancient Greece, the World Cup's nationalist cultural appeal is that of Roman gladiatorial combat since the format is not a medal table but (with the exception of Brazil in 1950, which took a different approach) a knockout competition (Hughson 2017: 381).

In January 1967 American football team the Green Bay Packers played Kansas City Chiefs in the first World Championship Game, an annual fixture that soon became referred to as the Super Bowl. It is an American institution, the largest shared experience in the nation's cultural life. More Americans watch this sporting event—one of the highest-rated television shows in the world—than vote in elections or attend religious services: indeed those who express no interest in the contest could be accused of un-American activity. By the mid-1970s it had attained mega-event status and Super Bowl Sunday was increasingly regarded as a national holiday. It is now “the most influential and lucrative entertainment behemoth in the national landscape,” though, unlike the football World Cup which celebrates the world game, the Super Bowl remains a parochial spectacle. But what a spectacle! It leads Americans to gather together to participate in shared rituals including overt displays of nationalism. It is also a celebration (both in the profligate partying and the television advertising) of conspicuous consumption, “a public demonstration of the American ability to buy things” (Hopsicker and Dyreson 2017: 2–3).

[insert illustration 3.3]

Unlike the Super Bowl, which is played in one stadium on one Sunday each year, the Tour de France cycle race takes up three weeks of the French summer as it wends its way around

the nation and, on occasions, beyond its borders. It began in 1903 as a specifically commercial venture designed to increase the circulation of *L'Auto*, a French sports paper, but it served to help the French come to terms with modernity, technology, and the mass media. For the French, it is more than a bicycle race; indeed it is more than the several contests it embraces of the yellow jersey for the overall winner, polka dot for king of the mountains, green for the sprinter with most points, and white for the best young rider. The media presents the Tour as an exploration of France's cultural heritage but every year the Tour gives the French a familiar and very public site for them "to project their understanding of the past, assessments of the present, and aspirations for the future" (Thompson 2007: 4). Over time the Tour has acquired symbolic significance in France, become a guardian of French cultural memory, helping create a national identity and promoting iconic heroic figures of the men who manage the hard climbs and perilous descents of the Alps and Pyrenees to reach Paris, always the finish of the final stage. Every year millions of spectators line the roads to become a part, albeit fleetingly, of a national cultural activity, to cheer their favorites and to admire the endurance of the riders (Dauncey and Hare 2003).

No contemporary envisaged that, when they started, these events would reach mega status. The early Olympics were not even stand-alone affairs but were accompaniments of international expositions (from which they borrowed the idea of a dizzying scale of spectacle and a kaleidoscopic range of activities) and the first World Cup had but thirteen entrants and needed no qualifying competitions. Yet for varying reasons, cultural and otherwise, they have increasingly gripped the public imagination and ultimately, aided by the reach of television, they achieved quadrennial international cultural significance. The Tour de France and the Super Bowl have achieved similar recognition, though more on a national and annual basis.

Some Cultural Implications of Spectator Team Sports

Cultural economic attitudes have influenced the development of sports leagues and conference structures with some fundamental differences between those in the United States and those in Europe. First, there is the matter of club ownership. Using football as an example, British clubs have tended to follow the American model of private ownership, but elsewhere in Europe there are significant differences. The German Bundesliga has a rule that all clubs must be controlled by their members who have to hold 50 percent plus one of the shares. Spain, too, has a tradition of fan-run organizations even for mega clubs like Barcelona and Real Madrid. Here clubs are set up as non-profit institutions with ordinary fans as members who vote in a president with finance

coming mainly in the form of long-term bank loans which seem to be continually rolled over because of the cultural significance of the clubs (Vamplew 2017). One recent standout feature of British football club ownership has been its transfer to foreigners. Over 60 percent of EPL clubs have a majority foreign ownership, a movement that has tied in with the British government's acceptance, if not encouragement, of inward investment in the economy generally, and has been aided by British clubs, unlike many continental ones, being companies rather than associations. Yet this does not appear to have weakened the non-profit motivation that traditionally came with British owners who were civic boosters rather than profit-seeking entrepreneurs, though perhaps it is now kudos for the owners themselves than for their city.

It is generally argued that those who bought into clubs in America were looking to make money while those in Europe were more concerned with winning cups and championships, what economists refer to as utility maximization in contrast to the profit-maximizing behavior of American owners. The literature on North American sports has tended to de-emphasize utility-maximization on the grounds that there is no evidence that owners have received less than a market return on their investment and generally make capital gains when they dispose of a franchise. Even poorly-performing teams can make profits and few US teams make losses in any season. In contrast few professional teams in Europe make consistent profits and rely on benefactors (wealthy individuals or supporters groups) to keep them afloat (Szymanski 2012: 5).

