

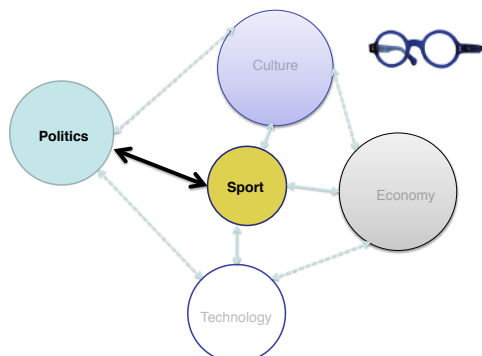
KNES 287 Sport and American Society: Module 1 Topic B

"Sport and the Neoliberal Political Order"

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This week's focus: **POLITICS** and the **POLITICAL ORDER**



What is the inter-relationship between sport and politics?

Theme 1:

Sport and Politics



England team, Berlin 1938

Costasitis/Michaelitis



Beware of SPORTING FETISHIZATION

We need to fully understand
the variations and
complexities of the:

sport ↔ **politics** relation

Sport or Politics?

[See Video Clip 1](#)

Barack Obama [D] at the University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, 2008
Marco Rubio [R] campaigning in Iowa, August 2015

Sport or Politics?



Sarah Palin being introduced as the Republican vice-presidential candidate for the 2008 general election



"Starting Point Guard"

and

"Hockey Mom"

Sport and Politics 2012



"One of the promises he made was he was going to create more jobs, and today, there are 23 million people out of work or have stopped looking for work or underemployed...Let me tell you: If you have a coach that's zero and 23 million, you say it's time to get a new coach... It's time for America to see a winning season again, and we are going to bring it to them."

(Mitt Romney speech, Union Terminal, Cincinnati, September 1, 2012)

Donald Trump (and Tom Brady)



Donald J. Trump
@realDonaldTrump

Congratulations to Tom Brady on yet another great victory- Tom is my friend and a total winner!

9/3/15, 12:49 PM



Bear (Grylls) and Barack (Obama) Instagram Selfie



"Running Wild with Bear Grylls" (2015)

These would seem to be examples of the **sportization of politics**.

For our purposes, it is more appropriate to discuss the **politicization of sport**.

Politics:

The PRACTICE/ TECHNIQUES/STRATEGIES of **GOVERNING** (controlling/ shaping/regulating a population)...

Micro-Politics: The practice of **GOVERNING** (controlling/shaping/regulating) lives on a personal level



Office Politics



Team Politics

However, in this module, we will focus on **macro politics and SPORT...**

Macro-Politics: The practice of **GOVERNING** (controlling/shaping/regulating) lives on a societal level.



Constitutional Democracy

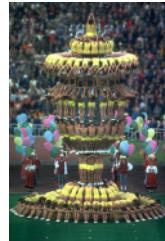


Absolute Monarchy

The Olympic Games are highly politicized global sporting spectacles through which various political systems have been showcased.

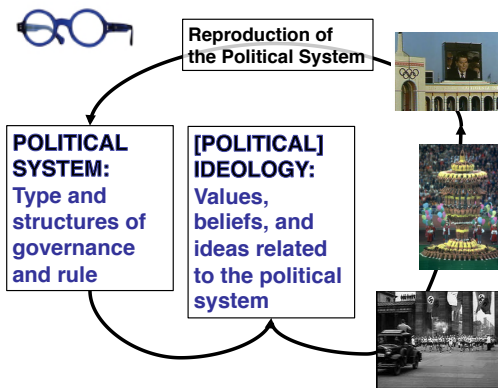


Berlin 1936 –
[Aryan] National
Socialism/
Authoritarianism



Moscow 1980–
State Communism

Los Angeles 1984 –
Democratic
Capitalism



However, there is an argument to be made that even routine sporting experiences are **POLITICIZED**.



They reproduce/reinforce the values, beliefs, and ideas of the **dominant political system**.

Theme 2:

Politics, Ideology, and Hegemony

HEGEMONY ALERT!



Antonio Gramsci
(1891-1937)

This is a classic example of Antonio Gramsci's notion of **HEGEMONY**, which speaks to the way **politics and power** are linked to **ideology**.



Something is **HEGEMONIC** if it is unquestioned, taken for granted, viewed as being **natural or normal**.

A system of government/political formation can be considered **HEGEMONIC** when:

the majority of the people do not question it, they view it as being the **NATURAL** and **NORMAL** "way things should be".

HEGEMONY is a process of **SHAPING PUBLIC OPINION** in order that the people **ACTIVELY CONSENT** (agree) to the existing political order/system of governance.

HEGEMONY is the **POPULARIZING**, of the values and beliefs (**IDEOLOGY**) that **NORMALIZE** (and thereby support) the system of governance/political order within a society.



For example, within the U.S. there is *general* consensus regarding the system of governance/political structure.

