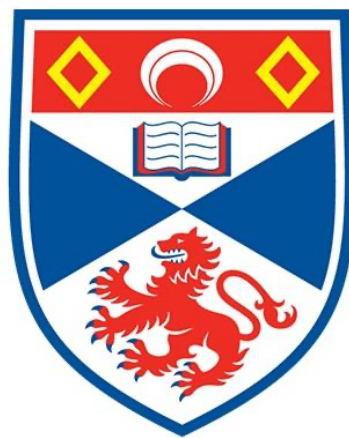# Understanding the state of play by reading the field:

Answering how would sport, as a political field, work within an independent Scotland through the use of scenario analysis

University of
St Andrews

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ABSTRACT

"Sport has the power to change the world. It has the power to inspire. It has the power to unite people in a way that little else does. It speaks to youth in a language they understand. Sport can create hope where once there was only despair." – Nelson Mandela

"Some people think football is a matter of life and death. I assure you, it's much more serious than that." - Kenny Dalglish

This dissertation investigates the overlap between sports and politics, positing that sport is often misunderstood or mischaracterised and subsequently policy makers and academics alike are unable to realise its potential. This paper explores the reasons for sports neglect within the discipline and presents a solution. To avoid sports neglect in the future, the research utilises an interdisciplinary method, conceptualising sport as a sociological field. The research draws on literature beyond IR to showcase sports relevance and ability to assist the discipline in broadening its horizons and challenging the mainstream orthodoxy. By understanding sport as a sociological field, one captures sports broader social importance, often missed by academics within IR as well as policy makers. By doing this, the research offers pointed criticism of IR and utilises sport as a point of view to interrogate the issue of Scottish independence, connected to post-colonial literature and constructivist theory. Through the use of scenario analysis, this dissertation attempts to broaden the understanding of key concepts within IR by drawing on the everyday, whilst generating policy relevant insights, framed around the issue of Scottish Independence. This proves the overlap between the sports field and political field, evidencing a mutually constitutive relationship. It goes on to show that the impact of Scottish Independence on sport is determined by the policymakers understanding and appreciation of sport, with recent evidence suggesting a fundamental misunderstanding and mischaracterisation which could have large negative consequences. To help avoid this, the dissertation deepens understanding of sport and represents a broader conceptualisation which would be more useful within IR.

Key Terms: Sport, Scottish Independence, Scotland, United Kingdom, postcolonialism, the everyday, identity, field theory, scenario analysis, policy.

<u>DEDICATIONS</u>

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ABBREVIATIONS

IR- International Relations

UK- United Kingdom

SFDC – Sports for Development Coalition

SRA – Sport and Recreation Alliance

OSS – Observatory for Sport in Scotland

DCMS – Department for Digital, Culture, Media, and Sport

IndyRef – Independence Referendum

IOC – International Olympic Committee

SNP – Scottish National Party

EDI – Equality, Diversity and Inclusion

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

My research aims to broaden the understanding of International Relations (IR) by introducing a sport as a level of analysis. Through interdisciplinary study I argue for the conceptualisation of sport as a sociological field, challenging elitist understandings of the discipline which has limited theoretical understanding of sport's role within IR. Furthermore, I conceptualise a mutually constitutive relationship between the fields of sport and politics.

However, it is not enough to theorise hence this research aims to prove the overlap, generating policy relevant insights, by considering the impact of Scottish independence on the field of sport. By exploiting scenario analysis, I demonstrate an instance where there is a mutually constitutive relationship between the fields of sports and politics. This leads me to posit the reason for sports neglect within IR: an underestimation of the emotional power of sport and its connection to identity due to a simplification of the concept. This must change so policymakers can appropriate the benefits, proven through the example of Scottish Independence.

Why Sport?

There are multiple recent examples where the fields of sport and politics overlapped, yet it has not been a topic of study during my time at St Andrews. For example, the use of sport as a policy tool to punish Russia (Mather, 2022) or the Winter Olympics in Beijing (BBC, 2022). Even at the individual level observe Marcus Rashford's influence on policy (Phillips, 2021), Tom Daley's international activism (Robledo, 2021), or the international incident incited by Novak Djokovic (Visontay & Carayol, 2022). I firmly believe these phenomena are misunderstood due to the simplification of sport.

It was never my intention to study sport, yet I discovered a deep passion at St Andrews, subsequently becoming involved within the sporting field (see Henderson, 2021; Winton, 2021). The analysis of sport leaves me frustrated; its potential is consistently underestimated, and its study marginalised (see Winton & Neil, 2021). Across the United Kingdom (UK), a growing number of sports professionals and academics are making the connections between sports and politics, groups like the Sports for Development Coalition (SFDC) or Sport and Recreation Alliance (SRA). The Observatory for Sport in Scotland (OSS) provide specific policy answers to questions effecting Scotland's future, further exploring the overlap. As a member of these groups, I have advocated for greater investment in the sporting field, an increased understanding of sport's social function, and thus utilised opportunities to research sports connections to politics, identifying areas of potential for impact. Scottish Independence is one such area of potential, so it was natural to use this dissertation to explore it further.

This is offered in the spirit of reflectivity, acknowledging I am embedded within the sporting field. Furthermore, as someone of Welsh and English ancestry my view of independence will be markedly different from someone Scottish. Nevertheless, this study was motivated by a comparable piece of research looking at the importance of sport to Wales post-devolution (Holden, 2011), prompting me to consider the Scottish context and combine my interests.

Conceptual, Theoretical and Methodological Framework:

Scottish independence remains an ever-present issue (Paun & Sargeant, 2021) with pre-existing literature considering the impact (see Burnett, et al., 2021; House of Lords, 2013; Clifford Chance, 2021; Huang, et al., 2021). The impact on sport is yet to be considered.

Herein, I will be interrogating how independence could affect the interaction between the sporting field and political field, looking at how the relationship between the two fields will work. Similar studies utilise scenario analysis, and specifically the 'Delphi technique', to speculate on the impact of independence, providing a template to deepen understanding of key concepts whilst producing policy relevant insights (Ibid). For example, Clifford Chance consider the implications for businesses from a legal perspective and in the process deepen our understanding of key legal arguments such as public international law (Clifford Chance 2021).

IR typically focuses on causation and explanation, with scholars aiming to create grand generalised theories (Kurki & Suganami, 2012; Hoffman, 1959). Yet any generalised theory must make certain sacrifices to achieve explanatory power via a simplification of reality, weakening policy relevance (Humphreys, 2017 & Humphreys, 2010). Research, such as Clifford Chance (2021), provide a useful template to balance this trade off. Additionally, IR has focused on quantative methods. This research is speculative and thus incompatible with more common rigorous and positivist methodologies (see Laitin, 1995: Navon, 2001; George, 1989). What is more, so called 'simplistic hypothesis testing' limits policy relevance to narrow cases and examples and rarely contributes to theory (Walt & Mearsheimer, 2013). This research is both constitutive and explanatory, providing theoretical contributions whilst positing potential chains of causality using scenario analysis.

To showcase the power of scenario analysis, it must fit with the interdisciplinary method. Sport has received a lack of independent academic attention and thus has been studied through various subjects such as sociology (Beacom, 2000; Levermore & Budd, 2004;

Begović, 2015). Arguably, sport necessitates this interdisciplinary approach to capture its complexity. Scenario analysis enables this, being applied in multiple disciplines to deal with a whole host of topics from waste management to smart nations (see Tunn, et al., 2019; Martin-Rios, et al., 2022; Neimeyer, et al., 2022; Penmetsa & Camar, 2022). The common trend is its ability to deal with 'wicked' problems, filling the gap created by scientific methods focused on causality (Rittel & Webber, 1973). Scenario anaysis is designed to tackle problems like Scottish Independence, enabling analysis when there's no clear definite answer due to the fact the problem is interdisciplinary and embedded in broader contexts, creating ambiguity. Overall, scenario analysis is designed to deal with this and compatible with our interdisciplinary apporach (Bradfield, et al., 2015).

As I aim to highlight the lack of attention sport has received within IR there is also a strong critical component. Sports neglect is the product of multiple factors, such as its relationship with the everyday, a neglected level of analysis within IR (Beacom, 2000; Levermore & Budd, 2004; Begović, 2015; Salter, 2011; Davies & Niemann, 2002; Björkdahl, 2019, Jackson & Stanley 2016), as well as the dismissal of sport as 'not serious'. This lack of 'seriousness' is evidenced by the nickname given to Department of Digital, Culture, Media, and Sport (DCMS) as 'the ministry of fun' (Gift & Miner, 2017; Elstein, 2012). Scenario analysis is designed to deal with ambiguity, with strong parallels with the reflective and post-positivist ontology and epistemology employed by critical and constructivist theories. Therefore, scenario analysis is compatible with the critical lens and able to achieve the aims of this research.