This has had implications for league structures. American leagues are closed ones with no promotion or relegation. Franchises tend to be allocated centrally by the league, each with territorial restraints, and are widely dispersed geographically: it is rare to find more than one team in the same metropolitan area. This offers local monopoly status and protects club revenue. However, franchises can migrate, especially when city authorities offer subsidies, and new franchises can be awarded, though this is with financial compensation to the incumbents at a price agreeable to them. Clubs often own or host teams in minor leagues to which players can be sent; in effect promotion and demotion applies to players rather than the clubs. Leagues intervene in the labor market for their sport with player drafts, roster limits, salary caps, and restrictions on player trading. In the product markets closed leagues often opt for gate-revenue sharing, some joint merchandising, and the collective sale of broadcasting rights. The idea underlying this behavior is to equalize playing abilities between clubs, and thus promote equality of competition with an uncertainty of outcome which most sports economists argue will maximize attendances and viewing figures. Although some of these appear in Europe where

leagues tend to be open, ability on the field means that it is possible to rise up the pyramid and also to fall down. Hence there is more of a meritocracy than in the United States. Leagues are bigger and some cities have several teams—at one time the EPL had six teams from London—and local derbies are a key feature. Revenue sharing is less common, player drafts and roster limits are relatively unknown, and player transfers for cash is the norm, whereas it is more usual in America for players to be traded in exchange for other players.

Elite sports teams have long purported to be representatives of their locality: indeed even in the age of manufactured nicknames they still carry a city's nomenclature. Emphasizing their links with local communities is one reason why leading sports clubs have corporate responsibility strategies by which they make donations in money and kind to neighborhood charitable ventures and support similar initiatives at a national and local level. These are an accentuation of traditional charitable functions which sports clubs and sportspersons have undertaken throughout the modern age and before (Vamplew 2016). Clearly being part of the community was important to clubs when ticket sales dominated revenue sources, but for British owners a *raison d'être* anyway was to put their city on the map by promoting a successful team. In contrast, this latter role in the United States has increasingly been played by the public authorities who have offered subsidies, especially stadium facilities, to owners to retain or lure a major team to their city. Since 1960 nearly all of the venues for professional sport built in the United States have been publicly funded (Davies: 285). As this implies, American owners have not been averse to selling or transferring their franchise to a city many miles away, indeed even across the whole continent as when Brooklyn Dodgers baseball team shifted to California in 1958. Yet baseball still traffics in the fiction that corporate franchises can really represent communities, and the spectator market has been conditioned to accept that local identity is at the heart of the cultural meaning of the sport within the United States.

Nor are players really representative of the communities where they ply their trade. With a major exception of the "Lisbon Lions," the Glasgow Celtic European Football Champions of 1967, in which all the team hailed from within 10 miles of the ground, players in the modern age did not generally emanate from the neighborhoods where their teams are located. English soccer literature often recalls how in the immediate post-Second World War decades the players of EFL clubs often caught the same buses to home matches as the fans. However, although the players may have lived locally, they were not always local in origin and perhaps never have been. Indeed in the early years of the EFL, which, unlike cricket, had no birth qualification, Scottish players

often migrated south to play in English football. Moreover there was a transfer system for the buying and selling of players to other teams before 1914. What has changed in recent years with the creation of the EPL is that the bulk of the players are no longer even British. In the starting line-ups for the first round of EPL fixtures in 1992 just eleven players came from outside the United Kingdom or Ireland. This has changed dramatically and teams now resemble a league of nations with foreigners making up over 60 percent of the aggregate registered EPL players. North American team sports weakened their community representation—if it had ever existed without small franchises—with the coming of the draft in American football (1935), basketball (1947), ice hockey (1963), and baseball (1965), as well as the development of the farm system in baseball by which players were stacked away in minor league teams across the country to prevent their signing by rivals.

Cultural Exceptionalism

Australian Rules football is specific to that country. Although it resembles an amalgam of all other codes of football, it actually owes nothing to any of them. It began in 1858 as a means of keeping Melbourne cricketers fit during the winter and became organized into a state-based league competition in 1877, predating all other football leagues. In 1990 the competition became the Australian Football League, confirming that it was now a nationwide competition, though state leagues continued to function. It has several distinctive features, some of them reflecting Australian cultural heritage, particularly the concept of everyone getting a “fair go” and the larrikin anti-authority attitude. At state level it has been organized around electorate districts within the major cities. Unlike many football codes there are no knockout cup competitions with the top of the league at the end of the season being declared “minor” champion before an elaborate playoff system to determine the “major” champion. On the field it has a unique closed-fist method of passing the ball and features spectacular high marks where a player often clambers on an opponent’s shoulders to catch the ball. Points are awarded for near misses at goal, and not only is there no offside but players cannot be sent off for foul play, though any reported offenders are ineligible for the end-of-season award as “best and fairest” player (Hess et al. 2008).

American college sport is a unique phenomenon in which athletics has become the cuckoo in the nest undermining the academic mission of many institutions. It began as a player sport product but became a major cultural spectator sport, popularized through the local press (Oriard 1994). Universities and colleges of further and higher education worldwide are dedicated

to teaching, learning, and research, but in the United States, uniquely, they also host a \$16 billion-a-year sports enterprise which has become part of the mass entertainment industry. Annual athletic budgets of several institutions top \$100 million and most institutions spend more on sport than they receive directly from it. Their reward is glory, publicity, enhanced branding, political support in the state legislature, student and parent interest, and alumni donations. College sports, at least in those sports that have major professional leagues, have in effect become minor leagues used for draft purposes. This stems from some sports, football and basketball in particular, having no minor-league system in which aspiring professionals could learn their trade. Recruitment has been geared to the college draft and colleges are the only place where adequate coaching can be found. Increasingly student athletes in these sports are regarded by the universities, by the sports departments, and by the students themselves as being a distinct body on campus, separate physically and culturally from other undergraduates (Chudacoff 2015).