Most Americans support the idea and practice of **CONSTITUTIONAL DEMOCRACY**.



According to Gramsci, **HEGEMONY** refers to the situation of:

COERCION (control) **THROUGH** **COERCION THROUGH CONSENT** (the winning of popular) **CONSENT** (to the political order).

But how is this popular consent actually won?

Louis Althusser's Notion of **REPRESSIVE STATE APPARATUS (RSAs)**



Army
Police
Law
Prison
System

The political order is upheld and reinforced through physical force and/or violence

"HARD POWER"/Coercive Politics

Althusser, L. (1989). 'Ideology and ideological state apparatuses' in Lenin and Philosophy and other Essays. London: New Left Books pp 170-86

Military/Police as RSA



The use (or threat) of violence to impose views and values of dominant political order.

Louis Althusser's Notion of IDEOLOGICAL STATE APPARATUS (ISAs)



Politics
Mass Media
Religion
Sport

Institutions which express and reinforce the ideology (values and beliefs) of the political order.

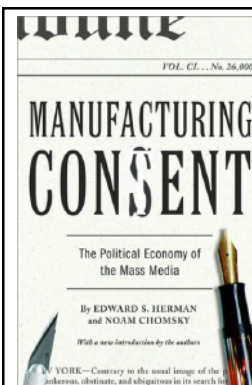
"SOFT POWER"/Consensus Politics

Althusser, L. (1989). 'Ideology and ideological state apparatuses' in Lenin and Philosophy and other Essays. London: New Left Books pp 170-86

Politics as ISA



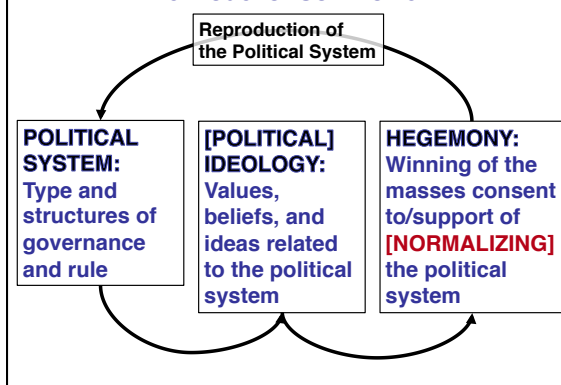
Political ideologies embedded not only in what they say, but also what they do: **POLITICAL LEGISLATION.**



The **POPULAR MEDIA** is **HEGEMONIC** because its **CONTENT** appeals to **DOMINANT VIEWS** and **VALUES**, and hence contributes to the manufacturing of **CONSENT** (support) to the dominant **POLITICAL ORDER.**

Source: Herman, E. S., & Chomsky, N. (1988). Manufacturing consent: The political economy of the mass media. New York: Pantheon Books.

The Model of Soft Power



Theme 3:

The U.S.A. and Neoliberalism

Sport and Contrasting Political Formations/Ideologies



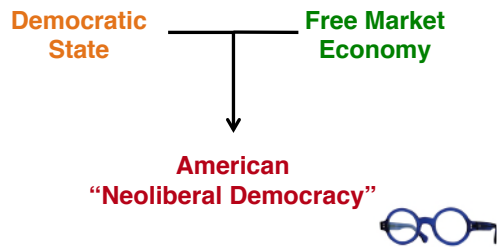
People's Republic of China:
Chinese "State Capitalism"
(2008-2022)
Beijing Summer Olympics 2008
Beijing Winter Olympics 2022



Post-Communist Russia:
Federal Presidential Republic
(2014-2018)
Sochi 2014 Winter Olympics
Russia 2018 FIFA World Cup

What is the prevailing political order and ideology in contemporary America?

Contemporary US is dominated by the inter-relationship between political and economic interests.



