

# Mega-Events, Time and Modernity

## On time structures in global society

Maurice Roche

---

**ABSTRACT.** This article addresses the relation between ‘mega-events’ and time in modern society. ‘Mega-events’, or international cultural and sport events such as the Olympic Games and World’s Fairs, have an ‘extra-ordinary’ status by virtue of their very large scale and their periodicity. Mega-event genres have had an enduring mass popularity in modernity since their creation in the late 19th century and continue to do so in a period of globalization. Drawing on recent analysis of mega-events the article suggests that this popularity derives from the significant positive and adaptive roles they continue to play in relation to the interpersonal and public structuring of time. **KEY WORDS** • life world • mega-events • mesosocial sphere • modernity • time-structure

### Introduction

This article is concerned with the relation between ‘mega-events’ and time in modern society. The concept of ‘mega-events’ refers to specially constructed and staged international cultural and sport events such as the Olympic Games and World’s Fairs (hereafter Expos). Mega-events are short-lived collective cultural actions (‘ephemeral vistas’; Greenhalgh, 1988) which nonetheless have long-lived pre- and post-event social dimensions. They are publicly perceived as having an ‘extra-ordinary’ status, among other things, by virtue of their very large scale, the time cycles in which they occur and their impacts (Roche, 2000).<sup>1</sup> A brief summary of some key features of mega-events in the context of modern history since the late 19th century is provided in the first main section of the article. However, the aim here is to introduce rather than exhaustively describe the mega-event phenomenon. The history, politics and descriptive

sociology of mega-events both in general and event-by-event has received an increased amount of academic attention since the 1980s and can be explored elsewhere (see Note 1). Mega-events have been periodically and indeed recurrently politically controversial and it is undoubtedly possible in analysing them to benefit from perspectives that emphasize their explicitly ideological aspirations and potentially hegemonic impacts (e.g. Rydell, 1984, 1993; Roche, 2000: part 1). However, as cultural genres specific to modernity they also have had an enduring mass appeal since their creation in the late 19th century, in addition to having lasting impacts on 'host' societies and their popular cultural institutions. These issues of mega-events' enduring appeal and role, and the connection of this with temporality and historicity, have not yet been addressed and conceptualized in a broad sociologically-informed way, and that is what this article aims to do.

Mega-event genres were born in the late 19th century during a period of nation building and empire building in the industrializing capitalist societies of the USA and western Europe. This period has been notably portrayed by Eric Hobsbawm (1992) as being characterized by a wave of 'inventions of tradition' and he refers to sports and expositions as leading examples of such cultural invention. This article suggests that the enduring popularity and institutionalization of mega-event genres in national societies and in international and global society since that 'early modern' period derives from their social functions both for elites and mass publics in marking time and history in a social world characterized by incessant intergenerational change. In addition to this continuity theme the article also explores the additional new adaptive roles that mega-events can be understood as playing in relation to the interpersonal and public experience and structuring of time in the new technocultural conditions of contemporary global society.

To address this topic the article aims to introduce and outline some foundational conceptual and theoretical elements of a new and broadly sociological and interdisciplinary approach to understanding mega-events. Thus it considers mega-events in relation to two related socio-temporal spheres. On the one hand there are the structures of 'lived time', or 'time structure', in what phenomenological sociology refers to as the 'life world'. The life world refers to everyday typified interpersonal structures of meaning and experience relating to self, others, embodiment, space and, particularly, time. This is the sphere of personal identity formation, agency and communication, and it is explored as a context for mega-events in the second main section of the article.<sup>2</sup> On the other hand there are processes in what can be called the 'mesosocial' sphere in contemporary society. This concept refers to the intermediary sphere through which the life world, and its 'microsocial' processes, is connected with 'macrosocial' systems and their intra- and intergenerational reproduction and change, and it is explored as a context for mega-events in the third main section of the article.<sup>3</sup> A

key connecting theme linking these two main sections is a conception of human social life as being organized to a significant extent through the time-based experience of membership of generations and of intergenerational relationships.

The discussion, then, proceeds in three main steps. In the first section we review the mega-event phenomenon in the context of the history of modernity, noting the relevance of developments from 'early' to 'late' forms of modernity. In the second section some of the main structures of meaning that continue to be associated with mega-events in modernity are outlined, in terms of the categories of identity and agency and, foundationally, of lived time and temporality. This is illustrated in relation to mega-events and sport culture. This section, then, aims to provide some elements of a phenomenology of the social world in late modernity relevant to the understanding of mega-events, particularly, but not exclusively, their temporal characteristics and what can be called their 'dramatological' features and appeal, and their potential as resources for sustaining personal time structure in contemporary conditions that threaten this.

In the third section we consider the political sociology and social theory of mega-events and mega-event movements, particularly connected with sport culture, and their actual and potential roles in contemporary global culture and society. This analysis suggests that the periodic production of particular mega-events can be usefully understood as the production of intermediate 'mesosphere' processes, involving socio-temporal 'hubs' and 'exchanges' in the economic, cultural and generational 'flows' and 'networks' which can be said to contribute to the current development, such as it is, of culture and society at the global level. It is on this basis that, in addition and relatedly, mega-event movements such as the Olympic movement can usefully be understood as playing important, if at times controversial, roles in the cultural aspects of contemporary global-level governance and institution building (e.g. Roche, 2000: ch. 7, 2002).<sup>4</sup>

### **Mega-events and Modernities: From 'Time-keepers of Progress' to 'Media Events'**

Since the late 19th century when they first made their appearance the two main mega-event genres have been Expos and great sport events, initially only the Olympic Games, but in the postwar period also joined by the soccer World Cup event. In one form or another – and (at least apparently) independently of the periodic seismic shifts and transformations in their societal environments and the political controversies that can surround them – they seem to have established an enduring popularity and memorability in modern society. Interest in mega-events appears to be even greater now at the beginning of the 21st century than it was at the beginning of the 20th century. For instance the 'Millennium'

year 2000 saw the staging of a highly successful Olympic Games in Sydney, an Expo in Hanover and a controversial sub-Expo-type national 'Millennium Experience' exhibition in London. In addition highly popular soccer World Cup events were held in France in 1998 and, uniquely jointly, in Japan and Korea in 2002 (Dauncey and Hare, 1999; Horne and Manzenreiter, 2002). This illustrates the problematic of this article: given the fact of this popularity how might we go about understanding the factors that could be said to underpin this phenomenon?

To introduce this problematic, however, it is first necessary to set the stage by briefly reviewing some of the features, developments and impacts of mega-events against the background of the main stages of development in modernity. This step in the discussion also has the benefit of providing an initial orientation to the general temporal significance of mega-events in modernity as international markers of time, history and 'progress'. Generally this article suggests that mega-events are potentially memorable because they are a *special* kind of time-structuring institution in modernity. The status of mega-events as extraordinary is partly indicated in such aspects as the temporal distance involved in their periodicity (occurring every four or five years) and their lack of a fixed and familiar national location. Like annual national public event calendars, they are profoundly important time-structuring and history-marking institutions. However, unlike such events and calendars, they occur outside of the annual cycle and outside of the cultural spheres, traditions and rituals of nation-states, rarely appearing more than once a generation ('once in a lifetime') for the citizens of any given host nation.

This provides a background and an element of continuity in the potential for mega-events to exert a popular appeal as temporal markers throughout the history of modernity. However, to take this analysis a step further we next consider some of the differences within modernity in its stages of development. In addition, in the course of this account we note how the advent of television in the late modern period impacted on the two main mega-event genres, providing the conditions for a significant discontinuity in the role of mega-events, namely that the sport event type was able take priority over the Expo event type in the lives, dreams, memories and time of mass publics because of its capacity to dramatize and globalize 'the present' in the form of a 'media event' (Dayan and Katz, 1992).

For the purposes of this article in general and of this section in particular we can roughly periodize 'modernity' in the advanced western societies into 'early', 'mature' and 'late', referring respectively to the periods of (1) the mid-late 19th century to the First World War, (2) the interwar and early postwar periods to the mid-1970s oil crisis, and (3) the mid-1970s to the present time. It can be suggested that each period can be associated with a distinctive temporal world view. However, in addition we can acknowledge continuities such as a

feature of modernity highlighted by various analysts over the years, namely incessant qualitative increases in the pace of social change and the speed of operation of the technologies that provide the infrastructures for human life throughout modernity since the late 19th century but particularly in the late 20th century (e.g. Toffler, 1970; Virilio, 1997, 1998).