Whilst I have adopted the methodology of scenario analysis, my specific method is the 'Delphi Technique' (Hsu & . Sandford, 2007; Habibi, et al., 2014). This utilises the

knowledge of experts to form a consensus on speculative issues. Additionally, I am utilising primary sources and government policy as signals of intent to support speculation. This would not be necessary if one deployed a retrospective method, looking at the first independence referendum (IndyRef). I have elected to avoid the retrospective method as there have been substantial changes in the political and sporting field, causing changes to policy, and reducing the relevance of insights generated by a retrospective approach.

For this research, I interviewed 10 individuals from the sporting field (see fig 1). To maintain confidentiality, they have been given pseudonyms, enabling them to speak freely. Per the 'Delphi Technique', the responses of our interviewees are used to construct a range of plausible future outcomes. This necessitates the use of other methods such as critical discourse analysis and case studies in a supplementary manner. Typically, you would follow-up with interviewees until a clear consensus is reached. Due to current time frames this was not possible hence only the initial response is used (Bradfield, et al., 2015; Hsu & . Sandford, 2007; Habibi, et al., 2014). Nevertheless, scenario analysis and consensus-based methodologies have no clearly defined standard practise, so this is still permissible although is a limitation (Waggoner, et al., 2016).

A lack of standard practise could also be considered a weakness. It is also possible that bias affected the selection of interviewees. Every effort was made to mitigate this, with a range of interviewees invited to capture a full variety of opinions and political allegiances. Yet, some bias was unavoidable. The sports field is male dominated and this is reflected in our interviewees. Equally, most respondents where cis-gendered, white, and straight. A greater diversity would be desirable to strengthen the validity of our consensus, per

scenario analysis and the 'Delphi technique'. There is also a possibility that my own opinions influenced or shaped the response of interviewees. This is usually only a serious risk when there are multiple iterations of interviews and is mitigated by a standardised framework (Hsu & Sandford, 2007). In the spirit of reflectivity and transparency I also acknowledge my own background and that I do not have any strong views on independence. Despite these weaknesses, the 'Delphi technique' it's the best method within scenario analysis to tackle the question of how sport would work as a political field within an independent Scotland.

Following this brief introduction, which contextualises the research and summarises its aims, I will move on to the literature review. This section highlights the current gaps concerning sport within IR, whilst connecting the work of multiple scholars across different disciplines to support the hypothesis that the fields of sport and politics overlap. The literature review defines key concepts and outlines theoretical assumptions made in the process. Following this, I implement scenario analysis in full, revealing how the sporting field and the political field interact and form a mutually constitutive relationship. To begin, I define the scenario of independence in greater deal. Key issues are then defined, utilising the law of averages and a consensus-based methodology. This helps construct three possible outcomes from independence, which are averaged to create the most plausible outcome. Finally, using this outcome, the research makes key recommendations for both policy makers and academics alike.

Alasdair (he/him)

Representative from the OSS

Brodie (he/him)

Academic from University of St Andrews

Donald (he/him)

MSP in Scottish Parliament

Ewan (he/him)

Representative from Saints Sport

Finlay (he/him)

MSP in Scottish Parliament

Glenn (he/him)

Representative from Commonwealth Games Scotland

Hazel (she/her)

CEO from SGB

Ian (he/him)

Academic from the University of Edinburgh

Janeth (she/her)

CEO from SGB

Kameron (he/him)

Representative from Sport Scotland

Figure 1 – A description of all participants within the research

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

Exploring the existing literature will validate the claim that sport has been neglected within IR (see Beacom, 2000; Levermore & Budd, 2004; Begović, 2015; Cha, 2009; Black, 2008; Eden, 2013; Gift & Miner, 2017). It will outline how I conceptualise key concepts, avoiding the reductive definition of sport which fails to capture sport's complexity, providing a template for further research and policy makers to understand sports potential. In combining sociology with IR one can capture what is missed within analysis of sport through consideration of the everyday (Albert & Barry, 2013).

Defining Key Concepts

Problematising the concepts of sport, the everyday, identity, the nation-state and nationalism, I place this research within existing literature. I will also touch on power, reputation, and legitimacy, but only briefly as they are tangential concepts. This will provide definitional clarity, compatible with our theoretical assumptions and research aims.

Sport itself has multiple definitions. Arguments abound on whether darts, pool, dance and recently e-sports can be considered sport (Guarino, 2015; Lagaert & Roose, 2016; Jonasson & Thiborg, 2010). This reveals sports nature as a sociological field, with sociologists leading attempts to provide clarity; sport is defined as a socially constructed concept, with the definition determined by agents within the field (Guarino, 2015). Rarely do IR scholars define sport but when they do, they utilised the definition of the International Olympic Committee (IOC) Sport is thus implied to be defined as competitive physical activity, constraining sport to movement, biomechanics, and competition, determined by what the IOC views as legitimate (IOC, n.d.).

However, this definition of sport fails to account for the work of sociologists. This is where most misunderstandings originate within IR literature, contributing to sports neglect (Houlihan & Malcolm, 2016; Redeker, 2008). As shown through this research, and made apparent through the interview process, sport is largely misunderstood and assumed to be little more than a physical act. If this is not challenged, then sport's potential will not be realised. I attempt to overcome this by utilising the work of Bourdieu to arrive at a definition which captures the full breadth of sport.

Sport is often compared to religion by modern sociologists, fitting as the Ancient Olympics were a religious festival. Through this comparison, one begins to see its social importance (Snyder & Spreitzer, 1974; Carter, 2012). Sport sociology took off in the 1960s to interrogate this further, tied to the expansion of the leisure sector in the post-war years (Coakley, 1987). Sport is thus clearly tied to the evolution of contemporary global society, with sport mirroring changes within the international order (Beacom 2000; Adler-Nissen, 2012; Ancelovici, 2021; Friedland, 2009). Since then, research on sports importance within social structures has grown rapidly, touching on language, culture, and values (Meân & Halone, 2010; Breivik, 1998; Washington & Karen, 2001). Bourdieu himself wrote specifically on sport, recognising it as a distinct sociological field (Bourdieu, 1991; Bourdieu, et al., 1998; Guarino, 2015). Herein a sociological field is defined as a "structured space of positions" with general "invariant laws" and "specific properties peculiar to that field" (Bourdieu, 1995, pp. 72-3; Bourdieu, 1984; Bourdieu, 1991; Bourdieu, et al., 1998). Sport demonstrates these properties and is thus a sociological field.

This definition is certainly novel with IR. Adler-Nissen has led the call for the inclusion of Bourdieu in IR as he helps "rediscover the everyday practices, symbolic structures and arenas of conflict that bring many other actors into perspective" (2012). The discipline has a male-western bias, with a strong reliance on a mainstream realist orthodoxy (Rytövuori-Apunen, 2005; Joseph & Kurki, 2018; Knight, 2019). Inclusion of Bourdieu helps broaden IR and challenge this, which is fitting considering the aims of this research.

Sport is thus a complimentary tool, helping to ensure IR adapts to the new global context which presents new complex challenges, from globalisation to the integration of civil society actors (Beacom, 2000; Allison, 1998). Equally, sport is analogous to a level of analysis, paralleling critical feminist literature, and the focus on the everyday, as sport focuses on the citizens rather than the so-called elite (Beattie, et al., 2019). Consequently, sport ends up "tak(ing) on meaning and material significance for ordinary people" (Koch, 2013, p. 43). Interestingly, this is a modern development as in the pre-industrial age sport was a privilege accessible only to the elite. Post-industrialization, the focus shifted, and sport is now a powerful form of political mobilization for the working-class (Giulianotti, 2016; Bourdieu, 1991; Wheeler, 1978; Jones, 1992). The critical Marxist view of sport is well documented, reflecting modern sports deep association with the non-elite and its role within the everyday.

The everyday is understood as a level of analysis itself, focusing on mundane activity of "pre-political character" (Millar, 2020; Beattie, et al., 2019). Whilst it is hard to demarcate a definite space which can be defined as 'everyday' herein it refers to a space where habitual social life is performed (Brewer, et al., 2018). It is argued that what constitutes this space is determined solely by the individual and it cannot be defined as "a distinct

realm…but rather a point of view" (Huysmans & Guillaume, 2019, p. 281). Nevertheless, sport is herein seen as a part of the everyday, connecting to these ideas through its unifying social function and providing a "point of view" for us to approach the topic of Scottish Independence.