NEOLIBERAL CAPITALISM

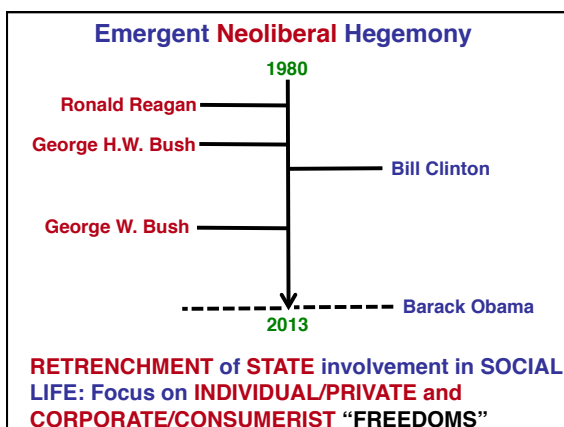
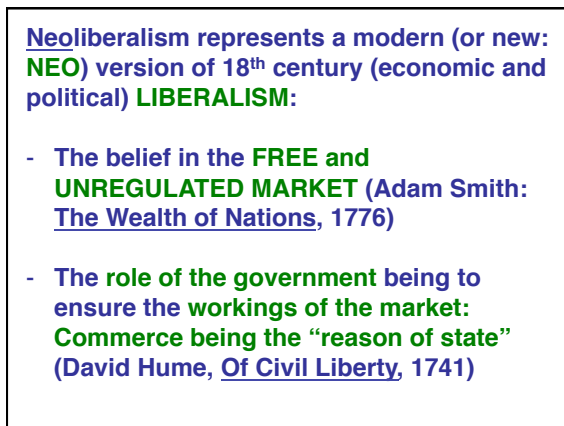
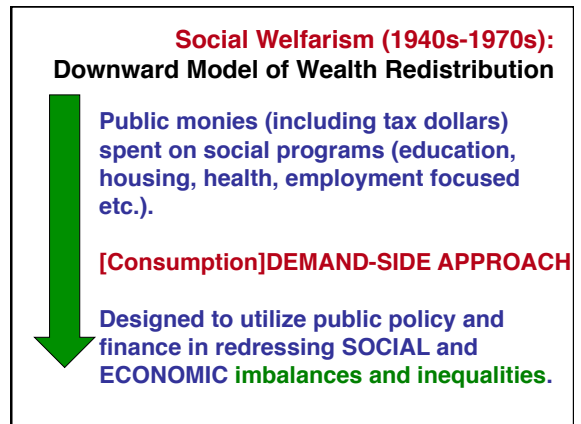
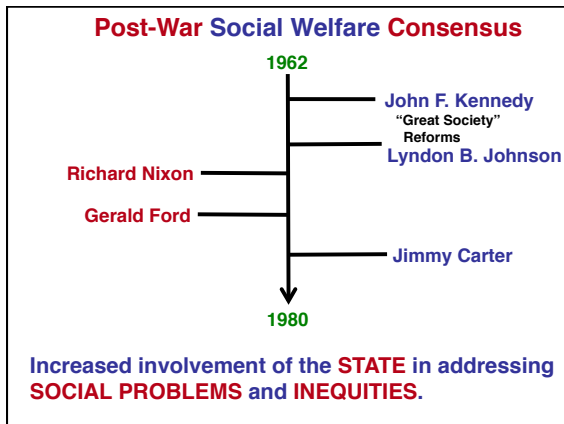
Neoliberalism represents a political order and ideology, linked to a definite type of economic formation.

We haven't always been NEOLIBERAL

For much of the twentieth century, politics was concerned with protecting the populace from the exploitative and unequal aspects of industrial capitalism.



FDR's "social welfare agenda"



SMALL GOVERNMENT?

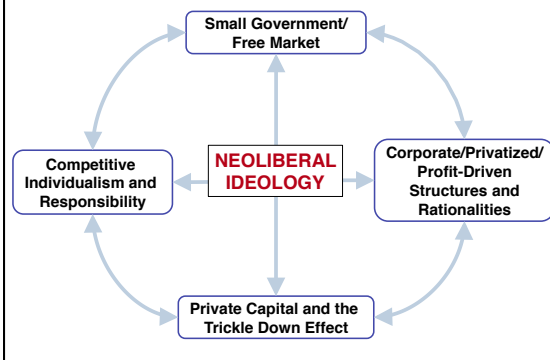
(or a state focused on supporting the **market economy** rather than providing a **safety net** for its citizens?)

A neoliberal government is **not necessarily smaller**, rather it involves a change of emphasis:

FROM: Primarily serving the interests of the citizenry

TO: Serving the interests of **corporate capitalism** (the inference being the success of the capitalist economy will serve the interests of the citizenry more generally)

Neoliberal Ideology (Belief System)



Neoliberalism (1980s-present): Upward Model of Wealth Redistribution



Public monies used to **SUBSIDIZE CORPORATE and CAPITALIST** interests.

[Production]SUPPLY-SIDE APPROACH

Designed to stimulate the **CREATION of WEALTH**, that would then **TRICKLE DOWN** to the rest of the population (in terms of direct and indirect employment opportunities).

Neoliberalization as **Corporatization**



The **for-profit commercial corporation** as the defining institution of neoliberal society.

The Privatization of the Public Sector

Hospitals/
Healthcare

Public
Services

Housing



Education

Police

Sport/
Physical
Culture



The Neoliberalized Individual Tax Code

The income tax rate for the highest earners:

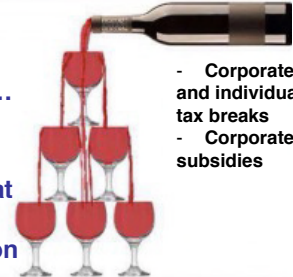
1980: 70%

2002: 35%

Neoliberalism as Trickle Down Economics (aka Reaganomics)

Improve the capital supply at top of economic pyramid...

