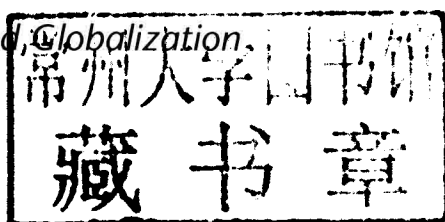


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SOCIOLOGY OF SPORT

VOLUME IV

Sport and Globalization



Edited by

Richard Giulianotti



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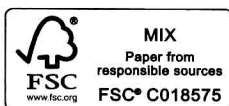
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SOCIOLOGY OF SPORT

Introduction: Sport and Globalization

Richard Giulianotti

In this volume we turn to examine the multifarious impacts of global processes upon sport. Specifically, we examine the international diffusion of sports, and their adaptation by national societies; the construction of national sports within the global context; the policies and politics of international sports governing bodies; the transnational migration of athletes; the growth of the international 'sport, development and peace' sector; and, the making of global sport mega-events.

The international diffusion of sport underwent a 'take-off' phase in the late 19th and early 20th centuries (cf. Robertson 1992). Alongside its trading and educational influences, British colonialism was crucial in the international spread of sports such as football, cricket, rugby, and tennis (Holt 1989; Mangan 1998). Inevitably, the diffusion process provided many potent illustrations of cultural imperialism and ethnocentrism, such as in India where Brahmin schoolboys were forced by British schoolmasters to play sports with 'polluting' leather balls (Mangan 1998). On the other hand, such diffusion was not a one-way process; that is, sports were not received and internalized passively by indigenous peoples, but were subject to substantial critical contestation and transformation, in the process of being 'domesticated' according to local social structures, customs and value-systems (Miller et al. 2001; Rowe 2003; Van Bottenburg 2001).

Our first two articles provide case studies in the cross-cultural diffusion and reception of one strongly imperial sport: cricket. A sport that has been most obviously dominated by English male, upper-class elites, cricket has long been a key cultural site for the reproduction of imperial and post-imperial hegemony. Yet, cricket has also provided a popular forum for the exploration of political autonomy and cultural creativity among colonized peoples, as witnessed, for example, by the world-beating 'liberation cricket' of non-white West Indians, or more recently by India's domination of the sport's political economy (cf. Beckles & Stoddart 1995; James 1963; Rumford 2007).

The article by the Harvard sociologists, Jason Kaufman and Orlando Patterson, examines why cricket, as a cultural form, was successful in spreading to other nations with close cultural ties to England. The authors argue that two particular social groups have a key influence on such diffusion processes: local elites, who need to adopt the cultural practice; and local entrepreneurs, who function to popularize the sport among new participants and spectators. Both types of local group act as cultural intermediaries, in bringing outside practices to indigenous audiences.

The article by Arjun Appadurai explores the popularity of cricket in India with reference to theories of decolonization. Appadurai understands cricket as a 'hard cultural form' that is relatively resistant to local cultural transformation. Yet, he argues, the game has been 'indigenized', or even 'hijacked', by Indians in a variety of ways – for example, through language, as Indians interpret the game in highly 'vernacularized' ways; and also through the body, as Indians create distinctive corporeal techniques for playing and aestheticizing the sport. Thus, in national-cultural terms, so cricket is shaped to explore and to convey post-colonial images and ideas of India and Indianness.

We turn next to consider the complex relationships between sport and national identities. It is often argued that modern sports are potent vehicles for the construction and representation of distinctive forms of national identity. International sport events often represent key 'moments' in the development of modern national memories. Victories in such events may be seen as helping to bind, in Durkheimian fashion, the diverse communities within the nation, while also enabling distinctive forms of national identity to be explored or expressed. We may think here of football's World Cup finals, wherein victories in 1930 and 1950 helped Uruguay to build national cohesion across its migrant populations; or the victory of France in 1998, which enabled French ethnic minorities to celebrate their dual identities, thereby reflecting the national football team's own multi-cultural composition (Giulianotti 2000; Hare 2003). Yet, we also need to appreciate the forms of contestation and conflict that are inevitable here, as hegemonic forms of nationality serve to marginalize or to suppress alternative identities.

The article by Jose Sergio Leite Lopes explores the case of Brazilian national identity and football with reference to two historical defeats in the 1950 and 1998 World Cup finals. Located in their historical contexts, these painful setbacks helped Brazil to work towards, and to appreciate more fully, its future sporting successes. These events also had deeper political reverberations within Brazilian society: for example, the 1998 defeat sparked a parliamentary investigation and public debates in regard to the national football system, with particular reference to possible transnational networks of corruption.