For many years the everyday was neglected within IR in favour of "areas of public opinion and policymaking" (Davies & Niemann, 2002, p. 558 & Björkdahl, et al., 2019) due to the disciplines 'methodological elitism' (Jackson & Stanley, 2016; Navon, 2001; George, 1989). This is changing due to the embrace of more critical perspectives like feminist theory, promoting analysis of non-elite aspects of IR (Björkdahl, et al., 2019). The discipline is seeing less "militarised thinking" (Saleh, 2010, p. 229) or focus on what George Simmel terms the "serious affairs of life" (Simmel, 2011, p. 136). This creates room for sport within IR, with its characterisation as not serious.

Without consideration of the everyday, we cannot have IR: "the everyday is a crucial part of the construction and reification of an 'international'…'' (Salter, 2011, p. 455). Sport itself is surrounded by ritualistic and symbolic practises helping to construct ideas like identity, appealing to notions of nationalism, and the nation, making it an important field within the everyday and thus an important part of IR (Brentin & Cooley, 2016; Whigham, 2021; Arnold, 2021). This connection to identity is critical in our discussion of Scottish independence due to its relationship to nationalism. It is no coincidence that sport is compared to religion, another powerful part of someone's identity. The texts of James (2013) and Shapiro (1987) demonstrate this, capturing sports connection to identity.

James' work highlighted the link between cricket, independence, and identity within the Caribbean (2013). This is particularly interesting when considering Scottish independence, establishing some precedence for further study within IR as James's work on sport has been used when interrogating postcolonialism and sport (MacLean, 2010; Carrington, 2013; Holden, 2008). Carrington points to James's work as an autoethnographic text demonstrating sport as a "profoundly contested and therefore political space" (Carrington, 2013, p. 381). James's work enables us to understand the role of sport in constructing the wider identity of Afro-Caribbean men living in England (Ibid), showing the importance of cricket in the formation of community and the power relationships within that community, or the aforementioned "structured space of positions" with general "invariant laws" (Bourdieu, 1995, pp. 72-3). James describes sport "as…the frame" by which identity politics are played out (2013 pp. 64) showcasing the overlap of the political and sporting fields.

Sport draws people together and fulfils a unifying function (Štulajer & Štulajter, 2016). Yet, when there is contestation and disagreement it promotes open dialogue (Levermore, 2008). I will interrogate these two outcomes further when considering the scenario of Scotland. Yet sport is more than a tool to lead to certain outcomes, as James shows. These outcomes are themselves products of sports role as a sociological field (Bourdieu, 1995; Ancelovici, 2021; Friedland, 2009). Overall, sport enables the construction and reinforcement of concepts like identity and nationality, framed within the guise of physical activity.

Shapiro offers another perspective with a different focus, yet common themes become apparent when he describes the "representational practices and policy" associated with sport, highlighting that sport is used to "engage a stock of signs with which people make their everyday lives intelligible" (1987, p. 4). Parallels can be drawn to the work of Bourdieu and his understanding of capital within a field (Friedland, 2009). This capital, generated within the sporting field, has often been extracted by politicians to stoke the fires of nationalism. The 1936 Olympics are just one example, with the Nazi party utilising sport as a tool to legitimise their regime and construct a new German identity (Large, 2007).

Sport is a 'marker' of status, which is often highly prized by states for its ability to generate soft power (Nye, 1990; Freeman, 2012; Jarvie, 2021). It is for this reason that states continue to invest in sporting mega-events despite the negative economic and political consequences (Grix & Lee, 2013; Caiazzan & Audretsc, 2015; Zimbalist, 2016). Authoritarian regimes typically use sport as a legitimising tool, like the 1936 Olympics (Large, 2007; Kobierecki, 2013). Sport's power was recognised by the Soviet Union and a key part of the Cold War as states competed through the Olympics to ascertain relative positioning (Rhamey Jr & Early, 2013: Giulianotti, 2016; Kobierecki, 2013). A modern example is the use of sport by the Nazarbayev regime to raise Kazakhstan's status (Koch, 2013), or the use of sporting events within China (Tomlinson, 2010; Tan & Houlihan, 2012). Examples from democracies include use of hockey by Canada, or rugby by Wales (Watson, 2017; Holden, 2011). Overall, sport is connected to ideas of identity, and by extension issues of identity politics. This feeds into feelings of nationalism, and the emotive power of sport which can only be captured by conceptualising sport as a sociological field, accounting for the social relations within the field.

To understand nationalism, one must first understand what is meant by a nation and how this concept is distinct from the state. An independent Scotland would be considered a state upon realisation of sovereignty or "institutional(ized) public authority within mutually exclusive jurisdictional domains" and achievement of political legitimacy (Barkin & Cronin, 1994, p. 107). Therefore, many new regimes seek the power of sport to legitimise themselves. In the post-war system we see the emergence of the concept of the 'nation-state' which must meet the criteria above whilst representing a defined national populace which hold the public authority to account (Barkin & Cronin, 1994; Kaufman, 2013; Mayall, 2013; Breuilly, 2013). This concept is arguably far more ambiguous than the rather legalistic concept of statehood as it is unclear what constitutes or makes up a 'national populace'. This is particularly true within Scotland due to competing identities. Henceforth, a nation is defined as a constructed social concept which is the result of "coordination dynamics" which enable "collective action" (Laitin, 2007, pp. 62-80). In other words, a nation is an invented concept typically drawing on some common descent, shared cultural and social history or symbolic practices, which is then used to unite people (Laitin, 2007; Anderson, 2006; Smith, 1998). With this definition, it is fair to say that Scotland is a nation but not a state.

The sense of nationalism within Scotland is further evidence that Scotland can be considered a nation but not a state and is a driving force behind independence. Nationalism is understood an expression of national consciousness, using the idea of the nation as a tool to mobilise people (Mayall, 1990; Connor, 1994). Nationalism is neither good nor bad, relating to ideas of identity. It can be investigated on the micro-level, considering the impact of the nation on individual identity through the everyday.

Everyday nationalism does this by focusing on "the meaning and experiences of nationhood from the perspective of those on the ground" (Knott, 2015, p. 1). This is relevant to sport, which is often an outlet for the expression of nationalist sentiment; sport is used to bring these imagined communities to life, uniting them a banner both literally and metaphorically (Whigham, 2021; Brentin & Cooley, 2016). There is some research on sports relationship with Scottish identity (Jarvie & Reid, 1999; Whigham, et al., 2019; Clayton, 2002) and it is argued that sport is the most popular means for Scottish people to express their identity, making it a powerful outlet for nationalism (Whigham & May, 2017).

Sport is a "ritualistic experience…create(ing) collective emotional awareness…fostering feelings of in-group togetherness, social cohesion, and solidarity" (Brentin & Cooley, 2016, p. 7). The ritual of sport is a product of the field, constructing and perpetuating identity. Brentin and Cooley demonstrate sports role in the construction of national identities due to its "symbolic and prestige-endowing functions" (Arnold, 2021, p. 2), connecting to the ideas of capital within Bourdieu's field theory. This connects back to the idea of states using sport as a marker of status, with the ritual of sport helping to highlight the power dynamics globally, as well as connecting to the idea of nationalism by cultivating national pride.

Nationalism as a concept remains "ubiquitous and elusive" (Bieber, 2018, p. 519) but broadly captures a feeling of "national attachment" born out of "the forces of modernisation" (Mylonas & Tudor, 2021, p. 111-113). This defines nationalism as an emotional response by politically activated groups, organised along identity dimensions, with a focus on self-determination. Nationalism has a long history, being a potent political

force during the late 19th and early 20th century with the so called "nationalization of the sovereignty principle" – with calls for the right of self-determination for those of a certain national consciousness (Mayall, 2013, p. 538). Arguably its importance is waning due to globalisation and construction of international society, evidenced by a lack of growth in nationalist public attitudes (Hobsbawm, 1992; Bieber, 2018). However, the case of Scotland disputes this, with an increasing sense of nationalism. Jenne describes a fall in nationalist public attitudes, but an increase in aggregate effects of nationalism when combined by populism, as seen with the SNP (Scottish Nationalist Party) (2018).

<u>Discussing the Great Sporting Myth</u>
Considering concepts such as nationalism and the nation-state, overlap with the sporting field is clear. This contradicts the belief that the sporting field is independent from the political field. Furthermore, we see sports influence on identity, power, and legitimacy, allows the sporting field to influence the political, as well as the political to influence sport. This is evidence of a mutually constitutive relationship that will be explored further.