...creates wealth that trickles down to the rest of the population



Under the assumption that 'a rising tide lifts all boats', 'trickle down' or neoliberal theory holds that the elimination of poverty can best be secured through free markets and free trade.



Source: Harvey, D. (2005). *A brief history of neoliberalism* (pp. 64-65). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

NEOLIBERAL INDIVIDUALISM

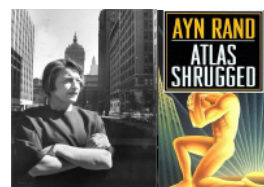
Neoliberal INDIVIDUALISM

"there is no such thing as society. There are individual men and women, and there are families. And no government can do anything except through people, and people must look to themselves first."



Margaret Thatcher, 1987, British Prime Minister, 1979-1990

Neoliberalism's Ideology of Competitive Individualism



"rational selfishness"
The central preoccupation being the well-being and cultivation of the self, and individual self-interest.
Viewed as a necessity for a productive society.
Ayn Rand (1957)

Reduced individual taxes (afforded by government retrenchment), and market expansion, means individual self-interest and competitive drive becomes the determinant of social and economic advancement

The **IDEALIZED SUBJECT** of NEOLIBERAL politics is the **CITIZEN-CONSUMER**, the **INDIVIDUAL** who is a:



- COMPETITIVE
- RESPONSIBLE
- RATIONAL

“entrepreneur of the self”

Source: Foucault, M. (2010). *The birth of biopolitics: Lectures at the College de France, 1978-1979*, New York, Picador.

Neoliberal Bio-Politics

The **GOVERNANCE** of (individual) **BODIES**

Embodying NEOLIBERALISM I



The **Celebrated/ Responsible** Neoliberal Subject



The **Demonized/ Irresponsible** Neoliberal Subject

Embodying NEOLIBERALISM II



The **Celebrated/ Responsible** Neoliberal Subject



The **Demonized/ Irresponsible** Neoliberal Subject

More of this in the next MODULE

Within this NEOLIBERAL free market moment an inability to provide sufficiently for ones “own needs...and ambitions” becomes a marker of a lack of moral responsibility, or a sign of pathological inferiority, rather than a statement on the inadequacies or inequalities implicit within the social formation (Brown, 2006, p. 694).

Source: Brown, W. (2006). American nightmare: Neoliberalism, neoconservatism, and de-democratization. *Political Theory*, 34, 690-714.

NEOLIBERALISM normalizes the notion of:

INDIVIDUAL MORAL RESPONSIBILITY and PERSONAL CULPABILITY

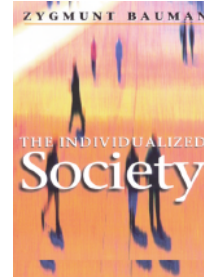
Culpability: The blame for a fault or wrongdoing.

Neoliberalism promotes the notion of society as a:

MERITOCRACY

(where individuals succeed or fail, purely according to their own ability and/or determination: wider social influences having no influence or relevance)

The Neoliberal Individualization of Society



“The distinctive feature of the stories told in our times is that they **articulate individual lives** in a way that **excludes or suppresses** (prevents from articulation) that possibility of tracking down the links concerning **individual fate to the ways and means by which society as a whole operates**”.

Source: Bauman, Z. (2001) *The individualized society* (p. 9). Cambridge, MA: Polity Press.

A **Neoliberal Democracy** is a political order one in which primacy is given to **corporate/business interests**, based on the philosophy that a **free market** encourages **economic growth** and development through all levels of society.

It is a **CORPORATE/BUSINESS ORIENTED** and **INDIVIDUALIZING POLITICAL ORDER**.

A Neoliberal Continuum

Donald Trump



Jeb Bush?



Hilary Clinton?

Bernie Sanders



Ultra-Neoliberal:
Pro-Business/
Anti-Tax/
Hyper-Individualism

Anti-Neoliberal:
Pro-Populace/
Anti-Privatization/
Hyper-Collectivism

Neoliberal Maryland?



Governor Larry Hogan:
- A business-friendly agenda
- Trickle-down economics
- Competitive Individualism



Theme 4:

Neoliberal Capitalism and Sport

The **sport**↔**politics** relation in the US may not be as self-evident as in the Chinese and Russian examples.

Certainly, the American political order is **less AUTHORITARIAN and REPRESSIVE**, but nonetheless:

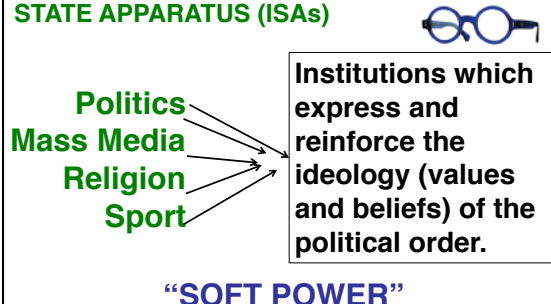
Yet, **AMERICAN SPORT IS HIGHLY POLITICIZED**, in that it is closely linked to the **prevailing political order**.