American college sport is a striking case of what Vamplew (2018) has termed “commercial amateurism,” in which unpaid athletes perform in front of paying spectators, bringing revenue to promoters, clubs, and organizations. This concept covers situations like Queens Park, a Scottish amateur football club, which in the immediate post-First World War decade owned the largest football stadium in the world. Another example is Australian track and field in the 1920s. Neilsen (2014) shows how those who administered antipodean amateur sport were drawn into running it as a business and replicated the practices adopted by entrepreneurs pushing professional sport. They sought to popularize their sport by creating a network of clubs and promoting competition between them, as well as bringing overseas stars to Australia, neither of which fell within the classic British view of amateur sport under whose policies they were supposed to be operating. The general decline of amateurism at the elite level during the modern age—Rugby Union was the last major international sport to begin to pay its players overtly in the mid-1990s—has left American colleges in a unique position.

Player Products

Player products focus on sports participants as consumers and how they have been supplied with equipment to play with, costumes to wear, places in which to perform, and training to improve their playing skills.

Equipment and Costume

The main functions of sports equipment and costume are to enable and improve performance as well as to offer protection to and identification of the wearer. Some basic equipment is necessary for a sport to take place but it is developments in design that have helped make participants faster, higher, and stronger. Just compare some items at the beginning the modern age with their later equivalents: the stiff bamboo versus the flexible carbon fiber vaulting pole; wooden golf clubs versus the composite graphite and titanium versions; and the contrasting streamlining of cars in the inaugural Italian Mille Miglia of 1927 with their Formula One counterparts. Some equipment was not even comprehended in the 1920s. Athletes with physical disabilities could rarely be sportspersons, but now cyborg technology allows some to challenge able-bodied competitors.

Costume is omnipresent in any representation of sport, be it the acknowledgment of ability in cycling's *maillot jaune* ("yellow jersey"), the identifying colored silks worn by jockeys, or the protective helmets of American footballers. One fear is that the latter, rather than protecting the wearer, has led to their use as an offensive weapon and even more injuries. As technology has improved the design and materials of sports costume, such as the all-in-one swimsuits, it has to be questioned whether, in the search for marginal gains, costume has actually become equipment. As Williams (2015) has argued, the collaboration between Adi Dassler of Adidas sports shoes and Sepp Herberger in 1954 enabled the German team to screw in longer studs (or cleats) to counter muddy conditions at halftime in the World Cup final to turn a 2–0 deficit to Hungary into a 3–2 win, and created a major moment of postwar national pride. Bates and Warner (2011) have noted the dichotomy in costume between elite and recreational athletes in water sports and skiing, where the former have opted for high-tech, skintight bodysuits, not generally seen in the pool or on the slopes. Perhaps the main achievement of costume—or rather costume change, as skirts became shorter and shorts became acceptable—has been to allow women to participate more fully in sport. Yet a major development has been unseen. Phillips and Phillips (1993) argue that new materials, such as nylon and rayon, led to lighter underwear for women, and the development of tampons increasingly liberated women to enjoy and participate in sport. **[insert illustration 3.4]**

Team sports demanded uniformity in costume design, but in other sports and in sporting recreation individuality could flourish. There have been fashions within sport: the tartan trews of American golfers visiting St. Andrews in the 1990s; the ultrashort shorts of English footballers in the 1970s and 1980s; and air shoes and the like among basketballers. However, these are subject

to the regulatory rules of event organizers and even governing bodies. Cultural conservatism among tennis administrators meant that shorts were not acceptable until the 1930s, and even today skirts are the preferred option for female players. Moreover, while other tournament organizers have relented, Wimbledon still enforce the diktat that suitable tennis attire should be almost entirely white.

Training, Instruction, and Assistance

Instruction and assistance came as goods (manuals, rule books, and performance-enabling and -enhancing substances) and services (coaching, teaching, and scientific advice). In the 1920s professional golfers were advertising themselves as “teachers” and “instructors” to readers of the *Golfers Handbook*. Today personal trainers abound and instruction can be received electronically. At the elite level coaching was systemized and revolutionized during the modern age with scientific method applied to achieve even marginal advantage. Victorian sports administrators often regarded coaching as akin to cheating in gaining an unfair, unnatural advantage, though they accepted that sometimes it was a necessary evil, as in eights rowing where unison and style were considered vital. Any such coaching, however, was generally only acceptable if it came from their social peers (Day 2012). This gradually changed, and by the 1920s trainers such as Sam Mussabini helped his charges such as Olympic gold medalists Albert Hill and Harold Abrahams with their training regime, diet, and relaxation. By the middle of the twentieth century, advice had become segmented and specialized with dieticians, strength and conditioning coaches, physical therapists and physiologists, and it was increasingly possible to earn a living as an expert in one specific aspect of physical athletic preparation.