Sport has often been defined as politically neutral, despite its long history and relationship to politics (Dichter, 2021; Cha, 2009; Cha, 2016). It is one of the fundamental principles of the Olympic charter (IOC, 2021). Coakley critiques the assumption that sport is inherently useful or relevant, which he calls the "great sporting myth" (Coakley, 2015). This is particularly interesting as Coakley played a large role in establishing this myth. Nevertheless, it is clear the political field and sporting field do in fact overlap, with the insistence of neutrality being the true myth at it ignores the reality of the mutually constitutive relationship between sport and politics. In the case of the IOC this is often critiqued (Reid, 2012; Næss, 2020; Postlethwaite, 2014).

CHAPTER 3: SCENARIO ANALYSIS & KEY ISSUES

James embeds independence in a post-colonial framework, establishing a relationship to sport (Carrington, 2013; Holden, 2008; MacLean, 2010; James, 2013). There are a multitude of authors exploring Scotland's relationship to England, conceptualising Scotland as a colony. Accordingly, postcolonialism becomes a valid framework to embed this scenario (Homberg-Schramm, 2018; Connell, 2010; Gittings, 1995; Pittock, 2000; McCrone, 2006). This is useful to understand the key issues highlighted by interviewees and relates back to my critical research goals, utilising the everyday to broaden IR to include sport, whilst producing policy relevant insights.

Post-colonialism illustrates variation in routes to independence as decolonisation started with states gaining independence in an orderly fashion, evidenced by Ghana, Uganda, and Cameroon. Further into the decolonisation process, others faced harsh economic sanctions, such as modern-day Zimbabwe. Later, some states even faced revolution, experiencing conflict, and military intervention, as exemplified by Ethiopia and Angola (Keller, 1995). It must be recognised that the Scottish experience varies from other colonial nations (Gittings, 1995; McCrone, 2006). Yet to understand the power dynamic between Scotland and England the postcolonial lens is appropriate, even if imperfect, when considering Scottish independence.

The variation requires me to specify the scenario in more detail: Scotland achieves independence peacefully through a consenting referendum which is endorsed by Westminster. Following the timeline outlined by the SNP, campaigning begins in 2022, with a successful independence referendum by 2023 (Paun & Sargeant, 2021; Institute for Goverment, 2021; McDonald, 2021; Mcilkenny, 2022). I acknowledge this is far-

fetched and unlikely to occur, due to fluctuations in support and the current UK Government stating it will not recognise another independence referendum. (McDonald, 2021; Paun & Sargeant, 2021). Nevertheless, there is sufficient ambiguity that it remains a possibility and is compatible with scenario analysis.

To improve policy relevance, I consider key issues defined by the interviewees, which subsequently guide the scenario analysis. These key issues are defined as: the sporting sector's structure, the economics of funding, and athlete identity within independent Scotland. Whilst this is just the opinion of the interviewees and thus speculative, the 'Delphi technique' is robust and sufficient, as discussed earlier. The responses from the interviewees can all be sorted on a scale, and by taking the average of this I arrive at the most plausible scenario. Once again this is in line with the other studies which have inspired this one, alongside the generic methodology of scenario analysis (Taagepera, 2008; Junio & Mahken, 2013; Neumann & Øverland, 2004; Rytövuori-Apunen, 2005). Herein I have grouped the responses into negative, ambivalent, and positive outcomes, going on to discuss them at length in their own sections before finding an average which represents the most plausible scenario and our overall hypothesis. This proves how sport and politics overlap and posits how sport would work within an independent Scotland.

Structure of the Sport's Field - a Key Issue:
Per our conception of sport as a field, it will have structured space of positions thus internal power structures which are ultimately constitutive of the field. In other words, sport is not homogenous. Within sport we see two clear groups, the performance group, and the grassroots community sport group. This distinction is made by all interviewees, and it is easy to make within the UK as funding is divided along these lines. There is also a clear list of 'performance sports' (UK Sport, 2022). Through its policy, the Government

influences the construction of the sporting field and shapes the power dynamics, showing how the political fields and sporting fields are overlapping and mutually constitutive, with performance within a sport also influencing government policy. Independence offers an opportunity to change how sport works, changing the dynamics of the sporting field, with the structure of the sports sector post-independence being a key issue.

In the last few decades there has been a professionalisation of sport, starting with the 1995 report *"Sport: Raising the Game"*. There's a prioritisation of international performance and performance related objectives (Houlihan & Green, 2009; Green, 2004). Across the globe, we see different governments have different priorities and thus variation amongst domestic sport fields. Donald hints at this when he states: "politicians fluctuate between focusing on the elite end of sport, or on winning, and public health". In the subsequent "*Game Plan*" strategy published in 2002, the UK articulates a "twin track approach" which separates funding and support along two aims: mass participation and international success (DCMS, 2002).

Alledgedly the two tracks work concurrently, but emphasis remains on performance. This is where the political influences the sporting field, with the realtionship becoming clearer when interrograting the organisational structure. Sport England, Sport Scotland, Sport Wales and Sport Northern Ireland evolved to be responsible for the grassroots community sports group and attract investment (Houlihan & Green, 2009; Green, 2004). However these organisations remain subserviant to UK sport, whose sole purpose is to cater for the high performance group and are repsonsible for international competition. In this structure, there are parallels to colonial structures, with insitutuional inheritance potenttially influencing policy post independence (Brown, 2011; Daniels, et al., 2011;

Haque, 1997; Acemoglu, et al., 2001). This is not necessirily bad, with the example of common law being often cited (Daniels, et al., 2011) and I am not advocating for either group here.

Janneth remarks on how successful this system has been in aiding the development of athletes, with all interviewees attributing Team GB's international success to changes in the sporting structure, catalysing professionaliasation of sport within the UK and increasing investment. Nevertheless, the policy led to a "a commercial shift towards elite sport and away from 'sport for all' (Michael, 2009, p. 501), crowding out the grassroots community sport group from the sports policy space (McDonald, 2010). In other words, there's a dominance of the high performance group within the sporting field. This is one of the reasons we have seen rising inequality within participation (Scottish Goverment, 2020). Redressing the balance has become a Scottish policy, hence whilst the paper is not advocating one way or another, the political context calls for greater prioritisation of grassroot community sport. Yet, Scotland is still embedded within the UK-system, prioritising international success, allowing the high-performance group to dominate the domestic field. The interviews suggest this dynamic is something some would like to change. Brodie states that "Scottish Independence (would) affect how we interreact with team GB" and "…team GB can exist with or without independence, but it depends on what people want". One can take team GB as representative of the broader UK sporting system and overarching organisational structure, thus there is potential for Scotland to continue with a similar system or redefine the structures in place and remove focus from the high-performance group in the sporting field per recent policy.

Arguably, Scotland has had this opportunity already. Kameron highlights Scotland's agency, thanks to "devolved responsibility", with Scottish Government able to invest in community sport through Sport Scotland. This is something Hazel echoes. Kameron goes on to state that "(Scotland) are almost independent in sport" but are "not independent as a nation". Despite Scottish agency, the performance group remains dominant, whilst the grassroots community group is disadvantaged, suggesting this is by design.

Conversely, it could reflect a level of institutional inheritance commonplace in colonies (Brown, 2011; Daniels, et al., 2011; Haque, 1997; Acemoglu, et al., 2001). By implication, change is dependent on the so-called 'colonial' experience, with a total overhaul representing rebellion, or continuation representing internalisation. Ewan states that there would be no change at the grassroots level, and this is echoed by Kameron, due to Scottish Government focus on performance, suggesting internalisation of these values. Ian remarks that "the SNP's actions in sport may be a forewarning" and thus hints at performance being prioritised, despite policy signals.

Furthermore, interviewees showcased some bias towards the high-performance group, demonstrating this internalisation. Finlay and Glenn demonstrate this subtle bias best. Despite Finlay's advocacy for "sport as a force for good" he conceptualises sports in the terms of "levels" and continues to focus on the impact of independence at the elite level. Similarly, despite Glenn's recognition of sport's impact on disadvantaged communities, his focus remains on the structure of elite sports with "increased opportunities for participation" within international competitions like the Olympics. Most interviews revolved around Olympic sports, with Brodie rightly stating "only some sports consider the Olympics to be the pinnacle" - highlighting this bias.