NEOLIBERAL SPORT as Ideological State Apparatus

Within contemporary (neoliberal) American society, dominant (neoliberal) political values are **not repressively imposed** on the U.S. populace (through the workings of RSAs).

Rather, various ISAs, such as SPORT, are **SHAPED** by, and effectively **NORMALIZE and POPULARIZE** the **NEOLIBERAL AGENDA**.

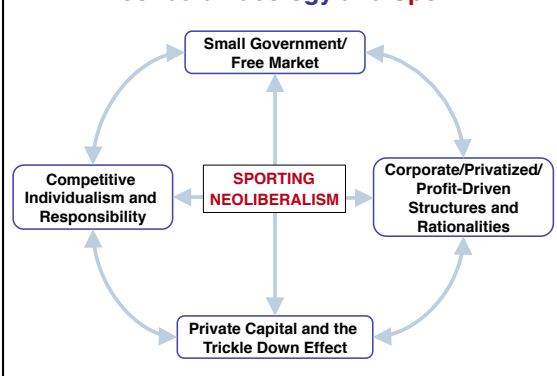
Louis Althusser's Notion of IDEOLOGICAL STATE APPARATUS (ISAs)



Althusser, L. (1989). 'Ideology and ideological state apparatuses' in *Lenin and Philosophy and other Essays*. London: New Left Books pp 170-86

SPORT is POLITICIZED because it is **FRAMED (articulated)**, and **unconsciously understood and experienced**, as an **expression and reproducer of NEOLIBERAL IDEOLOGIES and VALUES**.

Neoliberal Ideology and Sport



Neoliberal Marketization/Commercialization of Physical Culture

PROFIT-DRIVEN COMMERCIAL CORPORATIONS are the **HEGEMONIC (taken-for-granted) model of STRUCTURING AND ORGANIZING** institutions within **NEOLIBERAL society**.

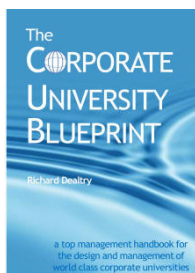
Neoliberal Marketization/Commercialization of Elite Sport



Neoliberal Marketization/Commercialization of Olympic Games



Neoliberal Marketization/Commercialization of College Sport



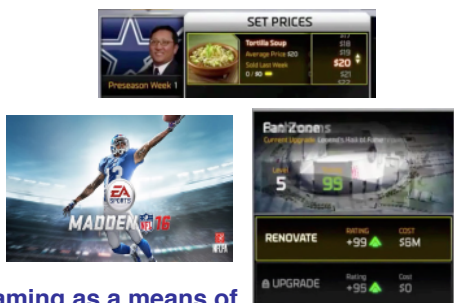
Corporate Universities: Corporate Sport

Neoliberal Marketization/Commercialization of NASCAR



See Video Clip 2

Madden 2016 as Ideological State Apparatus (ISA)



Gaming as a means of **TEACHING** and **NORMALIZING** neoliberal corporatist values and ideas.

Even our physically active bodies can become **EXTENSIONS** and **EXPRESSIONS** of the **COMMERCIALLY CORPORATIST NEOLIBERAL ORDER**.



Bodies By Gold's Gym



Bodies By Nike



Bodies By Lulelemon




Bodies By Abercrombie & Fitch



Consuming sport (either as spectator or participant) thus contributes—whether we realise it or not—to the **NORMALIZATION** of **NEOLIBERAL** Corporate Capitalism

Neoliberal (Commercially Privatized) Youth Sport





Jump Start	Total Performance	P.E.A.K.	Team Training
Ages 7-11	Ages 12-18	Ages 17 and Above	All Teams Any Age
Improving fundamental athletic skills & self-esteem for young athletes	Develop & enhance athletic performance	Designed for the high-performance high school, college & professional athlete	Designed to assist Sport Coaches to help teams improve the following:
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Coordination • Running Technique • Body Weight Strength • First Step Quickness • Flexibility • Injury Prevention • Weight Loss • Self Confidence 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Improve Speed • Increase Strength • Improve Agility • Develop Endurance • Maximize Jumping Ability • Decrease Susceptibility to Injury • Boost Confidence 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Run your fastest sprint time ever • Increase vertical jump • Break your all-time max lift • Maximize agility • Improve flexibility • Recover faster 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Team Speed & Agility • Movement Efficiency • Power & Endurance • Team Unity & Work Ethic • Injury Prevention • Nutrition & Recovery
Learn More Click Here	Learn More Click Here	Learn More Click Here	Learn More Click Here

The mere fact that many now expect (and indeed prefer) to pay for sport and recreation experiences/opportunities, illustrates the **COMMERCIAL PRIVATIZATION** of this sector.