The early modern period was characterized by the increasing and effectively 'revolutionary' impact of industrial capitalism and nation-state building in the three spheres of the economy, polity and culture together with the beginnings of popular citizenship identities, statuses and rights within nations and the evolution of an international environment outside of them of similarly structured and technically equipped nation-states. This period was associated with a temporal world view framed in terms of 'progress', the assumed responsibility to build and diffuse western 'civilization', and the assumed capacity to do so by actively 'making history' (Roche, 1999, 2000: ch. 2, 3). The mature modern period was characterized by the qualitative development of the military power of states, of mass production and mass consumption in their economies, of welfare states and of the development and diffusion of citizenship statuses and rights: the institutional consolidation of a 'national functionalist' conception of society (Roche, 1996). This period was also associated with a 'history-making' and 'progress' view of time, but one which was more differentiated (politically into antithetic communist and non-communist visions of the future) and also less confident and more ambivalent (given the unanticipated derailments of 'progress' and western 'civilization' in this period into historically unprecedented mass barbarity and terror – notably in the First World War, in the Gulags, in the Holocaust, at Hiroshima and in the Cold War's nuclear stand-off).

The late modern period has been characterized by increasing globalization in economic, cultural and to a certain extent politicolegal spheres, by the revolutionary impact of science-based technologies including communications technologies, and by the reanimation of market-building capitalism after the collapse of communism. Each of these vectors and factors has had complex and often negative impacts on nation-state based societies. This is visible in the major and seemingly inexorable shift in contemporary forms of nation-state governmentality from tax-and-spend 'provisory' forms of social and public policy towards more market-oriented and 'regulatory' forms (Roche, 1996: ch. 7, 8; Roche and Harrison, 2002). Also these vectors and factors have had ambiguous impacts on personal identities, in some respects promoting a fragmented, uncertain and arguably backward-looking 'post'-oriented culture (post-modern, postnational, postindustrial, postcommunist, postcolonial, etc.). This dominant globally diffusing culture, which is based around individualism and consumerism (Featherstone, 1990, 1991; Ritzer, 1998, 1999), has stimulated reactive and often unstable 'backlash' solidarities – often anti-individualist and anti-consumerist, and often connected with fatalistic versions of national, ethnic

or religious collective identity (Gamble, 2000). This period's view of time is even more differentiated, ambivalent and risk and uncertainty ridden than that of mature modernity (Beck, 1992). On the one hand, because of the growth of science-based health and food systems since early modernity, people are now living longer and this leads to temporal world-view paradoxes. Nation-states' social policy making (e.g. pensions, health) now has to grapple with the historically unprecedented sociodemographic realities of ageing populations, and with the need for long-term intergenerational planning in a context in which public policy is simultaneously required to prioritize short-term adaptability in the face of an assumptively unpredictable future. At the same time, individuals can realistically aspire to historically unprecedented lifespans and personal 'futures' in which to progressively trade-off autonomy and life-quality against longevity. On the other hand, through the growth of the planetary ecological crisis and the dominance of market-based globalization, the period has also been associated with various fatalistic and 'endist' world views, including those relating to potential ecological apocalypse, the alleged 'end of history' (Fukuyama, 1992; Gamble, 2000) and generally the evacuation of the meaning of 'future'.

This provisional periodization provides for continuity as well as differentiation in our conception of modernity. Although undoubtedly rough and capable of refinement it is arguably more useful than some fashionable alternative periodizations which, for instance involve notions of a more absolute break between mature and late modernity as in the case of 'postmodern' cultural analysis (Harvey, 1989). Mega-events served nation building and national culture, identity and citizenship construction functions for both elites and publics in early modernity, and these functions survive down through to the contemporary 'late modernity' period (Roche, 1999, 2000) For instance it remains the case that the ability of a nation to send representative teams to compete against the other nations of the world on the stage of an Olympic Games, and to do so recurrently in the Olympic Movement's mega-event calendar, is a much sought-after symbol of nationhood and of recognition (MacAloon, 1984). This is even more the case in terms of the ability of a nation to act as a host for an Olympic Games. The continuing significance of strong association with the Olympic mega-event for national history marking by actually staging the event is indicated in the desperate intercity and international competitiveness that has come to be associated with the bidding processes to win the right to stage Games events (Roche, 1996: ch. 5, 7), and a comparable competitiveness is also evident in bidding processes to win the World Cup event (Sugden and Tomlinson, 1998; Horne and Manzenreiter, 2002).

Nevertheless in late modernity – a sociocultural condition that is simultaneously subject to processes of individualization, mediatization and globalization, and which thereby causes problems for the maintenance of national and individual identities – mega-events can also be argued to serve additional personal

and societal functions. We consider these additional personal and global dimensions of late modernity, and in particular their temporal aspects, in the following two sections. To pave the way for this in this section we now need to provide some background on the development of mega-events in relation on the one hand to 'early modernity' and on the other to 'late modernity'. A crucial differentiating factor that we note here is the dominating role of the electronic media, particularly television, in late modernity, and the absence of this technocultural context and dynamic in the earlier periods.

Expos were a highly significant cultural institution both for the cities and nations that played host to them, and also for the international community, throughout the period 1851 to 1939 and also, to a lesser extent, during the late 20th-century postwar period (Roche, 2000: ch. 2). They were held every few years, barring periods of major war, in one nation or another in Europe or in the USA throughout these periods. Allowing for ambiguities in the definition of an international Expo, roughly 15 to 20 major events were staged in the 1850–1914 period, and five to 10 were staged in the 1918–39 interwar period. In addition numerous more specialized or smaller-scale international and national events of a similar general type occurred in nations around the world. There was no particular planned temporal cycle or circulation of sites for the major events but, because of their scale and costs, they were rarely staged more frequently than five to 10 years in each of the major countries, namely Britain, France and the USA. Olympic Games were organized on a regular four-year calendar from the beginning in 1896, as were football World Cup events after they broke away from the Olympics in 1930. These regular and irregular mega-event cycles provided a significant intra- and intergenerational structuring of the international cultural calendar for the mass publics and the mass press and media of Europe and North America, and also for elite groups around the world, throughout the early modern and mature modern periods.

Originally, prior to the advent of electronic mass media, international Expos were by far the dominant genre of mega-event, and were in themselves a leading form of mass communication and ideological influence, or (more arguably and optimistically) of mass further education. Each event assembled a unique and aspirationally encyclopaedic collection of leading and spectacular examples of contemporary scientific and technological developments which were assumed to be likely to transform the living conditions of ordinary people. Effectively the Expos were used to 'launch', legitimate and popularize these powerful new modernity-making and history-making technologies. For instance, recurrent key themes in late 19th-century Expos were the transformative potential of electric power in general and of electric light in particular. In the interwar period key themes were new mass transport and communication technologies (e.g. cars, planes, telephones, radio, film, television) (Rydell, 1984, 1993; Rydell and Gwinn, 1994; Roche, 2000: ch. 2). In the postwar period the peaceful uses of

nuclear power were profiled at the Brussels 1958 Expo and, less impressively, scientific interest in ecology and science's capacity to respond to modernity's environmental crisis were leading themes at the Lisbon 1998 and Hanover 2000 Expos.

In addition each Expo event usually displayed a unique and spectacular assembly of fine art objects and of innovative architectural structures. Also each late 19th-century and early 20th-century event, on the advice of the new 'science' of 'anthropology', usually involved displays of 'exotic', 'primitive' and otherwise 'alien' cultures. Finally, to balance their aspiration to enthrall, inform and influence, Expos also typically aimed to please and thrill. They usually incorporated large-scale and spectacular mechanized fairgrounds, modernity's new 'pleasure domes' (Pred, 1991; de Cauter, 1993). The popular cultural institutional 'inventions', impacts and legacies of Expos included mass public museums, mass public art galleries and department stores in the 19th century, during which period they also provided a stage for some of the early Olympic Games events. In the late 20th century the popular cultural heritage of Expos included shopping malls and theme parks (Roche, 2000: ch. 4, 5).