The article by Ivo Van Hilvoorde, Agnes Elling and Ruud Stokvis, introduces a skeptical reading of the interrelations between sport success and nation-building processes. Drawing on the findings from a Dutch survey,

they argue that, for citizens, forms of national pride are relatively constant over time, and dependent upon senses of national belonging. Thus, there seem to be relatively few signs that success in sport intensifies national cohesion or pride – despite claims to the contrary from the sport industry, politicians and business figures.

The making of sport national identities needs also to be assessed with respect to contemporary forms of globalization, notably in regard to political-economic and socio-cultural factors.

The article by Steven Jackson and Jason Hokowhitu, draws attention to how new geographies of sporting identity are being constructed, particularly through the influence of global capitalism and advertising. Jackson and Hokowhitu examine the political debate that arose after the transnational sport merchandise corporation, Adidas, used the *haka* (a traditional Maori greeting) in an advertising campaign. In this case, a Maori tribe sought compensation from Adidas through the courts for the use of indigenous cultural property. Jackson and Hokowhitu argue that this episode highlights the problems faced by indigenous cultures in preserving their cultural identities in the context of intensified transnational capitalism.

The case of the United States in regard to sport and globalization is of particular interest. Historically, 'American exceptionalism' has prevailed, wherein the United States has followed a 'separate path' in sporting development, building new national traditions around 'American football', baseball and basketball (cf. Guttman 1994). Yet, as the commercial globalization of sports has expanded, so 'non-American' sports have come to penetrate the United States, and to compete globally with American sports for new audiences and consumers. The case of the 'global game' of football, which has long had 15–20 million registered players in the US, is strongly illustrative (cf. Van Bottenburg 2003).

The article by Christopher Martin and Jimmie Reeves, explores how American football's flagship event – the Superbowl – is packaged by the American media, particularly in straining to construct a 'global' occasion that supersedes the appeal of other sport events, like football's World Cup finals. The authors critique the 'solipsistic' ways in which the Superbowl is portrayed and its international influence exaggerated. They argue that the event will only undergo powerful international diffusion when this heavily Americanized image is downplayed.

The governance of sport has become increasingly transnational, with bodies such as the IOC (for the Olympics) and FIFA (football's global governing body) having substantial political and economic influence at global level, most obviously through the powers to allocate sport mega-events to specific nations and sponsorship packages to major corporations (cf. Guttman 2002; Lanfranchi et al. 2004). The article by Jean-Loup Chappelet and Brenda Kubler-Mabbott, sets out the key political actors within the Olympic system, including the various regulatory groups that began with the Court of Arbitration for Sport in 1983. The Olympic system thus engages a very extensive network of

political actors at different levels (national, international, global) and with varied organizational principles (public, private and associative). The article by John Sugden and Alan Tomlinson, explores power and resistance issues within FIFA. They highlight, in particular, how FIFA politics are marked by the interplay between aspirant developing nations, multinational corporations, and ambitious individuals.

The transnational migration of athletes has been a core, long-running aspect of the globalization of sport. Most elite national sport leagues now feature an international division of labour with athletes drawn from across the world (Miller et al. 2001). These processes have been the subject of substantial public debates regarding the assimilation of migrant athletes, fan-player relations, and the identity of teams and leagues.

The article by Mark Falcous and Joseph Maguire, examines English basketball, and specifically how local fans receive migrant players. Falcous and Maguire found that a variety of factors were at play, particularly the influence of cultural stereotypes and local/civic identities in shaping how fans viewed the entry of migrant players to their teams. The article by Hart Cantelon examines the case of Canadian ice-hockey, which has become increasingly affected by the entry of foreign players. Cantelon advances a detailed discussion of the key historical developments in player migration. He locates these processes within the broader context of North America's premier ice-hockey tournament, the NHL, and speculates on the potential emergence of a European or world super-league.

The article by Naoki Chiba, Osamu Ebihara and Shinji Morino, centres on the case of 'borderless athletes' who switch nationality in order to compete at the highest level. This issue has been of particular concern to sport governing organizations in recent years, in order to try and retain the integrity of international sporting competition. The authors focus on those borderless athletes who have undergone naturalization in Japan, revealing, in particular, how national media influence the positive or negative national signifiers associated with each individual.

We turn next to explore the utility of globalization theory with regard to global sport. Roland Robertson (1992, 1995 & White 2003) is one of the founding figures in the social scientific study of globalization. Through a carefully nuanced sociological perspective, Robertson interprets globalization as a multifaceted phenomenon that has been characterized by the complex interplay of processes of convergence and divergence. His concept of 'glocalization' has been widely applied to explore these processes within different settings, particularly to examine how local social groups engage critically and selectively with transnational cultural forms and forces (Robertson 1995). The article by Younghan Cho, applies Robertson's theory to examine how South Koreans have 'glocalized' American sports with particular reference to baseball. Cho argues that attention must be paid to glocalization processes in sport that are initiated 'from above' (for example, by major

corporations and the State) and 'from below' (for example, in fan consumption of sport).