Likewise, in its white paper on Scottish Independence, as well as a subsequent report produced by the Scottish Parliament, it was generally accepted that Scotland achieved a high level of international success, with a thriving high-performance community (Scottish Goverment, 2014; Scottish Goverment, 2013). In contrast, sport for mass participation was underdeveloped, validating the dominance of the performance group over the grassroots community sport group. Whilst both documents made "Scotland as a nation of sporting excellence at *all* levels" a policy priority, hinting at prioritisation of sport for mass participation, its use of language, particularly when referring to "excellence" and "levels", reflect embedded values of performance (Ibid). This shows the political sphere's influence over the sporting field, whilst illustrating the opportunity that independence presents to restructure both the political and sporting field.

In the wake of the COVID-19 pandemic, the Scottish Government signalled a commitment to creating a wellbeing economy, specifically targeting health inequality and physical inactivity (Scottish Goverment, 2020). Alasdair remarks on the change in mindset, describing a gradual "awakening" which may suggest, given the opportunity, Scotland would restructure many parts of government and thus prompts further consideration of how the fields would interact post-independence. Interviewees recognised this potential, discussing a brief transitionary period from the old UK-wide "twin track" structure, hinting at the findings of the Jarvie report, recommending Scotland adopts a "UN sport specific remit around sport for development and the 2030 sustainable development goals" (Jarvie, 2019, p. 19). Janeth cites the key benefit of independence being the opportunity to "evolve their own system and structures" that may be able to help achieve this. This would link to the postcolonial conceptualisation of the

"deconstructive power of the unhomely" (Manathunga, 2007, p. 25). The transitionary phase is 'unhomely' yet enables Scotland to think beyond the bounds of the current structure and innovate (Bhabba, 1994). Given this, and the fact that the structure of the sporting sector was a salient topic within interviewees responses, it is fair to define this is a key issue as a part of scenario analysis.

The Economics Of Funding - a Key Issue:

The organisation and structure of the sporting field is heavily tied to the economics of funding. Most interviewees acknowledged that independence will greatly affect how sport is funded within Scotland, for better or for worst. The salience of this topic demonstrates funding as a clear and distinct issue separate from the structure of the sporting field. The topic is particularly nuanced as it connects to the wider debate on the economic impact of Scottish Independence (see House of Lords, 2013). This is beyond the scope of this dissertation and focus will purely be on the economic of sports funding as a key issue, interrogating how the two fields will overlap and work.

Discussion of the economics of funding is embedded in a wider discussion surrounding the future of sports funding from a UK perspective. In the wake of the pandemic and the Tokyo Summer Olympics there were many calls for a review of current funding priorities (Ferguson, 2021a; SRA, 2021; SRA, 2020a; SRA, 2020b; SFDC, 2021). Whilst the issue feels recent, it harkens back to 2014 and the subsequent UK Sport review in 2015 (ComRes, 2015), with many discussions being reignited following the pandemic as well as the 'Black Lives Matter' movement. There was much controversy over the "no compromise approach" which saw government sports policy influenced by sporting performance, as funding was connected to medal success (Gibson, 2014). This demonstrates not only the overlap of the sporting and political fields but also the mutually

constitutive relationship, with each influencing the other. Since this, we have seen UK Sport publish a new strategic plan (UK Sport, 2021) which offers alternative funding streams emphasising equality, diversity and inclusion (EDI), alongside the House of Lords national plan for sport, which emphasises the need for "a new delivery and funding structure" to address lack of participation across the UK (House of Lords, 2021, p. 23). This has been heavily influenced by the advocacy of agents within the sporting field, further illustrating the overlap.

This is tied to arguments around the structure of the sporting field. Within Scotland, roughly 95% of sport funding is directed towards mass participation whilst 5% is directed towards the high-performance group (Jarvie, 2019). This appears contradictory to the argument that the high-performance group dominates the sporting field. Nevertheless, this group is a small minority, with Alasdair remarking that elite athletes and high-performance organisations comprise just 1% of the sporting field. This 1% receives 5% of the Government funding available, with additional support provided through UK Sport and the National Lottery. Meanwhile the remaining 99% of the sporting filed, receive 95% of Government investment with little to no supplementation, ultimately making "long term sustainable core funding…that enables effective planning" a "key concern" (Ibid, pg. 10). Alasdair contextualise this discussion further when he states that "community sport investment has reduced over the last 20 year" and that Scottish government "lacks the recognition that sport is more than about competitive performance", showing that Scottish Government has been prioritising performance athletes and the performance group, not just in how they structure the sporting field but also in how they fund it.

Arguably, the legitimising power of sport is heavily coveted by Scotland, hence performance sport is prioritised (Allison, 1998; Caiazzan & Audretsc, 2015; Cha, 2016; Grix & Lee, 2013) Interviewees felt that Scottish Government saw sport as a tool to help realise their goal of independence, reflecting how sport influences government policy, and vice versa. This policy of using sport as a tool to legitimise Scotland wouldn't be possible without regular and consistent performance by Scottish athletes, nor would that performance be possible without Government investment, creating a mutually constitutive overlapping relationship between the fields. This intention to use sport as a tool to legitimise Scotland is reflected in Scottish Government publications, reflecting the desire to be "recognised internationally as a sporting destination" (Scottish Goverment, 2014, p. 43) and "celebrate our modern and vibrant culture both at home and on the world stage" (Scottish Goverment, 2013, p. 176).

Still, this may strengthen the argument that, upon realisation of independence, the balance would be redressed towards community grassroots sport. Most participants, regardless of their opinions on the divide between performance and grassroots sport, disagreed. They felt that there was underinvestment in sport across the whole UK, citing facility closure or poor provision (Ferguson, 2021b; SRA, 2014). This highlights funding as an issue independent of this scenario. Most expressed concern that current levels of funding would not be sustained post-independence, making the economics of funding a key concern.

Ewan remarks that "Scotland is relatively small and couldn't afford to compete in so many disciplines" so whilst "Scotland can sustain a sports industry; the question is at what level". Only Brodie explicitly challenged this view. However, Ewan is focused on

financing elite sport, with Finlay remarking that "the finances required to get to that level are extreme". As stated earlier, Ewan and Kameron feel there would be no effect on grassroots sport due to devolution and thus grassroots funding would not be affected, perhaps explaining Brodie's divergence in opinion. Janeth also believes that her sport would benefit, although justifies this in terms of the lack of funding received from team GB. Hazel is more cautious, claiming that overall "sport would be a little less rich" with "some sports benefit(ing)" whilst "some sports (wouldn't)". Finlay strongly argues that "the whole sports system would shrink" and that the "trickle-down effect would cause a contraction". This argument is echoed by Ian, who holds that whilst comparisons to other medium sized nation-states are valid, independence represents serious fiscal consequences and deprives Scotland of the increased resources provided by the UK system which would inevitably negatively affect sports and cause a contraction.

Interestingly, many chose to compare Scotland to other middle-income. Brodie and Glenn both make the case that countries like Ireland, Norway or Denmark can successfully sustain a sporting field and thus Scotland can also sustain a sporting field. Yet this does not account for the different levels in performance at the international level, with none of these countries achieving the same level of performance as Team GB. Instead, there is specialisation and investment in concentrated areas. This is what Hazel is arguing when she states that "sport would be a little less rich" as Scotland would not just have less funding available but less diversity of sports. Glenn builds on this, and the perils associated with the loss of UK-wide funding bodies, as in the transitionary period a key issue would be a "division of UK assets" particularly for Scottish athletes currently embedded within Team GB. This will be explored further in the next section on athlete identities.

To conclude, most Scottish athletes would experience a gradually decline in the level of support and funding post-independence. Many middle-income countries that interviewees chose to utilise as case studies have a system which Ewan describes as creating "sporting superstars" who monopolise support, investment, and funding. Under this system, individual sports are prioritised. Furthermore, the comparisons ignore the cultural context within Scotland with a low level of so-called "sporting capital" to draw upon, contributing to low levels of physical activity and engagement with sport (see Rowe, 2019). Sporting capital refers to the stock of physiological, sociological and psychological attributes and competencies that support and motivate an individual to participate in sport and to sustain that participation over time (Rowe, 2018). Scotland is characterised by a distinct lack of sporting capital, hence cannot sustain large sporting participation, making adoption of the 'sporting superstar' model even more likely. The economics of funding thus represent a key issue for Scotland, more so than other nations.

Athlete Identity after Independence – a Key Issue:

Athletes themselves will feel the effects of independence most keenly. Their role in the sporting field is complex, acting as public agents thus performing a representative function (Birrell, 1981). As performer and participant, the athlete is the focus, with sports governance and coaching adopting an 'athlete centric' approach (UK Coaching, 2018). For example, British Athletics "put athletes…at the heart of everything we do" (British Athletics, 2020). This mindset can be found across the sport field.