Sports science was pioneered in Germany before 1920, and during the modern age its provision became formalized in most western and northern European nations. Its widespread adoption in the communist bloc has been attributed to a desire for more medals in international competitions, but this seems no less true of the Western world, though here there may also have been a commercial imperative. Sports science researchers focus on the key areas of physiology, nutrition, biomechanics, coaching, and medical support. However, there is a disconnect between sports science and sport for the masses. Although there have been some spin-offs for the ordinary athlete, particularly in rehabilitation, the focus of sports medicine everywhere, like sports science, has been the elite sportsperson and how to enhance their performance (Vamplew 1989: 68). So much so that one researcher has noted that at the beginning of the modern age

most elite athletes were normal, healthy citizens but over time they have become potentially unhealthy physiological freaks (Heggie 2011: 194).

In many sports the workplace is simultaneously a site of medical expertise and extraordinary medical neglect (Howe 2004). Promoters and managers frequently demand that participants play through pain, using drugs to enable them to perform despite the long-term damage to their bodies. Avoidable heat-related deaths have been a constant feature in American football as players and coaches alike de-emphasize the dangers of playing and training in such conditions. The culture of elite sport is to pressurize performers to minimize or suppress pain and injury (Schultz, Kenney, and Linden 2014).

Scientific knowledge and technology have helped athletes break records by improving not just their bodies but also the environment in which they perform. Modern swimming pools for international events have wave-reducing lane ropes to absorb the splash from nearby swimmers, and running track surfaces have slip-resistant lanes that return energy to the legs rather than drain it like the old, uneven cinder ones did. Indeed one estimate is that Jesse Owens, winning Olympian in the 1936 100-meter sprint, who had a best time of 10.2 seconds, would have been only a stride behind Usain Bolt's 2013 World Championship winning time of 9.77 seconds had he had the benefit of modern track, shoe, and starting block technology (Brennan 2018).

[insert illustration 3.5]

Public and Private Provision of Facilities

Bolz (2012) has shown that the interwar years in Europe were characterized by massive construction of publicly funded, local participatory sports venues based on an imperative to improve public health. Germany led the way, taking advantage of the prohibition on military education imposed in the Versailles peace treaty to adapt army training facilities for public use. Much was achieved in the Weimar Republic and the Nazis continued the policy of facilities for the masses rather than large venues for spectators. Italy, too, had politicized fascist physical education policies, and even in Britain, where there was a reluctance for state intervention in the sporting area, national governments saw a need for improved public health, though the onus for provision was left to local authorities. Yet the legacy of tradition still influenced the interwar decision-making. Whereas in 1922 Germany had an estimated 1,360 swimming pools and Britain 700, Italy had never been a national state and even in 1933 possessed but five pools.

Similarly gymnastics in Britain had never attained the level of popularity of the activity in Europe and gymnasiums scarcely featured in sports construction planning. In the United States, as part of its New Deal building program, the government invested in public parks and sports facilities and, at the level of an individual sport, Moss (2013) has shown that in the 1920s the private golf club enjoyed a boom, fueled by the ease of consumer loans which were used to pay for fees and subscriptions, but, following the stock market collapse later in that decade, American golfers, even from the middle classes, moved steadily to the use of public courses.

Participatory Sports Clubs

Sports clubs began to enable people with a common sporting purpose to come together. They provided a basis for agreeing common rules and regulations, created a framework for competitive interaction, and secured a location for participation. Clubs also encouraged sociability and conviviality, described by Holt (1992: 347) as being “at the heart of sport.” For the elite, tennis, skiing, golf, and motor sport were essentially clubbable opportunities for the sexes to mix, as well as providing chances for social interaction and to display status, wealth, and taste. Motoring down to overseas venues like Deauville, where the horse racing drew in tennis champion John Borota and aristocrats such as Lady Mountbatten and the Aga Khan, merged sport and leisure activities, new fashions, transport, and people-watching (“Dressing for the Autumn” *Vogue* 1930: 49). As in previous periods, clubs in the modern age tended not to cross the social divide and reinforced cultural barriers with bonding social capital between like-minded individuals rather than establishing bridging social capital across class, racial, and ethnic groupings. Kay’s (2013: 1661) study of private golf, tennis, and bowls clubs in twentieth-century Britain found evidence “of people like us hanging around together and repelling outsiders,” and in interwar America white Protestants created private golf clubs to keep out Catholics and Jews, while immigrant German Jews built their own courses but excluded Jews from eastern Europe (Moss 2013).

Workplace Sport

One special area of sports provision that became significant for some time in the modern age was that of workplace sport. It became a major way in which young adults, both male and female, were introduced to post-school sport in the interwar years, decades which one researcher claims was a “golden age” for work-based sport (Heller 2008: 607). Taking Britain as an example,

works-based teams, leagues, and cup competitions expanded throughout Britain for both men and women in this period. There was a significant development of interbusiness sporting rivalry with the establishment of competitions and events solely for company teams. By 1939 over a quarter of football clubs and nearly a fifth of cricket clubs in some northern towns had a workplace origin (Williams 1996: 124–5). The Industrial Welfare Society suggested that in the 1930s at least 25 percent of workers were members of company sports clubs (Kay 2013: 1662). Employers saw this provision as an addition to company welfare schemes that could create loyalty to their firms and undermine the growth of trade unionism, while workers felt the quality of the provision was better and often cheaper than available elsewhere (Vamplew 2017).