Supporters saw Expos in history-making and 'progress'-charting terms. Opening the 1901 Buffalo Expo, US President McKinley declared 'Expositions are the timekeepers of progress' (quoted in Rydell, 1984: 4). Critics saw them differently, with for instance Walter Benjamin writing in 1935 Expos were 'places pilgrimage to the fetish Commodity' involving the 'ritual worship' of commodities (Benjamin, 1973: 165–6). There has long been a lively academic debate about their political role and cultural value, and this continues currently (see Note 1). For their part ordinary people flocked to them en masse from the beginning, regardless of the debates, and they continue to do so. In late modernity, as noted above, the International Expo genre spawned the key 20th-century touristic genre of the theme park, which is in some of its significant varieties effectively a form of located and permanent Expo-type mega-event. Euro-American Expos and theme parks in their heyday involved, among other things, neo-imperial and often racist representations of exotic 'orientalism' and alien 'primitivism'. Some of this is currently being repaid and replayed in contemporary Asian theme parks where Euro-American societies are represented stereotypically and as alien and exotic for Asian visitors (Hendry, 2000). International Expo events continue to be held in the contemporary period. For instance, besides the 2000 Hanover event (above), during the 1990s Expos were held in Seville in 1992 (Harvey, 1996) and in Lisbon in 1998, and the first decade of the 21st century will be marked by Expos in Japan (Aichi) and China (Shanghai).

However, in the late modern period, the international popular cultural pre-eminence previously associated with Expos has evidently been taken over by the popular cultural drama of international sport mega-events, in particular by



the Olympic Games event and the World Cup soccer tournament.<sup>5</sup> While contemporary Expos undoubtedly retain their significance for their urban and national hosts, they cannot now compete with the capacity of sport mega-events to be transformed by television into 'media events' (Dayan and Katz, 1992) and global dramas, simultaneously watched by hundreds of millions of people around the world. In the 1960s Marshall McLuhan famously claimed that television had made the world into a 'global village'. This was unrealistic at that time, but a generation later, in an era of world-girding satellite technology, arguably there is more substance in the claim, particularly in relation to the key sport mega-events the Olympic Games and the World Cup. Although the Aichi and Shanghai Expos will probably attract the tens of millions of visitors these types of event usually attract, they will not command the attention of 'the watching world' through television in the way that the Olympics of the 1980s and 1990s did (Note 5) or in the way that the Athens Olympics 2004, the German World Cup 2006 and the Beijing Olympics 2008 undoubtedly will.

These mediatized global sport mega-events are now, of course, but the tip of the iceberg of a host of other specialist global events, world-regional events and other lower-level international sports events – the 'event ecology' and time-structuring calendars of the globally and commercially promoted culture of sport. This culture and its complex hierarchies and ecology became institutionally organized and were diffused internationally particularly in the last quarter of the 20th century. In the following sections it is suggested that this event-oriented culture provides the denizens of late modernity with important cultural resources for the organization of time and identity at both a personal and a societal level in response to this period's distinctive psychosocial and macro-organizational challenges and problems.

## **Mega-Events and the Lifeworld: Time Structure and Identity**

### **Time structure and mega-events**

To understand the popularity of mega-events, particularly sport mega-events, and thus relatedly sport culture in late modernity, it is first necessary to outline a concept of time structure and then to take account of the destructuring risks and threats relating to time structure, and thereby to identity and agency, posed by contemporary social change. On this basis it can be suggested that an interest in mega-events represents part of people's cultural resources and repertoires to respond to and manage these risks and threats to time structure – a way of repairing time structure and restructuring temporality in late modern conditions.

The concept of time structure (Roche, 1990) can be said to refer, among other things, to an everyday experience of time, and a perspective upon the course of

human life, which allows people to recognize and orient to such things as temporal distance, flow and directionality.<sup>6</sup> It refers to the everyday experiential difference between the present, the past and the future, and it involves the recognition of temporal distance between the present and the further reaches, both in personal life and societal history, of the past and the future. In addition it refers to such aspects as people's capacity to experience the irreversibility and directional 'flow' of personal life from the past through the present to the future. Thus it also refers to the related capacity to understand personal life as 'generational' – that is as flowing from one's childhood, through youth and middle age, through key 'life events' including those involving parental decline and/or death, and through the prospect of one's own old age and death – a life lived along with contemporaries of the same age, era and temporal world view. In addition it refers to the capacity to situate the 'flow' of personal life in broader experiences and trajectories of communal, public and historic time.

We now need to consider some of the potential threats to this structure, some of late modernity's destructuring dynamics. It is often observed that late modernity's structural tendencies (globalization, mediatization, informationalization, etc.) are capable of having some profound sociopsychological effects.<sup>7</sup> Many of these effects can be argued to be ultimately incompatible with development and maintenance of personal identity and agency to the degree that these are dependent on, among other things, an investment in the maintenance of space–time frameworks. The potentially negative effects include the compression and destructuring of people's experience of personal and social space and time and, in various ways, the disembodiment of our experience of society, of others, and ultimately perhaps of ourselves. Partly as a result of the two preceding effects, an additional negative effect is that of a potential loss of personal and group agency (the capacity to plan projects and to take effective action to implement them) and fatalism in the face of the 'logics' and 'illogics' (the anomic and agency-limiting irrevocabilities, opaque complexities and arbitrarinesses) of contemporary social and system change. Indicators of 'disempowerment' and fatalism show up in conventional 'official' politics in the contemporary problems of non-participation in government elections and in party membership. In unconventional and unofficial politics they show up in the existence of pools of support for the reactive and aspirationally 'overpowering' symbolic attitudes and actions of fundamentalism and terrorism.

On the basis of this brief and outline analysis, then, it can be suggested that mega-events and sport culture, among other popular cultural forms, provide distinctive cultural resources for resisting systemic threats to personal identity generated by the social order of late modernity. This can be claimed in relation to mega-events' and sport culture's roles in relation to the problems of time–space compression and effective agency. Special mega-events (particularly those connecting up with the familiar and accessible event worlds of local and

national sport culture) and 'the mega-event world' of international event series, organizations and movements more generally, carry significant potential implications for people's lived understandings of embodiment, space, time and agency. Mega-events and sport culture provide people with enduring motivations and special opportunities to participate in collective projects which have the characteristics of, among other things, structuring social space and time, displaying the dramatic and symbolic possibilities of organized and effective social action, and reaffirming the embodied agency of people as individual actors, even if the latter is only displayed in the activity of spectatorship. Although in what follows we elect to focus only on the temporal aspects in principle it is possible to provide comparable and related accounts of the spatial and agentic aspects (Roche, 2000: ch. 8).

The problem of the destructuring of time is that of the degradation or loss of the lived experience of time which tends to be produced in late modernity's promulgation of an experience of time as (the structureless 'space' of) what has been referred to as a 'timeless present' (Castells, 1996, and see below). In a comparable vein, observing the impact of technologically driven speed (including the omni-'present' created by telecommunications technology) on contemporary human experience and the 'pollution' of the human life world it generates, Paul Virilio ironically comments: 'When are we going to see legal sanctions, a speed limit, imposed not because of the probability of a road accident but because of the danger of exhausting temporal distances?' (Virilio, 1997: 25). Virilio implies that such things as the ubiquity of live television coverage 'opens up the incredible possibility of a "civilization of forgetting": a live (live-coverage) society . . . has no future and no past, since it has not extension and no duration, a society intensely present here and there at once – in other words telepresent to the whole world' (1997: 25). Interestingly from the perspective of this article it can be argued that Virilio has missed the fact that live coverage and telepresence can take a range of very different forms from celebrations of the mundane and forgettable (e.g. the current vogue for 'reality TV') to celebrations of the extraordinary and unforgettable (e.g. features of a particular televised Olympic Games or World Cup mega-event). It is precisely the 'telepresence of the whole world' at the specifically differentiated, time-located and place-located (i.e. distanciated and structured) sport mega-event which, as against Virilio's pessimism, can be argued to enable temporal and spatial distance to be reconstructed and re-experienced, in memory and anticipation, in the telemediated lifeworld that characterizes the contemporary period (Thompson, 1995).<sup>8</sup>