It also demonstrates how our lives/**OUR BODIES** have been subtly **POLITICIZED**, in that we are living **NEOLIBERALIZED** lives, that reinforce the **HEGEMONIC** position of the **NEOLIBERAL ORDER**.

Louis Althusser's Notion of **IDEOLOGICAL STATE APPARATUS (ISAs)**



Politics
Mass Media
Religion
Sport

Institutions which express and reinforce the ideology (values and beliefs) of the political order.

“SOFT POWER”

Althusser, L. (1989). 'Ideology and ideological state apparatuses' in Lenin and Philosophy and other Essays. London: New Left Books pp 170-86

Sport as **Ideological State Apparatus (ISA)**

SPORT CONSUMPTION
as a means of
TEACHING and
NORMALIZING
neoliberal corporatist
values and ideas.

The **Neoliberal** Sport Stadium



Source: HBO (July 12, 2015). Sports: Stadium. *Last Week Tonight with John Oliver*. [See Video Clip 3](#)

Neoliberal **Business-Friendly** Conditions

Public-Private Partnerships (PPP) when it comes to the financing of STADIA.

- **DIRECT SUBSIDY** from public funds
- **TAX EXEMPT** Municipal Bonds
- Rent/Property Tax **RELIEF**

The Loss of \$4 Billion of Public Monies

“It’s use of **government funds** to **subsidize activity** that the **private sector** can **finance on its own.**”

Source: Kuriloff, A., & Preston, D. (2012, September 5). In Stadium Building Spree, U.S. Taxpayers Lose \$4 Billion, *Bloomberg Business*.

Private GAIN when it comes to the DISTRIBUTION OF INCOME/ REVENUES.

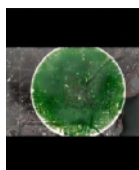
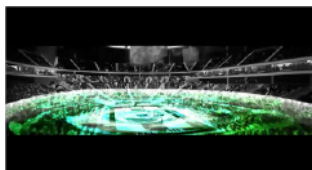


- Naming Rights
- Tickets
- Broadcast contracts
- Concessions
- Luxury Box
- Non-Sport Events

Little, if any, **direct public gain.**

WHY?

The Seductive Appeal of Trickle-Down Economics: “Economic Magic”



The Milwaukee Bucks “ripple” effect typical of the **trickle down economics** used to justify **stadium building/investment.**

Even though:

“The large and growing peer-reviewed economics literature on the economic impacts of stadiums, arenas, sports franchises, and sport mega- events has **consistently found no substantial evidence of increased jobs, incomes, or tax revenues** for a community associated with any of these things.”

Source: Coates, D., & Humphreys, B. (2008). Do Economists Reach a Conclusion on Subsidies for Sports Franchises, Stadiums, and Mega-Events? *Econ Journal Watch*, 5, (3), pp. 294-315.

The Stadium and Regressive Taxation

“Many stadia have been built under the guise of **urban renewal**, yet those living in **closest proximity** to them **cannot afford** the price of admission...in the case of the imposition of **regressive taxes**...it is also the **poor** who bear a **disproportionate burden** of paying for such facilities” (p. 23).

Source: Ingham, A. G., & McDonald, M. G. (2003). Sport and community/Communitas. In R. C. Wilcox, D. L. Andrews, R. Pitter & R. L. Irwin (Eds.), *Sporting dystopias: The making and meanings of urban sport cultures* (pp. 17-34). Albany, NY: State University of New York Press.

The use of public monies to fund SPORT STADIUM and EVENTS, diverts funding from what are perhaps more pressing PUBLIC SERVICES?:

- EDUCATION
- HOUSING
- ROADS and INFRASTRUCTURE
- POLICING
- LIBRARIES
- HOSPITALS and CLINICS

As Frank Rashid, co-founder of the Tiger Stadium Fan Club noted:

“Public subsidies for stadiums are a great deal for team owners, league executives, developers, bond attorneys, construction firms, politicians and everyone in the stadium food chain, but a really terrible deal for everyone else.”

Source: DeMause, N. (2011, July 27). Why Do Mayors Love Sports Stadiums? Public subsidies for sports facilities are a great deal for everyone involved—except the public. *The Nation*, 14-17.

Questioning Neoliberal Stadium Assumptions

According to University of Chicago economist, Allen Sanderson:

“If you want to inject money into the local economy, it would be better to drop it from a helicopter than invest it in a new ballpark.”



Source: DeMause, N. (2011). Why Do Mayors Love Sports Stadiums? Public subsidies for sports facilities are a great deal for everyone involved—except the public. *The Nation*, 14-17.

WHY?

The Political Necessity of Stadium Support/Investment



Perhaps due to the popularity of sport, the general public tend to support the public investment in professional sport stadia. Thus normalizing and popularizing NEOLIBERAL views and values.