The first decade following the Second World War was one of nationalization which saw state ownership of major industrial sectors such as the coal mines, railways, and iron- and steelworks, all of which were committed to welfare policies which included sport. Countervailing forces, however, included the lessening of a need for sport to be part of a broader welfare package with the development of the Welfare State. Phillips (2004: 112) suggests that personnel policies may have replaced (or encompassed) old-style welfarism. Moreover, a decade or so after the war, workers had become more affluent which raised the prospect of alternative leisure activities. Continued postwar affluence in the 1960s meant that workers could choose leisure activities away from the immediate workplace. Coupled with structural change within the economy as steel, coal, and engineering fell on difficult times, both supply of and demand for workplace sport reduced. The Lawn Tennis Association handbook for 1956 indicates that there were at least seventy-five affiliated working men's clubs and miner's welfare tennis groups throughout the north of England, but thirty years later, with large-scale colliery closures and alternative leisure options, there were only seven (Kay 2012: 2542). Margaret Thatcher's unsocial Britain lessened any chances of a revival of workplace sport, which still exists but on a much smaller scale than in its heyday.

Across the world, Australia exhibited a similar pattern of boom and decline in workplace sport. Such provision there was dominated by Australian Rules football, which was so popular that it occasionally morphed into a spectator product. After a study of the phenomenon in the state of Victoria, Burke (2008) concludes that, in the interwar period, workplace football was a significant cultural leisure activity for the people of Melbourne and its suburbs and regional centres. However, from a peacetime pinnacle at the close of the 1930s after the Second World War a gradual but sustained decline began, and by the end of the century workplace football was

virtually extinct, a relic of a bygone era. In Russia in the 1920s the influence of the Proletkultists led to labor exercises in factory yards and farm meadows with men and women swinging hammers or scythes, simulating work movements in time to music. The Soviet system also involved the sponsorship of sports clubs (labeled Dinamo) by the security and armed forces and, later, via trade unions such as those for white-collar workers (Spartak), railway workers (Locomotiv), and car workers (Torpedo) (Riordan 2010: 545–7).

Associated Products

People have always been encouraged to consume other goods when consuming sport. Indeed the sport product is a complementary one to others such as the travel product, the alcohol product, the food product, and the gambling product. As Stewart and Jones (2010) indicate, fans also purchase merchandise which has become increasingly significant, especially as global supporters, who may never attend a game in person, seek to identify with a team. Merchandising has been a way that clubs further capture the utility of their fans. Replica shirts have been joined by products with only a tenuous connection to football—own-label wines, fragrances, and children’s toys—as merchandise sales have soared to rival revenue from gate receipts. By 2007/8 the average EPL club made about £20 million from such commercial activity (Szymanski 2010: xiv–xv).

There is fashion within sport but also fashion emanating from sport. Whereas sports clothing is for participants, sportswear, though often inspired by sports clothes, is for anyone. Today modern sportswear can be as much about leisurewear style as practical advantage in the arena: football shirts can send signals about a player’s biometrics to the coaching staff, but they also serve as replica products in a cross-generational market that can be worn on non-match days (Stride 2015). This cross-fertilisation began in the 1930s when for some consumers sportswear was becoming leisurewear. In both North America and in Europe, the staple look of sports fashions were mix-and match-separates, often in toning colors, or contrasting bright mixes of wool blend or cotton, such as featured by Brenner Sports Limited (“Motoring on the Continent” *Vogue* 1935: 14).

These designs incorporated sports shirts and jumpers for men and women, to be worn for urban leisure as well as for active pursuits, and gradually a coordinated look of smart casual separates in easy wash materials became promoted as an “assemblage” or “ensemble.” Worldwide, this became an international and cosmopolitan way of dressing, elegant and

androgynous, with tennis and basketball shoes predating trainers as the leading leisure footwear. Clemente (2007) has shown how, in the span of half a century, sportswear in south Florida evolved from the idiosyncratic daywear of elite northerners on vacation in Palm Beach to a major textile industry producing the very clothing that it was instrumental in popularizing.

Catering franchises have remained important contributors to stadium revenue. Wimbledon tennis fortnight is the largest sporting catering operation in Europe; in 2015 it employed 1,800 staff to prepare and serve meals and drinks. The following quantities of food and drink were served: 350,000 cups of tea and coffee, 150,000 bottles of water, 207,000 meals, 235,000 glasses of Pimm's, 190,000 sandwiches, 150,000 bath buns, scones, pasties, and doughnuts, 130,000 lunches, 100,000 pints of draught beer and lager, 60,000 sausage baguettes, 40,000 chargrilled meals, 32,000 portions of fish and chips, 30,000 liters of milk, 8,000 bottles of champagne, 125,500 ice creams, 6,000 stone-baked pizzas, and, of course, 142,000 portions of English strawberries (Wimbledon.com, 20 February 2016).