Robertson also has a very substantial personal and sociological interest in sport, particularly football, and has co-authored a book and several papers within this field (see Giulianotti & Robertson 2007a, 2007b, 2009). In the article which is included in this volume, Richard Giulianotti and Roland Robertson, examine the cultural, economic and political dimensions within the globalization of football. They note how football displays trends towards cultural convergence and divergence, as a globalized sport that is interpreted, organized and played in different ways across the world. They explore the parallels between elite football clubs and transnational corporations, such as in terms of market identity and labour recruitment. They also examine arguments over how the game's transnational governance may undergo transformation.

The article by Barrie Houlihan, Tien Chin Tan and Mick Green, provides a case-study of how national sport systems may, in effect, pursue policy strategies of glocalisation in order to improve their development. The authors focus on how Chinese basketball engaged with American sport, particularly the NBA, providing a case study in 'lesson drawing' and 'voluntary policy transfer' from an advanced sport system to a developing one. Deeper questions subsequently emerge, however, over the extent to which importing nations are able to retain control over what is drawn in from outside, and over how external policies may fit into a different socio-cultural context.

In recent years, sport has established a closer relationship with institutions and movements that promote human rights, social development and progressive social change. The United Nations, national governments, major corporations and a wide range of non-governmental organizations have increasingly used sport as a social interventionist tool, to promote development and peace, particularly in developing and post-conflict locations (Giulianotti 2004, 2011a, 2011b; cf. Grenfell & Rinehart 2003). Sport federations have also been prominently involved in these activities, for example, through partnerships between the IOC, the World Health Organization and various UN agencies. Although often peripheral to international networks in the emerging 'sport, development and peace' sector, new social movements and radical NGOs have made crucial interventions, for example, in exposing the use of child labour and exploitation of workers in sport merchandise factories.

The article by Bruce Kidd and Peter Donnelly, provides a pioneering exploration of the interconnections between sport and human rights. They explore, in particular, the various fields of human rights struggle within sport, notably regarding women, children, athletes, and workers, as well as the sport-focussed role of the anti-apartheid movement. The article by Simon Darnell examines the 'Sport for Development and Peace' movement with particular reference to the perspectives of Canadian volunteer interns. Developing a

sophisticated critical theoretical framework, Darnell reveals some of the major conflicts within sport regarding its promotion of development and its association with more problematic, neo-liberal social policies. The article by Jean Harvey, John Horne and Parissa Safai, explores the position of global social movements in relation to sport. The authors consider the influence of such movements, and the kinds of alternative sporting models that they may support.

Sport mega-events such as the World Cup finals and the Olympics often serve to crystallize many of these issues relating to human rights, development and peace. For the host cities and nations, these mega-events may be intended to announce their arrival on the world stage (e.g. Japan, South Korea, South Africa). Such events are often presented as having a wide range of economic and social impacts and legacies, for example, in assisting employment, growth, infrastructural redevelopment, social integration, and the future health of populations. However, criticisms are also directed at these mega-events in terms of financial cost, negative impact on civil liberties, and failure to deliver lasting legacies (cf. Eisinger 2000; Giulianotti & Klauser 2010; Lenskyj 2000, 2008; Schimmel 2006; Xu 2006).

The article by Maurice Roche builds on earlier work (notably Roche 2000) to explore the interrelations between the Olympic Games, modernity and globalization. Roche argues, in particular, that the Olympics Games provide a study in 'complex globalization', as marked, in particular, by strong forms of socio-cultural agency and differentiation (cf. Robertson 1992). The article by Scarlett Cornelissen examines the political and diplomatic build-up to the 2010 football World Cup finals in South Africa. Cornelissen explores, in particular, how the event was intended to operate at national and international level in South Africa, to promote distinctive state-building and foreign-policy objectives. The final article, by Helen Lenskyj, advances a strongly critical reading of Sydney 2000 and other Olympic events. She examines how anti-Olympic resistance movements have provided potent expositions of the highly commercial and exploitative elements within the Olympic industry, such as the enormous costs borne by local populations to pay for the hosting of these events. Such a critical analysis of the social impacts of global sport provides a fitting way to conclude this four-volume collection.