Two Sides of the Argument

PRO-NEOLIBERALISM

PUBLIC SUBSIDIES of PRIVATE Sport/Entertainment Developments Creates CAPITAL/PROFITS that TRICKLE DOWN to the rest of the COMMUNITY through the CREATION OF DIRECT and INDIRECT EMPLOYMENT, INCREASED SPENDING/TAX REVENUE, and INCREASED PROPERTY VALUES.

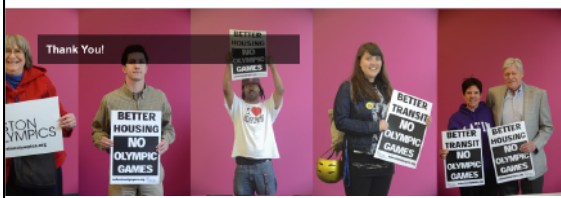
BENEFITS SOCIETY in general

ANTI-NEOLIBERALISM

PUBLIC SUBSIDIES of PRIVATE Sport/Entertainment Developments Creates CAPITAL/PROFITS that benefit the wealthy in society: developers; sport franchises owners; business owners. Those LESS AFFLUENT SEE LITTLE OR NO BENEFIT, and often find they lose financially either directly (EMINENT DOMAIN) or indirectly (USE OF TAX MONIES).

BENEFITS the AFFLUENT

Boston 2024 Olympic Bid: Anti-Neoliberalism in Action?



Olympics' Cost Overrun

Games	Country	Type	% Cost Overrun
London 2012	UK	Summer	133*
Vancouver 2010	Canada	Winter	36
Beijing 2008	China	Summer	35
Torino 2006	Italy	Winter	113
Athens 2004	Greece	Summer	97
Salt Lake City 2002	USA	Winter	40
Sydney 2000	Australia	Summer	108
Nagano 1998	Japan	Winter	58
Atlanta 1996	USA	Summer	178
Lillehammer 1994	Norway	Winter	347
Barcelona 1992	Spain	Summer	609
Albertville 1992	France	Winter	169
Calgary 1988	Canada	Winter	131
Sarajevo 1984 ^a	Yugoslavia	Winter	1257
Lake Placid 1980	USA	Winter	502
Montreal 1976	Canada	Summer	1266
Grenoble 1968	France	Winter	230

^aProject final London 2012 cost is used; sources are listed in the references.

^bThe Yugoslavian dinar experienced hyperinflation during the Games planning period; therefore, nominal cost overruns are significantly more than consistent cost overruns.

Source: B. Flyvbjerg, B., & Stewart, A. (2012, June). *Olympic Proportions: Cost and Cost Overrun at the Olympics 1960-2012*. Saïd Business School working papers: Oxford University.

Los Angeles 2024 Olympic Bid:
Neoliberalism Still Persuasive?



"First and foremost, my responsibility is to my city through its infrastructure and fiscal health...I would never do anything to endanger that."

LA Mayor, Eric Garcetti

LA selected as replacement for 2024 bid in September 2015.

Theme 5:

Sporting Bodies and
Neoliberal Bio-Politics

SPORT as a SITE for the
NORMALIZATION of
neoliberal COMPETITIVE
INDIVIDUALISM

Neoliberal
Sporting
Bio-Politics

The GOVERNANCE of (individual) BODIES
through reference to high profile SPORTING
BODIES

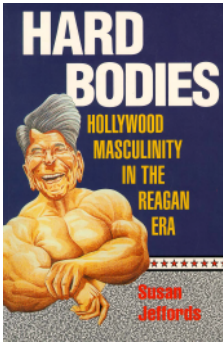
SPORTING
INDIVIDUALISM

Sport, even team sports, represent a
MERITOCRATIC site where we are—
seemingly—witnessing the EMBODIMENT
of INDIVIDUAL COMPETITIVENESS,
ABILITY, and/or DETERMINATION.

Neoliberalism Sporting Individualism



The Cult of the Individual/Competitive Individualism Within Sport



Neoliberal:

**RUGGED
(Competitive)
INDIVIDUALISM**

Celebrated Embodiments of Sporting NEOLIBERALISM



Sport Celebrities and Rugged Individualism:
Demonstrating the hardwork and perseverance needed to realize the opportunities afforded within neoliberal American sport/society.




**Celebrated/
Responsible
Neoliberal Sporting
Subject**

**Celebrated/
Responsible
Neoliberal Sporting
Subject**

NBC's Exemplar of Neoliberal Rugged Individualism?