Sport heritage has become a minor industry as the sector has mobilized nostalgia as a commercial but also an educational proposition. Museums and Sports Halls of Fame are the most important conduits of this, and the second half of the modern age has seen a significant increase in their number worldwide (Phillips 2012: 249). They invoke a sense of the past by emphasizing the material culture of sport. Stadium tours, too, have persuaded sports fans literally to pay homage to their heroes. These tours, like museum visits, always end via the ubiquitous shop where sports-related merchandise can be purchased as part of the commodification of sporting memory.

Gambling is another associated sports product. Sport and gambling can work well together; having a bet can add to the excitement of the event, and the unpredictability of sport can create a lively betting market. Yet sport has been much more important to gambling as a vehicle for betting than gambling has been to sport as a source of revenue. Many governing bodies of sport were reluctant to associate themselves with gambling because of justified fears of ensuing corruption, but additionally, as much gambling was illegal, its revenue streams could not be easily tapped anyway. A few sports in countries where totalizators were legalized at race courses and dog tracks were able to raise money to plow back into the sport, but the primary beneficiary was government at state and national level. This disparity in revenue sharing was emphasized when off-course betting became legalized (Riess 2011; Vamplew 2006).

During the modern age a revolution in communications technology transformed the way in which sport was presented and experienced. There is no doubt that the mega events previously discussed would not have become so gigantic without the drawing power of television. Boxing was the first sport to be widely televised (in the 1940s), the action in the limited-size ring being easy for the static cameras to cover. In the early years of the modern age physical attendance at the venue was essential to elite club revenues, but more recently income from broadcasting rights has become the dominant item in their accounts. The money from television contracts now appears to be the driving force in many sports. This leads to the danger of the sports industry becoming too reliant on one source of revenue. Currently competition between broadcasters is keeping income high for sports organizations, but it can go wrong. When Irish broadcaster Setanta's contract with the Scottish Football League collapsed in 2009, several clubs were placed in financial jeopardy. Moreover the media tail may now be wagging the sporting dog. Sport has compromised itself by changing its playing and organization rules to suit broadcasting companies, such as the introduction of the tiebreak in tennis (and later other sports) to enable schedules to be met, and also allowing the television stations increasingly to determine the starting times for events. Media companies now own sports clubs and teams, as with Sky Broadcasting's professional road-cycling team, and they also sponsor events, again as with Sky who began funding the British Masters Golf Championship in 2015.

Entrepreneurial Motivations

One expert on sports entrepreneurship noted that “while the profit motive has nudged sport in certain directions, one cannot say that it has dominated or even controlled the industry's structure” (Hardy 1986: 20). He sensed that “profit-seeking and risk-taking—normally central dimensions of entrepreneurship—have not always been so pivotal in an industry whose production process has often been subsidised by state and philanthropic agencies.” More recently Vamplew (2018) has argued for the introduction of the sports social entrepreneur who seeks social returns rather than (or as well as) operating surpluses into any discussion of promoter motivation and suggested, more generally, that sports entrepreneurs should be considered as those persons who act as change agents in the supply of sports products, who attempt to increase the output of the industry, improve the consumer experience, or raise interest in sports products by such means as developing new markets and creating new products. Much sports provision in the command economies of the communist world was for political, non-profit reasons, either to

promote fitness and military preparedness, or, as was also a motive in the Western world, to bring prestige to the nation (and its politicians) via the reflected glory of gold medals won by their nation's athletes. It was suggested above that there was a cultural difference in the motivation of American and European owners of sports clubs with regard to profit orientation. This is not to infer that Europeans were uninterested in making profits but to suggest that such earnings were not taken for personal consumption or distributed as shareholder dividends. Instead they were spent to improve the quality of the team to help the club win trophies. Others who definitely sought profits like conventional businesses (which is what they were) included the producers of sports costume and equipment, the purveyors of food and drink at sports venues, and the proprietors of newspapers and broadcasting companies who spread information about the events taking place there. There were some who also sought profits from sport but indirectly. Many local authorities in Britain constructed swimming pools, golf courses, and bowling greens to help attract the tourist pound to their locality, and employers who set up works teams felt such welfare provision promoted loyalty to the firm and reduced labour turnover.

Dark Products

Not everything marketed in the sports world of the modern age matched the wholesome image promulgated by those adherents of sport as a force for good. Clearly some sports products, be they spectator, player, or associated ones, can be labeled dark products as their sale or use undermines the integrity of sport. Spectator product providers were supplying several markets simultaneously. Some spectators wanted to see a demonstration of skill, others an entertaining spectacle; and yet others demanded the excitement and drama of a close contest. Economists argue that it is this latter unpredictability of sport with an uncertain result that is its key selling point. The problem for promoters is that this very unpredictability means that quality or excitement cannot be guaranteed. For some profit-seeking entrepreneurs the integrity of sport had to be sacrificed on the altar of spectacle to ensure an audience: for them the value of "normal" sport was not enough. The prime example was the development of professional wrestling, which by the 1920s was becoming choreographed with predetermined results. One wrestling impresario of the time, Charles Cochran (1915: 11), claimed in his autobiography that "the public did not want straight wrestling – they wanted a 'show.'" The major supplier of professional wrestling today is World Wrestling Entertainment which began as Capitol Wrestling Corporation in 1952 and now hosts over 300 live events each year as well as telecasting to some

150 countries. Although the bouts are scripted and follow a story line, they have found a ready market among sports fans who prefer the spectacle to true competition.