Consequently, successful athletes are made into public figures and thus gain a unique platform with a great deal of influence. Most athletes act as some form of "role model" (Biskup & Pfister, 1999). In the extreme cases, we see the emergence of global "celebrity

athletes" or "sports diplomats" (Wong & Trumper, 2002; Dichter, 2015). However, independence would be a challenge to many athletes' identities within the UK, undermining their relationship to team GB and role as athletes due to the aforementioned unhomeliness during the transitionary phase (Bhabba, 1994; Sugars, 2004). This t was discussed and highlighted by all interviewees, with divergence of opinion on whether the athlete should be able to represent team GB in a similar fashion to the Northern Irish system, or whether they would be forced to exist outside of team GB.

Clearly athletes use their position to advocate for key issues: with Marcus Rashford discussing poverty in the UK (Phillips, 2021), Novak Djokovic discussing vaccinations (Visontay & Carayol, 2022) and Tom Daley discussing human rights (Robledo, 2021). In doing so, all performed some representative function for domestic interests and particular demographic groups (Birrell, 1981). This extends to the international as well, with the examples of sport diplomats and sports diplomacy who help socialise a certain set of values (Breivik, 1998). Disagreement extended to whether they should be allowed to advocate for, or indeed against, Scottish Independence and fulfil this domestic representative function. It is also unclear how their international role would be affected by independence.

It was unclear, from the interviews, whether athletes should get involved in 'political' issues. Contextualising this discussion, we saw that sports played a role in IndyRef 2014 through the "Sport for Yes" campaign. This attracted much criticism, as athletes used their profile to promote discussion and dialogue on issues of independence and became embroiled in the politics (Whigham & May, 2017). Most interviewees felt it was not the athlete's job to get involved in the political, and that whilst they should be able to use

their position to advocate for issues personal to them, they must be mindful of the wider impact. This shows the controversial overlap of fields.

In contrast, all felt that athletes should advocate for moral or social issues. Yet it is unclear where the dividing lines between political and moral/social issues lies. Finlay acknowledged this, with the Beijing Winter Olympics an example where the political, moral, and social intersect. Donald describes how athletes can be vocal activists if they desire, qualifying this by saying that he would not want to divide people and instead have them focus on the performance. Janeth and Ewan both felt that sport should be politically neutral, and the focus should be on the sport itself. However, Ewan acknowledged this is an "ideal" which would only work in a perfect world thus doesn't connect to the current sporting reality. Overall, the extent to which athletes would be able to be involved within a new independence campaign is not clear, but the overlap between politics and sport is apparent.

Alongside this domestic representative function, athletes have an international representative function (Baker, et al., 2017). Some interviewees competed as international athletes and described the huge joy and pride they felt in representing their country. All picked up on the strong connection sport has with nationalism, creating and constructing the aforementioned 'imagined communities' through ritual (Brentin & Cooley, 2016; Birrell, 1981). Nowhere is this more apparent that in the nation-branding accomplished by team GB or the London 2012 games (MacRury & Poynter, 2010). All discussed the potent power of sport to invoke emotions and bring people together, uniting them under an identity. Janeth describes that "to play for your country is part of what you learn to be proud of" and Ian describes how in allowing Scottish athletes to compete as a

part of an independent Scotland there should be "greater identification and ownership for success".

It is interesting that Janeth describes this "home countries pride" as something "learnt". This scenario would see a simultaneously learning and unlearning for Scottish athletes per the experience of the unhomely (Bhabba, 1994; Sugars, 2004). As discussed, it is unclear whether athletes will still be able to compete under team GB, with many feeling affinity to their British identity. This is something that Finlay detailed. Even those who don't have a strong affinity would have to undergo an unlearning process, learning to activate their identity as a Scottish athlete. Again, this should be compared to the experience of colonial citizens who experience the 'unhomeliness' explored earlier, with the potential for the experience to be destructive and constraining as well as freeing (Ibid).

The Scottish sport system would undergo a similar process, unlearning internalised values of the British system whilst learning to define itself post-independence and gain recognition from International Federations. Almost all interviewees felt that once Scotland became independent, after sufficient time, this would become the norm and athletes would learn to identify solely with Scotland, seemingly supported by the experience of other colonies. Nevertheless, the influence of history would still be undeniable per discussed institutional inheritance. Yet the identities of Scottish athletes remain a key issue which will have to be constructed and defined in the meantime.

CHAPTER 4: SCENARIO ANALYSIS & OUTCOMES

For each category of defined outcome, negative, ambivalent, and positive, I will consider the how this would affect the defined key issues of the structure of the sporting field, the economics of funding, and athlete identity. This will establish how the fields of sport and politics will interact and thus reveal how sport would work within an independent Scotland, generating policy relevant insights whilst broadening the discipline. This analysis makes it apparent that the overall effect of independence depends on how policy makers understand sport and its role within society.

The Worst Possible Outcome:

Under the negative outcome, Scotland chooses to attempt a down-sized UK-style "twin track" system, with decreased funding and athletes which are unable to reconcile their identity within this new system, causing flight to either team GB or a lack of identification with the newly created team Scotland. This lack of identification with team Scotland, or lack of domestic recognition, may also affect whether Scotland is admitted by international federations and is recognized by organizations like the IOC.

All interviewees recognized the potential of independence to create a new sporting system, with vastly different structures to those at present. One such example, given by Brodie, is the possibility to "cultivate traditional sports like Gaelic Football" hence this new system could be tailored the Scottish context to realize its potential. However, devolution provided Scottish Government this opportunity in the past. In the worst-case scenario, the potential presented by independence for a new and innovative restructure is not realized and emphasis continues to be on the high-performance group, with Scottish Government failing to realize its aim of a 'wellbeing economy' (Scottish Goverment, 2020). As a result, health inequality rises, with increased inactivity amongst the Scottish

populace. Moreover, the community grassroots sports sector fails to receive the attention necessary to cultivate a sports economy, constraining governments ability to address Scotland's lack of sporting capital. This would see a short-term decline in quality of life and living standards, potentially creating a negative multiplier effect as sport and health is related to economic productivity and growth (Fujiwara, et al., 2015; WESport, 2012). Most interviewees highlighted sports positive health and wellbeing effects, yet also the social functions of sport. Any negative impact on sport is thus likely to have wider negative spillover effects.

Funding is assumed to be vastly reduced under the worst-case scenario, with contraction caused by a lack of prioritization from Scottish Government, no access to UK assets, as well as a general economic decline. This will have a similar negative multiplier effect, reducing Scotland's ability to compete internationally. This would potentially exasperate the "cult of failure" mentioned by Ian and result in a decline in general confidence, as well as home nation pride, compounding negative multiplier effects.

Alasdair makes a connection between the national psyche and Scottish sporting success during the 70's and 80's. Brodie dismisses this relationship, calling the connection between Scottish sporting success and nationalism a myth. However, under the worst-case scenario, the decline in funding causes a decline in success for Scottish athletes within international competitions, hence Scotland experiences less success, exasperating the "cult of failure" causing a loss of confidence. This is potentially more potent as loss is directly attributed to team Scotland. This is something discussed by the interviewees in the context of football and rugby, where Scotland competes under the moniker of team Scotland. Sporting success and failures effect stock returns as well as other economic

variables (Edmans, et al., 2007), further highlighting the potential negative multiplier effect of a "cult of failure" and the potent overlap of the fields.

This "cult of failure" can also affect the athletes themselves. Those prioritizing performance may choose to relocate and go elsewhere, with Ewan making the comparison to Norther Ireland. Northern Irish athletes who cannot make it within Team GB are able to move to team Ireland, whilst the highest-performing Norther Irish athletes may choose to remain in team GB to maximize chances of success despite their identity. Another, more relevant example was given by Finlay. Andy Murray can be considered highly patriotic and has signaled support for independence. Nevertheless, he chooses to train outwit Scotland, preferring Miami to maximize his chances to win.

Any newly constructed identity must recognize that Scotland is not homogenous. This is discussed by McCone and other sociologists (McCrone, 2006; Smout, 2015; Bradley, 2006; Murray, 1984; Kelly, 2007). There are many internal divisions which could be exasperated by the creation of a broader team Scotland identity. The rivalry between Edinburgh and Glasgow, was cited by interviewees. This process must be managed carefully to not exasperate the domestic divisions and ensure wider engagement of the wider nation. If this process fails then the representative function is not fulfilled, potentially weakening Scotland's claim as a nation-state in the eyes of sporting bodies, particularly the likes of the IOC. This is unlikely as this dissonance is not felt in football or rugby, but it still represents a manifestation of the worst possible outcome, with fragmentation of identity and national consciousness.