SOCHI2014

[See Video Clip 4](#)

Such figures act as persuasive **NEOLIBERAL PUBLIC PEDAGOGUES**:

They teach us the **MERITOCRATIC** nature of sport (and society) and the importance of being:

- **COMPETITIVE**
- **DETERMINED**
- **RESPONSIBLE**
- **RATIONAL**

NEOLIBERAL INDIVIDUAL (the type of citizen which we are expected to become within our and thorough own LIVES and BODIES)

China: State Capitalist Olympians



State-funded athletes

United Kingdom: Social Democratic Olympians



Largely
State and
publically
funded
athletes



USA: Neoliberal Olympians



Private and
Corporate
Funded
Athletes
(no direct
State
funding)



Source: Friedman, J.M. (2007, September 1). U.S. Funding of Olympic athletes a private and community affair. America.gov

Home Depot "Olympic Job Opportunities Program"

1992-2009 Involved 570
Olympic and paralympic
athletes

Allowed athletes to earn full-
time salary for part-time work,
so could train and compete.

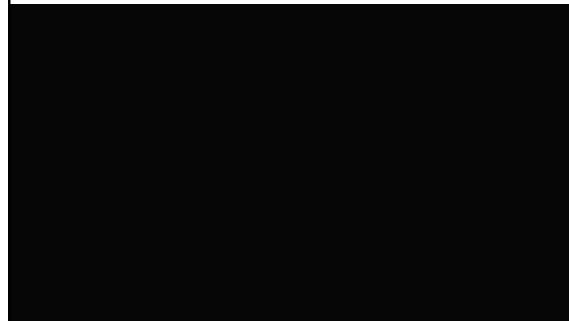
Earned 194 medals (88 gold).

Economic downturn cause the
cancellation of the program.

Replaced by Team USA career
program (employment with one
of 20 USOC sponsors).



Supporting/Creating the Neoliberal Olympics



The Team Behind the Team

[See Video Clip 5](#)

The Neoliberal Olympic Model

"All told, the USOC [U.S. Olympic Committee] helps field teams in 45 sports with **less money than the New York Yankees spend on salaries alone**. Its annual budget of **\$150 million** is already less than estimated budgets for European rivals with smaller populations. Comparisons across borders can be deceptive, since individual sports raise additional money separately—some U.S. programs, such as skiing and figure skating, are flush with cash. But in small sports for which the USOC is the primary sponsor, the difference is clear. Former canoe/kayak director David Yarborough estimates, for example, that the U.S. budget for his sport is **one-tenth of Britain's, France's, Germany's, or Hungary's.**"

Source: McEwan, J. (2010, January 24) An Olympic clash over Cash. Parade Magazine

Crowdsourcing the ENTREPRENEURIAL ATHLETIC SELF



Nick Symmonds (800-meter run) auctioned his left shoulder on eBay for the top bid of \$11,1000.



Rose Wetzle (middle distance runner) hosted a fundraiser at a local cocktail bar with drink specials, a ring toss, and a rally.



Adam Nelson (shot put) successfully auctioned of a \$12,000 sponsorship on eBay.

Sport Sponsorship is a **NEOLIBERAL Marketplace**

More sponsorship opportunities are available to those in **higher profile sports**, or for those with **culturally sanctioned bodies**.



USA's highest-ranked powerlifter Sara Rubles (275 lbs)

- Un-sponsored and living on training on \$400 a week.
- **Michael Phelps** gets paid to talk about how Subway provides him with some of the 12,000 necessary calories in a day
- Robles must rely on food bank donations to reach the 4,000 calories she needs
- No sponsorship offers from athletic apparel companies (NIKE, Adidas, Reebok, New Balance)
- Nike sponsors Natalie Bergener (138 lbs) and Erin Wallace (165 lbs)

U.S. Olympians on **Food Stamps**



See Video Clip 6

High profile sporting bodies both **EMBODY** and **NORMALIZE** neoliberal **COMPETITIVE INDIVIDUALISM**

HEGEMONY ALERT?



Neoliberal [Sporting] deregulation, privatization, marketization, and individualization are viewed as the taken-for-granted, normal way of (sporting) life in a capitalist society.



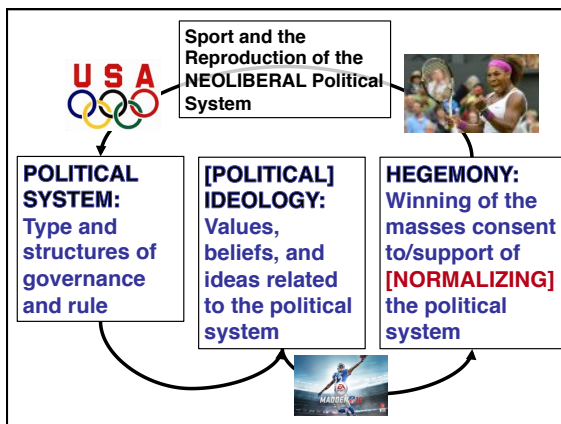
Gramsci

So, sport contributes to the **NORMALIZATION** and **REPRODUCTION** of the:

NEOLIBERAL POLITICAL ORDER: SYSTEM OF GOVERNMENT



Neoliberal Sport as RSA or ISA (Hard or Soft Power)?



See course website for related required readings, video clips, key concepts, thematic review questions, and essay question.