The elephant in the room when discussing sports science is performance-enhancing drugs. There is a fine line—exploited by medical exemptions—between performance-enabling and performance-enhancing drugs, one deemed appropriate for bringing athletes to the starting line but the other banned for giving them an unfair advantage. As Dimeo and Moller (2018: 81) show, over 300 substances which appear in general medications are now prohibited by IOC and WADA rules, although they are legal for personal consumption. In the search for international championship medals, some countries, notably in the communist bloc, have sanctioned the systematic use of performance-enhancing drugs, but Western athletes have also had their use of such drugs condoned by their respective sports bodies (Dimeo, Hunt, and Horbury 2011).

Another form of dark product has been the sports costume and equipment produced by the exploitation of workers, including children, in the underdeveloped world. In the early 1990s much of the world's output of footballs stemmed from young boys and girls handsewing together panels of leather or synthetic materials. A football could sell for \$65 (£50); the 6-year-old Pakistani child who stitched it together got paid the equivalent of 15 cents (10 pence), a classic example of corporate capitalism exploiting market forces to its advantage. Although child labor is illegal in India and Pakistan, few seem to care that it is infringed to produce sports equipment: not the national or state governments who simply accept the situation; not the multinational corporations who subcontract the production of their wares to middlemen in those nations; not even the Save the Children charity who argued that stitching footballs was not as bad as other trades; and certainly not the consumers who continued to buy footballs by the million (Navid et al. 2011).

Sport has never been totally pure: cheating one's opponents, using performance-enhancing substances, and player and spectator violence all have a long history. Whether the use of dark products intensified in the modern age is a matter of hypothesis rather than calculation but there are several indicators that this has occurred. First, the use of performance-enhancing drugs, state sponsored in the Eastern bloc and tolerated for stars in the West, has become a recognized major threat to the integrity of track and field, road cycling, and power sports such as weightlifting. Indeed a feature of these sports (and others) is a race, between pharmacologists who invent performance-enhancing drugs and those who detect them. Secondly, crowd behavior, particularly in soccer, became a major problem in Europe in the 1970s and 1980s. Although not

the root cause, the association with alcohol often acted as a trigger mechanism or an aggravating factor (Collins and Vamplew 2002: 80–7). Thirdly, historians have shown that in America the criminal underworld infiltrated boxing in the interwar decades and college basketball in the immediate post-1945 years (Riess 1988; Figone 1989). Additionally economists, using large data sets, have alleged widespread match fixing in several sports including sumo, horse racing, college football and basketball, and tennis (Vamplew 2018). A recent report solicited by the European Commission noted that “scandals have multiplied in recent years and encompass all disciplines, all levels of sport and a wide number of countries” (Boniface 2012: 15). Indeed Hill (2016: 231–2), an investigative journalist (but one with a doctorate in sociology), believes that “the war against match-fixers is being lost,” predominately because of the globalization of the sports gambling market.

[insert illustration 3.6]

Globalization

Perhaps betting on sport has become globalized, but what of sport itself? National cultures produced and popularized different sports in different areas of the world. Tomlinson and Young (2011) identify four clusters of sport development within Europe alone: not just the British, but also German, Soviet, and Scandinavian versions. The British one was characterized by an absence of state intervention, a reliance on private organizations, and a domination by an anti-commercial ethos through the ideology of amateurism. The German cluster originated in nineteenth-century militarized forms of physical culture and was marked by an emphasis on the collective, the individual body in harmony with the body politic, and a non-competitive ethos. Scandinavia had a variant on the German with an equal focus on improving national spirit and defense in the nineteenth century, but placed greater emphasis on individual movement, bodily harmony, and aesthetics. Additionally, its notion of *idrott* proposed a recreational outdoor physical development in harmony with nature. In the Soviet/eastern European cluster, which emerged in the twentieth century, sport was an extension of the state apparatus both in spheres of mass display and the cultivation of elite athletes. In America, British sports immigrated with the colonists and prizefighting and horse racing vied for precedence as early spectator sports. Yet the sport that emerged as America’s national one in the nineteenth century was baseball, which had British origins but no popularity in its homeland. The later developments of American football and basketball were clearly innovations from within the United States.

It is often argued that these models of sports development have now been undermined by globalization, but really soccer is still the only one truly global sport. The World Cup, inaugurated in Uruguay in 1930, was the first single-sport global team event, but it was unique also for being the first global competition to allow professionals to participate. Moreover Taylor (2006) asserts that it began the expansion of the international market for football talent which cemented soccer as the world game. As befits the “world game,” the supply lines for balls has become multinational. Footballs that once required stitching in local cobblers’ workshops became sourced from South and East Asia where labor was plentiful and cheap. In turn mechanized production in China has undercut the low productivity of the handsewers of Pakistan and Thailand (Navdi et al. 2011: 338–40). Yet this is more an international division of labor based on comparative advantage than true globalization.