An Ambivalent Outcome:

Sport may not be affected by independence. This unsatisfactory answer hides some nuance as interviewees expressed a balanced view, considering several positives and negatives which means there is no net overall effect yet still a change in how the fields interact and work.

Brodie thought sport was "not a political driver…not tied to any society or ideology". This conception of sport seems akin to the biomechanical definition of sport, removing potential for overlap between sport and politics. Similarly, Janeth holds sport should be politically neutral, suggesting it is an atemporal field. Ewan describes this best when he states that there should just be "sport for sports sake". However, everyone seemingly connects sports to politics, and society more broadly, at some level. This contradicts this political neutrality of sport, creating opportunity for independence to effect sport and vice versa

If independence doesn't affect grassroots community sport, per Ewan and Kameron, it is fair to conceptualize a limited or even unperceived effect of independence on the overall structure of sport within Scotland as this represents the majority of the field. It is possible there may be no change at the elite level as well. It is entirely possible that an agreement would be made whereby the current sporting structure is maintained and thus Scotland continues to compete as a part of team GB. Brodie explores this idea, stating it is a political decision and thus will be driven by political priorities and aims. Scottish government highly values international performance and its ability to compete at the highest level and thus it may choose to maximize this potential by remaining a part of team GB in some form and maximizing the success of Scottish athletes.

When considering the economics of funding, if there is little change to the overall structure of the sporting field then there is unlikely to be much change in terms of economics of funding. Hence, if funding currently received from either the UK Government or other UK assets remains accessible or is matched by Scottish Government then there is no change. Therefore, economic effects of independence are negligible thus there is no contraction or expansion of funding.

Considering athlete identities, there will still be some effect although it's possible this is neutral. As Brodie mentioned, the relationship with Team GB will change and this is particularly true for Scottish athletes. It is possible that independence will strengthen the bargaining power of these athletes, with the threat of exit from the UK system and creation of a Scottish system prompting greater investment or support. The reverse is also a possibility. Overall, it is likely to vary sport to sport, with athletes competing as individuals put in a stronger position. Meanwhile athletes as a part of a team are at a disadvantage, particularly if Scottish athletes represent the minority. Looking to the experience of Northern Irish athletes, we see no discernible difference at the national level but a minor difference at the individual level, discussed by Ewan. Still, Ian argues that independence will cause a change in psychology, which arguably has positive benefits to the individual. These effects are only felt nationally when aggregated. Whilst there is potential and risk of division or dissonance, this is a minority case. There is potential to improve the performance of Scottish athletes, removing the distraction of the independence issue, and enabling a greater focus on individual performance.

The Ideal Outcome:

It is possible that independence will yield a great benefit for Scotland and have a purely positive effect on the sporting field, despite the previously discussed pitfalls and tradeoffs. This could lead to an active populous, thriving sporting economy, and expansive sporting field.

When considering the positive effects on sporting structure, independence allows Scotland to fulfil its potential and build a new innovative structure which is adapted to Scottish Government priorities. This means the new structure helps fulfill Scottish Government policy in creating a wellbeing economy, tackling health inequality through increased physical activity and empowering people to participate within sport. Focus would be on grassroots community sport rather than high performance sport, restructuring the sporting field, following the recommendations of the Jarvie report, and creating a 'sport-for-development' model based on UN principles (Jarvie, 2019). Alasdair suggests the ultimate manifestation of this is a full government approach, citing the Netherlands as an example where sports for development is embedded across a multitude of government departments.

The House of Lord's similarly recommends that the UK government must take up a joined-up approach to sport, with cross department collaboration (House of Lords, 2021). This is something Finlay advocates for, proposing that Scotland uses sport to help solve problems like addiction or crime. The new structure is embedded across Government departments, with a clear and joined up approach which emphasizes physical activity and participation. This is the best-case scenario, with no crowding out of performance objectives and 'two tracks' running concurrently.

Under this idealized outcome, the sporting structure is flexible and takes a long-term view of performance which is sustainable and thus does not separate the two tracks, but rather conceives of two tracks intersecting at multiple points. This structural design is derived from the insights provided by Bishop's more holistic perspective on performance (2020). Ultimately this has a positive multiplier effect, enabling Scotland to accumulate sporting capital and creating a rapid improvement in health outcomes. Alongside the improvement in health outcomes, there is a positive spillover effect to other indicators like productivity, growth, and human capital.

When considering the economics of funding, under this ideal model Scotland conceives of a new type of economy: an active green economy which focuses on wellbeing and sustainability. The government has signaled its emphasis on green technology as well as progressive policies to equality and human rights (Scottish Goverment, 2013). Consequently, Scottish Government prioritizes investment into sport as part of its plans to achieve a new type of economic model. Under this ideal model it is unlikely that the Scottish sports structure would still be embedded in the UK system and thus have access to similar assets. However, it's possible Scotland can still access some UK assets thus still benefit to some degree from current funding under this ideal outcome.

In this ideal outcome, total funding is greater and more accessible to a greater variety of sports bodies. It is not true that greater funding does not necessarily leads to better health outcomes, as this funding could instead be used to invest in facilities or attracting international competitions instead of directly benefiting the people. Alasdair discusses this as a problem with the current approach yet acknowledges the indirect benefits that

this has. Overall, when paired with the new structure, this economic outlook would enable sports to flourish, creating a vibrant and diverse sporting sector.

Increased investment will inevitably benefit the elite athletes, enabling them to receive support on a par with their experience in the British system, without the need to leave Scotland.   This should enable Scotland to maintain its high-performance success, although Scotland will still be limited by its population. Scotland is unlikely to field competitive teams in a large multitude of events, yet it can aspire to be reasonably competitive, particularly in individual events. Furthermore, Scotland may choose to focus on winter sports, maximizing its chance of medal success by prioritizing the Winter Olympics and truly diversifying its sporting options. Currently the UK system focuses on the Summer Olympics and independence presents an opportunity to move away from this, with Scotland crafting a unique and separate identity. Furthermore, assuming some funding is spent on facilities or attracting international competitions, the spillover effect of these facilities and events will help Scotland accrue soft power, garner legitimacy, and construct a stable Scottish sporting identity in a similar manner to London 2012, which helped cement the identity of Team GB (MacRury & Poynter, 2010). In this idealized outcome athletes actively identify with the new team Scotland, perpetuating a broader Scottish sporting identity through representation at both the domestic and international level.

A Hypothesized Outcome:
By utilizing the law of averages, balancing the responses across the range of interviews, I can construct a most probable outcome per the defined methodology. This will address all the key issues and demonstrate the overlap between the fields.

From ten interviewees, eight gave a decisive answer, with an even split between positive and negative outcomes. Two others were seemingly apathetic. Expectedly, there are varying degrees in the strength of the interviewee's beliefs. For example, whilst Ian was in favor of independence and recognized it's potential, he was quick to qualify this response, suggesting only a moderate positive long-term outcome with many challenges. Considering this divide, the likelihood is a moderate outcome, which has either minor benefits or minor costs. I argue that the deciding factor is whether policy makers recognize sport as a social field and utilize its emotive power.

Firstly, all response indicated that Scotland would have to detangle itself from the current UK-wide system and create a new sporting structure. As a part of the negotiated split there would be a defined transition period and, during this, Scottish athletes would remain a part of the UK system until suitable alternatives were created. Scotland would be expected to construct a new and entirely independent system from team GB, creating a new team Scotland as well as corresponding governance structure, by the end of the transition period. Herein lies the potential as this would be done in parallel to other reforms, enabling Scottish Government to adopt a conjoined strategy across multiple Government departments. This would seemingly suggest that the outcome would be closer to that of the ideal outcome depicted in earlier discussions. Nevertheless, Scottish Government has not signaled that sport would be a priority area of reform, just that support would have to be in place quickly (Scottish Goverment, 2014). It is likely that focus would be placed elsewhere, with resources focused on other areas of reform which align more closely to Scottish Government priorities. Here we see that the governments understanding, and appreciation of sport is a deciding factor in its success.