To a certain extent, as sociologists have long argued, individual identity can be said to be both shaped by socialization and integrated into the wider order of social institutions through the lived temporality of the repeated routines of ordinary everyday life (e.g. Giddens, 1984; Roche, 1987a). However, the achieve-

ment and reproduction of stabilized routines does not, of course, exhaust personal identity formation or people's identity-based needs for the kind of time structures indicated here. Indeed it is a common observation that an experience of life that is reduced exclusively to the ordinary everyday routine (for instance long-term imprisonment) can in itself be destructuring of time and threatening to identity and agency.<sup>9</sup> What is necessary to enable people to sustain a fuller time structure, together with the wider temporal perspectives discussed here, and to make it recurrently available in personal life is the periodic interpersonal, communal and societal organization of precisely non-routine, extraordinary special events, such as personal and/or collective rites of passage and other such charismatic and ritual celebrations. Among other things, these events are experienced as marking the passing of time and thereby generating time structure among individuals and groups in more substantial ways than is possible with routine, and even than is possible with rituals (Roche, 2001).<sup>10</sup>

Mega-events evidently have in part a ritual character (Roche, 2000: ch. 1, 6). Contemporary studies of the importance of ritual, and its connections with the extraordinary, in social life – whether drawing inspiration and insights from the classic studies of Van Gennep (1960) and Turner (1995) or from post-modern theory, as in the case of Rojek (1993) and Maffesoli (1996) – provide useful counterweights to the overestimation of the role of routine in the life world assumed by Giddens and others. Ritual in modernity can be said to provide mediations between everyday and 'unique' personal experiences and also between the personal and the communal. However, from the time structure perspective outlined in this article, a fuller characterization of the life world and of the nature of temporality in it requires more than a new appreciation of the ritualistic in contemporary life. It also requires a serious address to and incorporation of notions of human needs, rights, life events and historicity (Roche, 1987a, 1987b, 1988, 1996).<sup>11</sup>

Participation in the contemporary mediatized world of mega-events and sport culture in general offers people non-routine extraordinary and charismatic events, involving distinctive motivations and opportunities for dramatic experience, activity and performance, which can be used to recover and reanimate the time structure dimensions of personal and social life in late modernity. This is so whether people participate in them in a direct and embodied way or in alternative less embodied but not thereby less active forms of engagement through the media and the event as 'media event', 'media sport', etc. (see Note 5). That is, in the short term, the sphere of the present, participation in a mega-event and/or a sport event involves people in a culturally important and unique action project in which the present is experienced both as being dramatized in various ways and also as being evidently temporally bounded. In the medium term, involvement with mega-events and/or sport culture generates experiences of the distances between such events (and the distance of events from the present)

created by their periodicities, the planning and anticipation periods preceding them and the impact periods following them. Through the practices of memory and imaginative projection that are associated with them, involvement with mega-events and/or sport events, and with the mega-event world and/or sport culture more generally, has the capacity to generate and cultivate experiences of the longer-term temporal perspectives of tradition and futurity.

The concept of time structure outlined here involves, as suggested earlier, the lived reality of 'generationality'. The relevance of age cohorts and generations for understanding personal and social identity and organization has been of recurrent interest for anthropologists, sociologists, social theorists and social psychologists (e.g. Mannheim, 1952; Eisentstadt, 1971; Connerton, 1989; Schuman and Scott, 1989; Corsten, 1999). For the purposes of this article and its concern for time structure the concept of generationality refers to understanding oneself to be temporally and historically situated as a member of one particular generation, and not of other preceding or subsequent generations. In phenomenological terms generationality refers to the world of consociates with whom we grow older together, and the wider world of typified contemporaries (Schutz and Luckmann, 1974). The temporal structures of the life world are experienced both intra- and inter-generationally, they involve coexistence with other generations and they involve processes of intergenerational communication and influence.

These features of time structure in the life world are important to understanding personal identity, selfhood and otherness. For instance it is a commonplace of experience and observation that we tend to make our strongest identifications with, and differentiate ourselves as selves and others in relation to, our peers (i.e. our immediate peer group in particular, and our wider peer generation more generally). We assume that we at least roughly share, or can reasonably expect to be able to access, the temporal perspective and temporal world view of members of 'our own generation'. Older and younger generations are experienced as being more radically 'other' than are the 'others' in our peer generation. We do not experience their temporal world view as being directly accessible in the same way. Given these differences, it is also a familiar observation and social reality that there can be major communication problems, power conflicts and failures of recognition and respect between generations (e.g. Eisenstadt, 1971; Rifkin, 1987).

No doubt many aspects of sport culture are age group-specific and hence age-exclusionary. This goes for most types of performers in most types of professional and commercialized sport. Indeed sport culture evidently can also all too often be simultaneously age-specific, gender-specific and ethnicity-specific, as for instance in the de facto restriction in European professional soccer culture of membership of 'hardcore' club fan groups to teenage and/or young middle-aged, caucasian males. Nevertheless the official ideology of sport culture (of

governing bodies, state sport policy and even of European professional soccer clubs, not to mention their marketing pitch to potential consumers of their events and goods) is inclusive, not exclusionary: 'sport (participation) for all' and relatedly sport spectatorship for all (and/or for 'all the family') and sport television spectatorship for all (e.g. Roche, 1993, 2000: ch. 6).

In sport mega-events sport culture is 'on show' to 'the watching world' and governing bodies and event organizers need to ensure that there is some visible correlation between inclusive principles and practices. Mega-event opening ceremonies are typically occasions in which inclusivity is symbolized, particularly the host's welcome to the national competitor teams. Besides this multinational inclusivity a characteristic feature is also multi-age group/multi-generational inclusivity. Schoolchildren are often drafted in to perform in this kind of ceremony, whether in peripheral or central roles; the sport performers are typically young adults; their trainers, the presiding sport administrators, and media personnel are typically middle aged and in some cases even elderly; and the audiences, both those present spectating at the event and also those watching the event on television in societies around the world in their domestic settings, are often 'family audiences' including members of at least two or more generations. In the contemporary social world many social institutions and many public places and events are age-specific, peer-group oriented and age-exclusionary whether formally or informally, and as such they operate to institutionalize intergenerational disconnection and lack of solidarity. Mega-events can be argued to provide very distinctive occasions for intergenerational and multi-generational coexperience and communication in the lived present of the event. They also provide for the construction and mediatization of collective memories that are accessible intergenerationally. Thus they can be argued to provide opportunities around which intergenerational solidarity has the potential to be developed. This generational aspect of the time structure of the life world has relevance for conceptualizing societal structures in late modernity and for the general theme of the role of mega-events in late modern society, and we turn to this next.

### **Mega-events and Global Society: The Mesosocial Sphere and Temporal Hubs**

In this section we take the analysis of mega-events and time in modernity further by considering the nature of the linkages between the personal level and the social structural and systemic level in late modernity. It is suggested that these linkages can be usefully analysed in terms of the concept of the social spatio-temporal mesosphere and in terms of the 'networks', 'flows', 'hubs' and 'exchanges' that can be said to operate in this sphere. It is suggested that gener-

ally mega-events are both important symbols and also substantive examples of some of these mesosphere processes. In terms of this analysis mega-event movements and their event calendars can be said to contribute cultural hubs and exchanges to the organization, such as it is, of the global level of society in late modernity.

### **Mesosocial processes, generations and temporal world views**

The concepts of generations, intragenerationalism and intergenerationalism noted in the previous section are useful in helping to characterize the mesosphere and the structuration relationships between macro-level structures and micro-level agency that this involves. Social structures are experienced in the life world as those features of the social world which have some substantial continuity, and which are transmitted from generation to generation over a number of generations. It is against the background of such intergenerational continuities that we are able to identify and conceptualize social and structural changes, such as those that are involved in globalization. The mesosphere, then, can be understood as a time sphere in terms of the personal and sociological reality of generations and generational experience. As such the mesosphere is systematically ambiguous since it involves a multidimensional and intermediating experience of time.

On the one hand the mesosphere is multigenerational and intergenerational. It thus consists of our experience of a variety of our experience of generational groups, each representative of the elements of continuities and/or changes in the macrosocial structure. These generational groups are differentiated by their chronological age, by their temporal world view, and by the differing versions they have of, and priorities they give to, the past present and the future in their life projects and in the politics this generates. The mesosphere can thus be said to consist of the arena first in which these groups express and communicate the intergenerational differences they represent in terms of the macro-order, and second in which they either reconcile, or fail to reconcile, these differences. In the intergenerational dimensions of the mesosphere people sense the limits of their lifespans. They (we) experience the macro-order, in its continuities and in its changes, as appearing to be more long-lived than them and in various ways to transcend their lives.