Globalization is often conflated, especially by those on the political left, as Americanization. Yet sport has not become McDonaldized even with the global reach of American televised sport. Although basketball has featured in the Olympics since 1936, baseball has appeared only intermittently and American football not at all, suggesting that some major American team sports have not transferred sufficiently across the world to justify inclusion in one of the truly global sports festivals. Backed by the NFL as a means of developing young players by giving them more game experience, the World League of American Football operated in Europe between 1991 and 2007. It was formed to serve as a spring league, with seven of the ten teams actually based in North America. That format lasted two seasons before, after a one-season hiatus, it was re-established in 1995 with six teams, all in Europe. In 1998 it was rebranded as NFL Europe until 2007 when it became NFL Europa, in deference to the dominant spelling in Dutch and German. There was a lack of stability in the franchises and ultimately five of the six teams were based in Germany. While attendances held up, this lost them television contracts outside Germany, and in June 2007, one week after the World Bowl XV, the league was disbanded. Reportedly it had been losing about \$30 million a season. It had become an expensive exercise in amassing exemption for NFL summer training camps (Starcevic: 2007).

In sport America has exhibited exceptionalism, if not isolationism, with the one real world sport, soccer, only being accepted as a mainstream sport relatively late in the United States. However, perhaps globalization should be considered more subtly than simply the domination of a type of sport. As members of the major superpower emerging from the First World War, Americans thought they could use sport to spread American culture and ideology

throughout the world, similar to what Britain had done in the previous century. However, Dyreson (2003) argues that the spread of modern sport encouraged nationalism rather than globalization. Maybe globalization can be seen in attitudes toward the promotion of sport but the American pursuit of profit has not been fully replicated around the world with investment in sport for national and individual kudos still often occurring.

Conclusion

During the modern age sport experienced commercial widening, commercial deepening, product modification, and product transformation, often influenced by cultural developments in wider society. Commercial widening occurs when more revenue is obtained from traditional gate-revenue sources, such as the playing of more games (with the expansion of Victorian Football League to encompass Australian Rules teams from all the other states) or the creation of extra stadium capacity when there is excess demand for the event being sold (commonplace everywhere in growing sports). In effect it is a business strategy of “more of the same.” Commercial deepening, however, involves the development of new revenue sources such as sponsorship, merchandising, signage, and media rights, which is the modern age sports business writ large. Product modification involves changing the original sporting competition so as to attract larger audiences, either for one event or over a season. Such changes include the establishment of new competitions within the sport (in British soccer, League cups were added to the more established League championships and Association cup competitions), the introduction of playoffs for promotion from one division to another (again introduced into the English and Scottish Football Leagues), or perhaps playing at different times of the week (the establishment of Monday Night Football for the American media) or even different times of the year (elite Rugby League in England has switched from being a winter code to a summer one). Such developments add more events to the sporting calendar but do not change the essence of the traditional game. Product transformation, on the other hand, can drastically change the nature of a sport and the way in which it is played. One feature that has affected several sports is that the referee’s decision is no longer sacrosanct. Technological developments enabling slow-motion replays have forced governing bodies to acknowledge that in-play rulings can be challenged. All these changes can be seen within Australian cricket, which began the modern age with test matches scheduled against the traditional all-white teams of England and South Africa and an internal Sheffield Shield competition between the three most populous states of New South

Wales, Victoria, and South Australia. Commercial widening saw new international opponents including India, Pakistan, and the West Indies, all non-white in their composition, and the spread of the Shield tournament to the rest of the continent. Commercial deepening began with the Australian Cricket Board signing contracts with national radio and later television broadcasters, at the time non-commercial organisations, but the sport gained even more revenue when media magnate Kerry Packer set up a rival competition, World Series Cricket, in the late 1970s as the resultant rapprochement allowed a commercial broadcaster to gain the rights to televise all Australia's games. Even more of an income generator was the product modification of limited-overs (usually fifty for each side) cricket in which a result could be obtained in a day unlike the four or five days of traditional matches. Ultimately this led to product transformation and by the end of the modern age the most popular form of the game in Australia was the Big Bash, in which sides representing the capital cities, ostensibly the state teams with imported guest stars, played each other, often under lights, in matches limited to twenty overs batting for each side, thus fitting in with the zeitgeist of recent times, that of instant gratification, fast food, and fast communication.

Sports products are not just an economic phenomenon but are influenced by, and have implications for, cultural aspects of life. During the modern age cultural shifts helped influence change in the format and character of many sports. Who in 1920 would have believed that one day the United States would win the Women's World Soccer Championship, or indeed that such a tournament would ever exist? What cricket fan would have envisaged switching on an electronic device to watch one-day games in India and Afghanistan, or that the headquarters of that game would now be in Dubai? Who would have imagined that the Olympic Games would have been hosted in Rio de Janeiro and would have featured golf, synchronized swimming, mountain biking, taekwondo, and the triathlon?