Alasdair highlights that sport is absent from the Scottish Government plan for a wellbeing economy despite advocating for greater physical activity and emphasizing health outcomes (Scottish Goverment, 2020). This oversight signals a lack of understanding of sports potential and importance. Ian states that whilst there is potential for reform, the SNP have given no indication of a desire to reform the structure of sport. In the *Scotland's Future* white paper, sport is a small area which only features in relation to health, with no signals to suggest a joined up and whole government approach (Scottish Goverment, 2013). Furthermore, the Jarvie report bemoans the fact that the Scottish sports field lacks a singular voice, epitomized by the lack of sports department or sports minister (Jarvie, 2019). As a result, it is unlikely the government will prioritize reform to sport or put the necessary resources behind this reform to warrant anything drastic.

Seeing as the sector lacks an ability to guide or influence this reform, changes are likely to be well-intended but reliant on current information and resources. Consequently, it is likely that Sports Scotland's most recent strategy can be taken as the foundation for any change or reform, with Hazel stating that this is how government can currently influence the sporting sector and signal policy intentions. The *Sport For Life* strategy was published in 2019 and remains the most recent signal of government plans. In the strategy they discuss a "sporting system for everyone:" (Sport Scotland, 2019, p. 10). There is an emphasis on EDI, signaling some intent to address health inequality through increased emphasis on grassroots community sport. This aligns with plans for the wellbeing economy.

However, performance is still dominant, with a pathway model which sees performance placed on top whilst "inclusion underpins everything", indicative of the order of priorities, with inclusion "under" performance. This sample of interviewees also seemed to priorities performance and thus this would suggest the sporting structure would be unchanged. Scotland would likely create a downsized version of the UK-system. Yet by being smaller, it can evolve quicker and be more dynamic and thus further down the line there may be reform, but in the post-transitionary period the hypothesized potential indicated in the ideal scenario wouldn't be realized.

This inertia means there is unlikely to be negative or positive effects for the vast majority. However, it is in the economics of funding where the effects will be keenly felt. The Government has signaled increased investment into sport, particularly at the grassroots community sport level (OSS, 2021). How it will finance this is unclear, as is the economic future of Scotland. Supposing that there is no substantial economic shock, it seems unlikely that funding would drastically change for grassroots community sport as posited in the worst-case scenario. Furthermore, the funding of the high-performance group is unlikely to decrease initially as the newly independent Scotland seeks to prove its capabilities and utilize sport to legitimize itself. The government has shown that sport is a vital part of its legitimization strategy, exemplified in its bid for international events like the Commonwealth Games prior to IndyRef 2014 (Scottish Goverment, 2013; Scottish Goverment, 2014) and current plans to host the world international cycling championships (UCI , 2019).

However, whilst this seems to align with the predictions of the apathetic scenario, it is also likely that Scotland will not be able to access UK-assets like the National Lottery.

This funding is currently a substantial part of the UK system, with the Lottery originally created as a part of the UK Government's effort to address the shortfall in investment (Creigh-Tyte, 1997; Green, 2004; Houlihan & Green, 2009). Some of this funding is directly distributed by the National Lottery through grants, whilst some is given to support organizations who then distribute it, such as UK Sport. Scotland currently helps contribute to the system and thus would have some claim on the assets. Yet it is likely that this would be part of the division that Glenn discusses, with Scotland required to create its own version of the National Lottery or come to some agreement with the UK Government on its level of access. Regardless, the pot would almost certainly be decreased.

Furthermore, there is also the creation of a substantial conflict of interest as the National Lottery would indirectly, or in some cases, directly be funding two different Olympic Associations or competing teams. Overall, it would be likely that funding would contract in the long-term and thus Scotland would adopt the 'sporting superstar' model seen within other medium sized countries, causing flight of talent from Scotland. This flight is comparable to what Scotland currently experiences with athletes either relocating outside of the UK, or to England, to achieve the greatest level of results. Yet the focus on individual sports will be detrimental and ultimately further reduce the nations sporting capital and participation figures. This is an inevitable shift, with the decrease in funding being widely accepted amongst interviewees regardless of their views. As discussed, this has the potential to create a powerful negative spillover effect which would need to be managed by Scottish Government. The government's ability to manage this depends on its understanding of sport.

Many interviewees highlighted short-term problems at the elite level. Glenn describes the "dislocation" independence would cause, particularly with the need to create an entirely new sporting structure. With the pressure to return to competition as soon as possible there is likely to be compromises. Those athletes still in the UK-system during the transition period would likely receive less support as they will not provide as much return on investment for team GB. With focus on creating new structures, there would be a great deal of administrative pressure on the existing structures to meet the slack during the transition, weakening performance and output.

However, the 'sporting superstar' model is likely to yield international success in concentrated areas. This will have some benefit - legitimizing an independent Scotland. It is likely Scotland will be recognized by international federations and the IOC, having some success at this level already. However, the effect on athletes will be a continuation of the underdog narrative discussed by Alasdair, or even the cult of failure discussed by Ian. This could have a negative or positive effect on the identities of athletes, and it will likely be highly individualized and variable across sports. The overall effect would depend on the emotional role of sport and the government's ability to mobilize it. Most interviewees felt that Scottish athletes would be excited to compete under team Scotland, and so it is assumed that there would be a great deal of engagement with the team Scotland brand. This is a powerful motivator which may lead to greater performance. One would expect to see greater identification by athletes with team Scotland, yet this must be well managed in order for the benefits to manifest.

Another avenue must also be considered, the identification by coaches and the support teams. Whilst interviewees focused on discussing the experience of athletes, remarking that they will prioritize performance and thus want to maximize their opportunity to compete, it was clear that those who were athlete-adjacent were focused on ensuring the athlete's success. With the creation of a team Scotland not only is there more opportunities for athletes to compete, and a potential for more to reach that elite level, but there are also more opportunities for coaches and support staff to nurture home grown talent. This will ultimately lead to greater identification with team Scotland and greater engagement, having a powerful positive effect which can only be realized due to the social nature of the sporting field. The emotional power of sport is what makes sport so useful, with powerful emotional benefits to independence which must be mobilized to counteract the negative effects of a contraction in funding.

CHAPTER 5: CONCLUSION

Overall, through the deployment of scenario analysis I have shown the overlap between sport and politics, revealing how the fields form a mutually constitutive relationship. In doing so I have achieved my two defined aims: to broaden the understanding of IR, expanding concepts by introducing a new level of analysis whilst generating policy relevant insights.

My approach has enabled me to generate a hypothesized outcome of how sport would work within an independent Scotland, elucidating on how such a scenario relates to key issues within the field. This is only possible once sport is characterized as a sociological field, instead of the common place reductive definition utilized more often by policy makers and academics within IR. Through this I have also been able to challenge the mainstream orthodoxy of IR, advocating for a broader understanding of key concepts and a pluralistic approach with multiple levels of analysis.

Furthermore, this research shows the value of a more diverse and pluralistic discipline, alongside scenario analysis methodologies. Through the application of scenario analysis, I have been able to demonstrate sports potential to aid Scottish Government in achieving policy objectives – hoping to aid them in the creation of a 'wellbeing economy'. There is certainly scope for this methodology to be applied to other scenarios, not just sport, leading to better discussions within IR which are policy relevant, but also able to contribute to theory. In this research, the methodology has allowed a deeper understanding of sports social functions and emotional power, connecting to more typical IR concepts like nationalism, the nation-state, power or legitimacy, whilst capturing phenomena often neglected or ignored within IR.

By bringing experts from the sporting field together per the 'Delphi Technique', I have been able to highlight some of the key issues of independence and contextualize them. This includes how sport would affect the structure of the field, economics of funding and athlete identities. The hypothesized outcome makes it clear that the overall effect of independence, be that negative or positive, rests solely on how Scottish Government understands and utilizes sport. The understanding of policy makers is the determining factor. Many of the interviewees felt that sport was often misunderstood or neglected by politicians. Unless rectified, it is likely independence will have a negative impact overall, yielding negative spillover effects. To avoid this, Scotland must capitalize on the opportunity to advance a different sporting model, whereby sport is viewed holistically and embedded across Government departments and seen as politically relevant. This requires politicians to recognize the mutually constitutive relationship between the fields of sport and politics, understanding the broader social dynamics of the sporting field and how it relates to the individual. There must be a clear understanding of the tradeoffs Scotland face, be that between performance and community grassroots sport, or team sport and individual sport. This research aims to help this understanding.

Finally, this research helps forms a consensus within the fields of sport and politics by drawing several stakeholders together for the first time. This is something that rarely happens between sport and politics in such a direct manner, as the interactions between the fields of sport and politics are often less overt – as I have shown. In doing so it is clear there is value to be generated and hence further research to be done, particularly within the Scottish context as the nation is seemingly behind many others in its understanding of sport and sports potential.

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