On the other hand the mesosphere also contains an intragenerational dimension. Here personal and collective agency appear to have priority over structure. In human psychodevelopment most people ordinarily achieve autonomy, that is an ability to act independently and to make differences through their projects. In an autobiographical perspective, people typically believe that personal problems they encounter in their lives and in their immediate social worlds may either be soluble in their lifetime or at least that they are likely to be more

effectively managed if they are approached on this assumption. In the wider world of 'contemporaries', people raised in the modern period in general, a period of restless and relentless change, can also believe that in the course of their lifetime – that is, in their generation – structure-like features of their social world may turn out to be either young and still malleable, or declining, weakening and thus becoming malleable. In the intragenerational dimension, agency has at least the belief that it has the time to affect what we can reflexively identify as being structural, and to make a difference to it before it becomes an unalterable and determinate fact of life.

This outline analysis of the mesosphere in the temporal terms of generational processes and experiences provides a basis on which we can now begin to formulate the mesospheric location and social role of mega-events in modernity in terms of intermediary social processes. These mega-event processes can be conceptualized in terms of metaphors such as those of flows, networks, hubs and exchanges.

### **Mega-events, socio-temporal flows and networks**

The perspective on mega-events which sees them as complex and fluid social processes is an instance of the more general concern with intermediate or mesosphere processes in contemporary social theory (see Note 3). This mesosphere perspective has been used to understand agent–structure/micro–macro relationships more adequately, not just historically in relation to the late 19th and early 20th centuries, but also in relation to the late 20th and early 21st centuries. Late 19th- and early 20th-century 'classical' social theory searched for its dominant theoretic metaphors and analogies for society and the social order in images derived from the industrial technology, architecture and science of its time, such as 'mechanism', 'base superstructure' and 'organism'. In the changed and changing times of the late 20th and early 21st centuries, contemporary social theory sometimes appears to have given up the search for equivalent analogies to grasp the new social order of late modernity – either resorting to chaos theory or postmodern fragmentation and relativism or, as against this, exaggerating the emergent orderliness in images of (artificially) intelligent self-regulating cybernetic systems. Where it continues to search for equivalents and relevant analogies its images often derive from the (essentially transnational) transport infrastructures and information and communications technology systems of its time – images such as 'flows', 'movements' and 'networks' together with the 'spaces' in which these processes occur and/or which they constitute through their activity.<sup>12</sup> Various theorists have found these sorts of metaphors and images useful in providing their interpretations of late modernity (e.g. Lash and Urry, 1994; Virilio, 1997; Urry, 2000). However, at this stage in the discussion it is particularly useful to consider the relevance of Manuel Castells'



thinking for our socio-temporal analysis of late modernity and of the role of mega-events in relation to it.

Castells (1996) provides a notable contemporary analysis of late modernity as 'an information age' in which the dominant social form in a global social world is no longer the nation state but rather 'the network'. According to this analysis, networks consist of a series of interconnected nodes and of flows between them. Power lies in the control of networks of networks (or what we can refer to as 'meta-networks') and with individuals and groups who can connect networks and act as exchanges between them. In relation to space, Castells argues that elite power in the contemporary global capitalist economy now takes shape in the global and electronic 'space of flows' (of goods, services, images, money, people, etc.) while ordinary people still retain an involvement with 'the space of places', namely such things as local communities and cultures. Consistent with Lash and Urry's (1994) analysis Castells argues that the 'space of flows' consists of three layers, namely electronic impulses, nodes (control centres) and hubs (communication centres), together with the globally distributed and interconnected spaces occupied by the dominant globally mobile managerial elite (such as their segregated urban/suburban residential and leisure areas, and also central cosmopolitan zones in cities, and such places and spaces as international hotels and office service facilities in international airports). Comparably, in relation to time, elite power also takes shape in the time of 'the timeless present' as opposed to ordinary people's boundedness to biological time and socially organized time. In both spheres Castells suggests that a new social polarization and possible conflict between elites and peoples is developing which can be characterized in terms of the current social organization of space and time. We can now turn to consider the implications of this for our analysis of mega-events.

### **Mega-events as socio-temporal hubs and exchanges in global society**

In his extensive accounts of late modernity in terms of the 'space of spaces' and 'the space of flows' (and rather surprisingly from the perspective of this article) Castells makes no substantial reference to World's Fairs, Olympic Games or other such cultural and sporting mega-events.<sup>13</sup> This oversight does not undermine the value of his general analysis of network and global society. Extending his analysis, then, we can suggest that mega-events can be seen as important cultural networks and movements for characterizing (late) modernity both in their own right also in their role as variously multiple network movements and internetwork exchanges.<sup>14</sup>

Expos and Olympic events are intrinsically complex processes. They typically involve combinations of political and economic elites, together with many types of cultural (including sport and media) elites and professionals, operating

within and between urban, national and international levels. Working together in a medium-term time horizon they attempt to produce the events and to manage their effects. Also importantly in the course of this they typically attempt, with varying degrees of success, to 'sell' their 'visions' and to defend the legitimacy of their role to watching local and translocal publics and media who they expect to attend, volunteer for, pay for or otherwise 'own' and/or endure the event (Roche, 1992a, 1992b, 1994).

The short-term drama of any given event can be pictured as a kind of socio-temporal node or hub at which flows (of finance, information, people, goods, services, etc.) are targeted and assembled in the pre-event period for reconfiguration and redistribution during the event. In his theory of global information society as 'network society' Castells, besides using the imagery of 'networks' and 'flows', also uses the imagery of 'hubs', particularly in relation to his characterization of modern society as a 'space of flows'.<sup>15</sup> In both his and other relevant analysts' discussions, hubs are in large part, and among other ways, visualized in the substantial and spatially located form of cities. 'Global cities' and the urban centres in which the world regional or the global headquarters of multinational corporations (coordinating worldwide operations throughout the global economy) tend to cluster spatially are particularly important in this visualization of the hubs of global flows.

In Castells' account of the contemporary dynamics of global social differentiation and polarization (between the global elites and their 'spaces of flows' and ordinary peoples' 'spaces of places') cities and other relevant spatial clusters assume a particular importance in providing at least for coexistence and possibly some communication between elites and publics (Castells, 1996: *passim*). Other contemporary social analysts also focus on cities in their analyses of social flows (e.g. Appadurai, 1990; Hannerz, 1992). Like Castells they also take cities both as the socio-spatial hubs between which flows operate and as themselves being places that are significantly constituted by the flows that they contain and in which the social fact of flows in modernity can be most readily observed and assessed in all of its diversity.

Something of the same hub functions that Castells' analysis proposes for cities in modernity can also be argued for understanding the role of mega-events in modernity. For instance, Castells' analysis of the contemporary form of social polarization and social exclusion in late modernity is that people and their localities and places can become disempowered, cut off from where substantial resources of power and agency are located, in elites and in the 'spaces of flows' in terms of which they operate. This is, perhaps, a basis for beginning to explain the contemporary societal role of mega-events. That is, and with all due recognition of the potentially hegemonic character of these projects, they can be usefully conceived as temporary 'cultural and physical bridges' between these two forms of social space, between elites and the people. Indeed that is what

they always were, or at least claimed to be, from the 19th century onwards, in one form or another.

Mega-event movements have evident needs to locate events spatially, usually in cities, and they also have a capacity to transform 'spaces' into 'special places'. However, it is also evident that this spatial dimension of the mega-event-as-hub is only part of the picture. In addition, 'hub' imagery is also useful for understanding mega-events in that it helps to clarify their temporal as well as their spatial character. That is, mega-events are also (and crucially) *temporal as well as spatial hubs*. They are both temporary intensive uses of space and place in the short term, and they also make reference to wider temporal and historical dimensions through their medium-term planning and impacts, and their location within periodic cycles and traditions.

The event-as-hub – as both a temporary spatial hub and a more broadly temporal-historic hub – can be argued to act as an 'exchange centre' in late modern and global society in a number of ways. First there is the vast and visible growth of 'executive boxes' in sport stadia and of 'corporate hospitality' operations at sport events. This is eloquent testimony to the fact that event producer groups, urban growth coalitions and their associated political, economic and cultural networks orient to mega-events as places and times to meet and, whatever else they also do, to consume the event together and thus constitute shared cultural memories and cultural capital together. In addition evidently elites use the event for more instrumental sorts of meetings and interactions to further their individual, group or network interests.

Second, the event-as-hub also acts as an 'exchange centre' between the meaning-giving production project of the elite production groups and the meaning-making consumer activities of mass publics, both those present and those watching on TV or participating through some other medium. In the event-as-hub on the one hand masses of people are temporarily co-opted and mobilized into being active members of international cultural movements. On the other hand, during the event, the elite organizers of such movements see them temporarily take on some of the substance and scale of more explicitly political and enduring international social movements. Mega-events were capable of transiently taking on the substantial ceremonial and ritual appearance of nationalist, imperialist, socialist and fascist movements in the earlier 19th- and 20th-century periods (Roche, 2000: ch. 4; 2001). In a comparable fashion in the late 20th and early 21st centuries mega-event organizers, such as the International Olympic Committee, have attempted to connect them with the liberal version of multiculturalist, environmentalist and, to a limited extent, feminist and disability ideals and movements, projecting them in part as periodic mass festive ceremonials connected with these values and movements in contemporary politicocultural consciousness (Roche, 2000: ch. 7; 2002).

Third, the event-as-hub and as transient exchange centre both symbolically

represents and also in some small part contributes to contemporary understandings – (both by producers and consumers in the global cultural industries in particular, but also in and between other industrial and postindustrial economic sectors) – of possibilities for intersectoral convergence, interconnection, cross-reference and synergy. This is evident enough in the interconnection between sport and the media in mega-events (Roche, 2000: ch. 5, 6), and is also evident in their interconnection, as advertising and promotional vehicles for a huge and diverse range of products (Note 5).

Finally, earlier we conceptualized the life world experience of intergenerationality – that is the currently lived, the remembered and the imaginatively projected aspects of intergenerational social relations – as a key element in the social reality of the socio-temporal mesosphere. We suggested that it is within this sphere that the meanings, ideals and realities of agency (production) on the one hand and social structure (reproduction) on the other can be understood to coexist and interconnect. In relation to this we can now recuperate some of the event-relevant aspects of generations touched on in the previous section. So a final aspect of the event-as-hub and as exchange centre to be noted refers to the mix of mundane and special intergenerational communication that mega-events make possible and typically involve. This is the deeper significance of the idea that events like the Olympics or World Fairs are ‘family’ events (involving multigenerational family groups, and family and friends reunion and meeting points) and that people of all generations participate in the drama of the live event whether as spectators or as TV viewers (Ley and Olds, 1988; Rothenbuhler, 1988; MacAloon, 1992; Harvey, 1996; Dauncey and Hare, 1999; Klausen, 1999).

Both as short-term events, but also in longer-term perspectives of their associated discourse of memories and traditions, and their organization of calendrical futures, mega-events have the capacity to provide sociologically distinctive and significant intergenerational cultural markers and reference points. Their enduring appeal can be argued to indicate their adaptive role in relation to the needs and problems relating to time structure, intragenerational identity and and intergenerational solidarity facing people and societies in late modernity which were discussed earlier. In this context, then, it is not a trivial observation to note, by way of illustration, the obsessive attention that has been paid for decades by the English media and public, on the occasion of football World Cup mega-events, to England’s one lonely triumph in the event in 1966. The calendar of World Cup events in the late modern period has provided significant rallying points and historicocultural organizational hubs for periodic mobilizations of English (sub-)nationalism and collective identity construction at a time when significant political questions and cultural ambiguities have arisen relating to this identity. In this case, as in many other cases around the world’s societies, most notably in relation to the World Cup, in Brazilian politics and

public culture (Bellos, 2002), national history marking and narratives have become intertwined with mega-event histories and narratives. Global mega-events and their traditions and calendars can be argued to provide mesospheric social space–time hubs and frameworks, together with distinctive symbolic and discursive resources, in relation to which, societies and governments, elites and publics, generations and individuals can reflect and bring cultural order to some of the medium- and long-term processes of intergenerational societal reproduction and change affecting them in the contemporary period.

## **Conclusion**

This article has addressed the theme of the possible connections between mega-events and time structures in modern society. We began in the first section with an overview of the origins and nature of the main mega-event genres against the background of a periodization of early, mature and late modernity. This account emphasized the continuity of their role as national and international timekeepers and history markers, and also the discontinuity of the impact of mediatization on mega-event genres in late modernity which has tended to privilege the dramatizable and globalizable sport mega-event genre over the Expo mega-event genre.

The article then set out to explore some of the elements of the conceptual and theoretical accounts that are needed if we are to understand the phenomenon of the enduring mass popularity of mega-events in late modernity. In the course of this it considered their role in relation to two related social spheres, the life world and the mesosocial sphere, both defined in terms of temporality. In relation to the former, in the second section some of the main structures of meaning that continue to be associated with mega-events in modernity were outlined, in particular identity, lived time and generationality. It was suggested that mega-events and also the event-oriented culture of sport can play a notable role in supporting and adapting time-related personal and interpersonal structures of meaning and identity in relation to various destructuring risks posed by social change in the contemporary period.

In the third section we considered the political sociology and social theory of mega-events and mega-event movements, and their actual and potential roles in contemporary global culture and society. This analysis suggested that the periodic production of particular mega-events can be usefully understood as the production of intermediate mesosphere processes, involving socio-temporal and popular cultural hubs and exchanges which, in their operation, help to coordinate intergenerational cultural, political and economic flows and networks. These processes can be said to contribute to the current development, such as it is, of culture and society at the global level. They provide a sociological basis for the prominent, if at times controversial, role currently played by the IOC, the

governing body of the Olympic movement, and also to a lesser extent by FIFA, the governing body of soccer, the 'world game' in the cultural aspects of contemporary institution building at the global level (e.g. Houlihan, 1994; Sugden and Tomlinson, 1998; Roche, 2000: ch. 7).

In general the article has argued that mega-events – both in their particular organization as unique events and also in the form of the traditions and institutions, ideals and plans of the inter-event movements that sustain them – can be seen as having been important, although too often overlooked, adaptive socio-temporal processes in late 20th-century society. The analysis suggests that we are likely to see much more of them as 'global society' and its culture begin to take on a more patterned and institutionalized character in the early generations of the 21st century.

### Notes

1. The field of the history, politics and sociology of mega-events has begun to develop in recent years, regarding, for example: national and global culture (Roche, 2000: *passim*, 1999, 2001); urban culture and policy (Roche, 1992a, 1992b, 1994, 2000: ch. 5); 'hallmark' events (Hall, 1989a, 1989b, 1992; Syme et al., 1989); the Expo genre (Rydell, 1984, 1993; Greenhalgh, 1988; Ley and Olds, 1988; Pred, 1991; Rydell and Gwinn, 1994; Harvey, 1996; Spillman, 1997; Hendry, 2000); the Olympic genre (MacAloon, 1984, 1992; Klausen, 1999; Roche, 2000, 2002).
2. On 'the life world', social constructionism and the theory of communicative rationality, see Berger and Luckmann (1967), Schutz and Luckmann (1974), Habermas (1989), also Roche (1973, 1987a, 1987b, 1988).
3. Contemporary interests in mesosphere perspectives in social theory in some respects replay comparable interests in postwar 'middle-range' social theory (e.g. Merton, 1968).
4. Also Houlihan (1994); for cultural INGOs in general see Boli and Thomas (1999).
5. For perspectives on the relation between sport, culture, identity and modernity see Jarvie and Maguire (1994: ch. 9, 10, *passim*), Houlihan (1994: ch. 8), Maguire (1999), and Roche (1998). On 'media events' Dayan and Katz (1992); on Olympic games as 'media events' Rothenbuhler (1988, 1989), Larson and Park (1993), Spa et al. (1995), and Roche (2000: ch. 6); on the mediatization of sport culture Wenner (1998), Rowe (1996, 1999), Boyle and Haynes (2000); on the World Cup as mega-event, Dauncey and Hare (1999), Horne and Manzenreiter (2002); on consumer culture (with which mega-events and sport culture have developed a symbiosis), see Featherstone (1991), Rojek (1993) and Ritzer (particularly his 1999 on the construction of 'enchantment', also 1998).
6. On the concepts of time structure and destructuring, with some applications to the two life events and forms of experience of retirement and unemployment, see respectively Roche (1989, 1990, also 1987c). On the human need for time structure see Jahoda (1982) and Roche (1990). For relevant studies on the theory and experience of time in modernity see Minkowski (1970), Toffler (1970), Rifkin (1987) and Young and Schuller (1988).

7. The notion that there are threats to the people's identity and agency emanating from systemic features of the modern societal formation is a familiar one in classical sociological critique, e.g. claims in relation to 'alienation' (Marx), 'anomie' (Durkheim), and 'the iron cage of rationalism' (Weber). For a more contemporary analysis of the life world and a critique of threats to it in late modernity which can be formulated as processes of 'colonization of the lifeworld'; see Habermas (1989) on time-based threats due to the speed of technologies and the pace of social change see Toffler (1970) on 'future shock' and responses to it in terms of the construction of 'temporal enclaves' and Virilio's (1997, 1998) critique of 'temporal pollution'.
8. On the importance of media and mediatization in constituting and reconstituting identity and the lived social world in modernity, and also for a phenomenology of the life world in relation to the media, see Scannell (1996), also Thompson (1995: ch. 1, 3, 4 and 7) and Stevenson (1995).
9. On temporality and routinization in the experience of 'doing time' in long-term imprisonment see Cohen and Taylor (1972: ch. 4). For a study of 'escape attempts' in relation to everyday routines see Cohen and Taylor (1978), also Rojek (1993). For an analysis of the aestheticization of everyday life in the contemporary period through people's interests in periodic rituals and temporary 'neotribal' gatherings see Maffesoli (1996).
10. Insights into this 'order-creating' character of public events and rituals are offered by Handelman's (1998) notable discussion of their potentially performative ('model-for' action) character. However, his structural anthropological approach requires him to focus on the 'logic' of events, conceived in atemporal terms. For more modernity-oriented studies of the collective time and memory structuring of public rituals and events see Connerton (1989) and Spillman (1997).
11. On the theory of human needs see the seminal study by Doyal and Gough (1991); on the theory of citizenship and human rights see Turner (1993), also Roche (1987b, 1995b); on life events and human needs for time structure see Notes 6 and 7 above.
12. On the spatio-temporal and movement-oriented theoretical metaphors of 'flow' and 'movement' see the following. Some originary sociocultural conceptions of 'flow' include Toffler (1970) and Williams (1974). In contemporary social analysis 'flow theory' has been developed by, among others, Appadurai (1990), Hannerz (1992), Lash and Urry (1994) and Urry (2000). The concept of 'social movements' has been well worked in the last two decades; for recent relevant discussions see Touraine (1995), Roche (1995a) and Maheu (1995). On the role of metaphor in theorizing in general see Lakoff and Johnson (1980).
13. Castells does note, however, that in 1995 by electing a new mayor the people of Tokyo rejected the possibility of staging an Expo in 1997 (Castells, 1996: 425-8). He sees this as an example of localist resistance by ordinary people to the logic of international capitalism, apparently a rare triumph of the politics of 'the space of places' over the politics of 'the space of flows'.
14. Other studies of global society and globalization which are otherwise of considerable relevance, but which nevertheless also seem to ignore the role of Expos and Olympics and other such mega-events include the notable writings of David Held and his colleagues, (see Held, 1995; Held et al., 1999; Boli and Thomas, 1999).
15. For his analysis of 'the space of flows' and its 'layers' see Castells (1996: ch. 6). According to this the 'first layer' is the system of worldwide computerized linkages and is 'constituted by a circuit of electronic impulses' (1996: 412). The 'second

layer' 'is constituted by . . . nodes and hubs', it is 'place based' and it is illustrated by 'global cities' (1996: 413, 415).

## References

- Appadurai, A. (1990) 'Disjuncture and Difference in the Global Cultural Economy', in M. Featherstone (ed.) *Global Culture*. London: Sage.
- Beck, U. (1992) *Risk Society: Towards a New Modernity*. London: Sage.
- Bellos, A. (2002) *Futebol: The Brazilian Way of Life*. London: Bloomsbury.
- Benjamin, W. (1973) 'Grandville or the World Exhibitions', in W. Benjamin, *Charles Baudelaire: A Lyric Poet in the Ear of High Capitalism*, pp. 164–6. London: NLB.
- Berger, P. and Luckmann, T. (1967) *The Social Construction of Reality*. New York: Anchor/Doubleday.
- Boli, J. and Thomas, G. (eds) (1999) *Constructing World Culture: International Non-governmental Organisations Since 1875*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Boyle, R. and Haynes, R. (2000) *Power Play: Sport, the Media and Popular Culture*. Harlow: Longman.
- Castells, M. (1996) *The Information Age. Vol. I – The Rise of the Network Society*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Cohen, S. and Taylor, L. (1972) *Psychological Survival: The Experience of Long-term Imprisonment*. London: Penguin.
- Cohen, S. and Taylor, L. (1978) *Escape Attempts*. London: Penguin.
- Connerton, P. (1989) *How Societies Remember*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Corsten, M. (1999) 'The Time of Generations', *Time & Society* 8(2): 249–72.
- Dauncey, H. and Hare, G. (eds) (1999) *France and the 1998 World Cup*. London: Frank Cass.
- Dayan, D. and Katz, E. (1992) *Media Events*. London: Harvard University Press.
- De Cauter, L. (1993) 'The Panoramic Ecstasy: On World Exhibitions and the Disintegration of Experience', *Theory, Culture & Society* 10: 1–23.
- Doyal, L. and Gough, I. (1991) *A Theory of Human Need*. London: Macmillan.
- Eisenstadt, S. (1971) *From Generation to Generation: Age Groups and Social Structure*. New York: Free Press.
- Featherstone, M. (ed.) (1990) *Global Culture*. London: Sage.
- Featherstone, M. (1991) *Consumer Culture and Postmodernism*. London: Sage.
- Fukuyama, F. (1992) *The End of History and the Last Man*. London: Hamish Hamilton.
- Gamble, A. (2000) *Politics and Fatalism*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Giddens, A. (1984) *The Constitution of Society*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Greenhalgh, P. (1988) *Ephemeral Vistas: The Expositions Universelles; Great Exhibitions and World's Fairs, 1851–1939*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.
- Habermas, J. (1989) *The Theory of Communicative Action: Lifeworld and System*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Hall, C.M. (1989a) 'The Definition and Analysis of Hallmark Tourist Events', *Geojournal* 19(3): 263–8.
- Hall, C.M. (1989b) 'The Politics of Hallmark Events', in G. Syme, B. Shaw, M. Fenton and W. Mueller (eds) *The Planning and Evaluation of Hallmark Events*. Aldershot: Avebury.



- Hall, C.M. (1992) *Hallmark Tourist Events*. London: Bellhaven.
- Handelman, D. (1998) *Models and Mirrors: Towards an Anthropology of Public Events*. 2nd edn. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Hannerz, U. (1992) *Cultural Complexity*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Harvey, D. (1989) *The Condition of Post-modernity*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Harvey, P. (1996) *Hybrids of Modernity: Anthropology, the Nation State and the Universal Exhibition*. London: Routledge.
- Held, D. (1995) *Democracy and the Global Order*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Held, D., McGrew, A., Goldblatt, D. and Perraton, J. (1999) *Global Transformations: Politics, Economics and Culture*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Hendry, J. (2000) *The Orient Strikes Back: A Global View of Cultural Display*. Oxford: Berg.
- Hobsbawm, E. (1992) 'Mass-Producing Traditions: Europe, 1870–1914', in E. Hobsbawm and T. Ranger (eds) *The Invention of Tradition*. Cambridge: Canto/Cambridge University Press.
- Horne, J. and Manzenreiter, W. (2002) *Japan, Korea and the 2002 World Cup*. London: Routledge.
- Houlihan, B. (1994) *Sport and International Politics*. London: Harvester Wheatsheaf.
- Jahoda, M. (1982) *Employment and Unemployment*. London: Marion Boyars.
- Jarvie, G. and Maguire, J. (1994) *Sport and Leisure in Social Thought*. London: Routledge.
- Klausen, A. (ed.) (1999) *Olympic Games as Performance and Public Event*. Oxford: Berghahn.
- Lakoff, G. and Johnson, M. (1980) *Metaphors We Live By*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Larson, J. and Park, H.-S. (1993) *Global Television and the Politics of the Seoul Olympics*. Oxford: Westview Press.
- Lash, S. and Urry, J. (1994) *Economies of Signs and Space*. London: Sage.
- Ley, D. and Olds, K. (1988) 'Landscape as Spectacle: Worlds Fairs and the Culture of Heroic Consumption', *Environment and Planning D: Space and Society* 6: 191–212.
- MacAloon, J. (1984) 'Olympic Games and the Theory of Spectacle in Modern Societies', in J. MacAloon (ed.) *Rite, Drama, Festival, Spectacle*. Philadelphia: Institute of Human Issues.
- MacAloon, J. (1992) 'The Ethnographic Imperative in Comparative Olympic Research', *Sociology of Sport Journal* 9: 104–30.
- Maffesoli, M. (1996) *The Time of the Tribes*. London: Sage.
- Maguire, J. (1999) *Global Sport: Identities, Societies, Civilizations*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Maheu, R. (ed.) (1995) *Social Movements and Social Classes*. London: Sage.
- Merton, R. (1968) *Social Theory and Social Structure*. Chicago: Free Press.
- Minkowski, E. (1970) *Lived Time: Phenomenological and Pathological Studies*. Evanston: Northwestern University Press.
- Pred, A. (1991) 'Spectacular Articulations of Modernity: The Stockholm Exhibition of 1897', *Geografiska Annaler* 73(B1): 45–84.
- Rifkin, J. (1987) *Time Wars: The Primary Conflict in Human History*. New York: Henry Holt.
- Ritzer, G. (1998) *The McDonaldisation Thesis*. London: Sage.

- Ritzer, G. (1999) *Enchanting a Disenchanted World: Revolutionizing the Means of Consumption*. London: Sage.
- Roche, M. (1973) *Phenomenology, Language and the Social Sciences*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.
- Roche, M. (1987a) 'Social Theory and the Lifeworld', *British Journal of Sociology* 38: 283–6.
- Roche, M. (1987b) 'Citizenship, Social Theory and Social Change', *Theory and Society* 16: 363–99.
- Roche, M. (1987c) 'Elliot Jaques' Social Analysis of Time', *Philosophy of the Social Sciences* 17: 443–51.
- Roche, M. (1988) 'The Political Sociology of the Lifeworld', *Philosophy of the Social Sciences* 18: 259–63.
- Roche, M. (1989) 'Lived Time, Leisure and Retirement', in T. Winniffrith and C. Barrett (eds) *The Philosophy of Leisure*, pp. 54–79. London: Macmillan.
- Roche, M. (1990) 'Time and Unemployment', *Human Studies* 13: 1–25.
- Roche, M. (1992a) 'Mega-Events and Micro-Modernization', *British Journal of Sociology* 43: 563–600.
- Roche, M. (1992b) 'Mega-Events and Citizenship', *Vrijtjijd en Samenleving (Leisure and Society)* 10(4): 47–67.
- Roche, M. (1993) 'Sport and Community: Rhetoric and Reality in the Development of British Sport Policy', in C. Binfield and J. Stevenson (eds) *Sport, Culture & Politics*, pp. 73–114. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press.
- Roche, M. (1994) 'Mega-Events and Urban Policy', *Annals of Tourism Research* 21(1): 1–19.
- Roche, M. (1995a) 'Rethinking Citizenship and Social Movements', in R. Maheu (ed.) *Social Movements and Social Classes*. London: Sage.
- Roche, M. (1995b) 'Citizenship and Modernity', *British Journal of Sociology* 46(4): 715–33.
- Roche, M. (1996) *Rethinking Citizenship*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Roche, M. (ed.) (1998) *Sport, Popular Culture and Identity*. Aachen: Meyer & Meyer Verlag.
- Roche, M. (1999) 'Mega-Events, Culture and Modernity: Expos and the Origins of Public Culture', *Cultural Policy* 5(1): 1–31.
- Roche, M. (2000) *Mega-Events and Modernity: Olympics and Expos in the Growth of Global Culture*. London: Routledge.
- Roche, M. (2001) 'Modernity, Cultural Events and the Construction of Charisma: Mass Cultural Events in the USSR in the Interwar Period', *Cultural Policy* 7(3): 493–520.
- Roche, M. (2002) 'The Olympics and "Global Citizenship"', *Citizenship Studies* 6(1): 165–81.
- Roche, M. and Harrison, J. (2002) 'Europeanisation through Regulation: The Case of Media-sport' (unpublished paper), IAMCR, annual conference, July 2002, Barcelona.
- Rojek, C. (1993) *Ways of Escape: Modern Transformations in Leisure and Travel*. London: Macmillan.
- Rothenbuhler, E. (1988) 'The Living Room Celebration of the Olympic Games', *Journal of Communication* 38(4): 61–81.
- Rothenbuhler, E. (1989) 'Values and Symbols in Orientations to the Olympics', *Critical Studies in Mass Communication* 6: 138–57.

- Rowe, D. (1996) 'The Global Love-match: Sport and Television', *Media, Culture and Society* 18: 565–82.
- Rowe, D. (1999) *Sport, Culture and the Media: The Unruly Trinity*. Buckingham: Open University Press.
- Rydell, R. (1984) *All the World's a Fair: Visions of Empire at American International Expositions 1876–1916*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Rydell, R. (1993) *World of Fairs: The Century-of-Progress Expositions*. Chicago: Chicago University Press.
- Rydell, R. and Gwinn, N. (eds) (1994) *Fair Representations: World's Fairs and the Modern World*. Amsterdam: VU University Press.
- Scannell, P. (1996) *Radio, Television and Modern Life*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Schuman, H. and Scott, J. (1989) 'Generations and Collective Memories', *American Sociological Review* 54: 359–81.
- Schutz, A. and Luckmann, T. (1974) *The Structures of the Lifeworld*. London: Heinemann.
- Spa, M. de M., Rivenburgh, N., and Larson, J. (1995) *Television in the Olympics*. Luton: John Libbey Media.
- Spillman, L. (1997) *Nation and Commemoration*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Stevenson, N. (1995) *Understanding Media Cultures: Social Theory and Mass Communication*. London: Sage.
- Sugden, J. and Tomlinson, A. (1998) *FIFA and the Contest for World Football*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Syme, G., Shaw, B., Fenton, M. and Mueller, W. (eds) (1989) *The Planning and Evaluation of Hallmark Events*. Aldershot: Avebury.
- Thompson, J. (1995) *The Media and Modernity: A Social Theory of the Media*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Toffler, A. (1970) *Future Shock*. London: Pan.
- Touraine, A. (1995) 'Democracy: From a Politics of Citizenship to a Politics of Recognition', in R. Maheu (ed.) *Social Movements and Social Classes*. London: Sage.
- Turner, B. (1993) 'Outline of a Theory of Human Rights', in B. Turner (ed.) *Citizenship and Social Theory*. London: Sage.
- Turner, V. (1995) *The Ritual Process: Structure and Anti-structure*. New York: Aldine de Gruyter (original 1969).
- Urry, J. (2000) *Sociology Beyond Societies*. London: Routledge.
- Van Gennep, A. (1960) *The Rites of Passage*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Virilio, P. (1997) *Open Sky*. London: Verso.
- Virilio, P. (1998) *The Virilio Reader*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Wenner, L. (ed.) (1998) *Media Sport*. London: Routledge.
- Williams, R. (1974) *Television: Technology and Cultural Form*. London: Fontana/Collins.
- Young, M. and Schuller, T. (1988) *The Rhythms of Society*. London: Routledge.

MAURICE ROCHE is Reader in Sociology at Sheffield University and is Director of the University's 'European Social and Cultural Studies' interdisciplinary research centre. His books include: *Rethinking Citizenship: Ideology, Welfare and Change in Modern Society* (1996, Cambridge: Polity

Press) and *Mega-Events and Modernity: Olympics, Expos and the Growth of Global Culture* (2000, London: Routledge). ADDRESS: Sociology Department, Sheffield University, Elmfield Building, Northumberland Rd., Sheffield S10 2TY, S.Yorks, UK.  
[email: maurice.roche@lineone.net]