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Cross-national Cultural Diffusion: The Global Spread of Cricket

Jason Kaufman and Orlando Patterson

Why do some foreign practices take root while others either arrive dead in the water or take hold only to wither and die? Modern diffusion studies have focused primarily on the structural aspects of diffusion, or the existence of tangible points of contact between adopters and adoptees, as well as the environmental contexts that modulate such interactions. But as Strang and Soule (1998:276) note, “[S]tructural opportunities for meaningful contact cannot tell us what sorts of practices are likely to diffuse,” whereas an “analysis of the cultural bases of diffusion speaks more directly to what spreads, replacing a theory of connections with a theory of connecting.” According to this more culturally minded approach, diffusing practices are most likely to be adopted when they are first made congruent with local cultural frames or understandings, and are thus “rendered salient, familiar and compelling” (Strang and Soule 1998:276; see also Gottdiener 1985; Rogers 1995). In other cases, however, more than just “congruence” is needed for successful adoption; institutional support, repeated exposure, and/or active instruction in the new practice are required for it to “take hold” in new settings. The original cultural profile of that practice is often transformed in the process (e.g., Appadurai 1996; Bhabha 1994; Guillén 2001; Watson 2002). Sometimes, moreover, it is the very difference in social, cultural, and political power between change agents and adopters that accounts for successful long-term diffusion.

One case that encompasses all of these factors is the cross-national diffusion of cricket. Cricket originated in England as an informal rural game,

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though it quickly emerged into a highly competitive sport. Over time, cricket evolved into an English national pastime, along with soccer, rugby, and horse racing (Allen 1990). Cricket began diffusing to other countries when British soldiers and settlers brought it with them to the various colonies of the empire, and today, most Commonwealth countries support active cricket cultures, though not all.

The case of Canada is particularly striking in this regard. Cricket was popular in Canada and the United States in the mid-nineteenth century – in fact, the first official international cricket match in the world took place between American and Canadian “elevens” in 1844 (Boller 1994a:23). The game’s popularity rivaled that of baseball until the late nineteenth century, after which interest declined sharply. The game languished in both countries until quite recently, when new immigrants from the Caribbean and South Asia began arriving in North America in significant numbers (Gunaratnam 1993; Steen 1999). This pattern of adoption-then-rejection poses important substantive and theoretical issues regarding the cross-national diffusion of cultural practices. Given Canada’s – and to a lesser degree, America’s – demographic, cultural, and sociopolitical connections to Britain, the game’s unexpected demise there is puzzling, especially in contrast to its successful diffusion in far less “British” parts of the Commonwealth. At the same time, this disjuncture also seems at odds with several important perspectives in the sociological study of diffusion.

Situating Cricket in Diffusion Theory

There is widespread agreement that diffusion is the transmission, adoption, and eventual acculturation of an innovation by a recipient population (Coleman, Katz, and Menzel 1966; Rogers 1995; Wejnert 2002; cf. Palloni 2001). Most sociological studies of the diffusion process aim to identify the mechanisms by which an innovation spreads as well as the rate at which it does so in a given population. Although there is now a rich body of important findings about this process, several major problems and gaps still exist.

One major failing of the diffusion literature is the tendency to overlook cases where innovations are transmitted but eventually rejected, as well as cases where adoption might have been expected but did not occur. Palloni (2001: 73–75) highlights two aspects of this problem in his important recent review of the field. First, he notes the common failure to try and account for the persistence of diffused practices in their new surroundings – how and why, in other words, do diffused practices become part of the lived experience of those who have adopted them? Second, he notes the obverse: that after the initial adoption of an innovation, mechanisms might arise that undermine its retention. Palloni (2001:73) adds that, “Despite the fact that

this is a key part of a diffusion process, it is rarely mentioned and almost never explicitly modeled or studied.” The problem, we suspect, is that many diffusion studies track cultural practices that are not commonly rejected, such as the adoption of new, time-tested medical or agricultural practices. Strang and Soule (1998: 268) observe, for example, that there is “a strong selection bias in diffusion research, where investigators choose ultimately popular [i.e., widely diffused] practices as appropriate candidates for study.” Issues such as the persistence and rejection of diffused practices are thus generally overlooked in the literature.

Another shortcoming of diffusion studies is highlighted by Wejnert (2002:299–302), who notes a tendency in the literature to ignore the role of characteristics unique to the practice or thing being diffused. Specific features of the innovation being adopted, such as its potential for replication and change, play an important but often overlooked role in the ultimate success or failure of diffusion. By confining their studies to simple physical objects or cultural routines that are diffused at the micro-social level, diffusion scholars have tended to create advanced formal models that overlook real-world obstacles to diffusion – those posed by the nature, complexity, continuity, and potential mutability of the innovations themselves. Wejnert (2002) also notes the often overlooked distinction between innovations that are diffused at the macro- and micro-social levels. Those involving large collective actors such as countries and industries likely have different consequences and diffusion mechanisms than those that involve mainly individuals or firms.

The dominant “relational” approach to diffusion research in sociology has improved our knowledge of the role of social networks in the transmission of information and ideas (e.g. Buskens and Yamaguchi 1999), but it tends to underspecify the role of social structural factors such as class, status, and power in the adoption or rejection of innovations. In this light, Burt (1987), Marsden and Podolny (1990), and Van den Bulte and Lilien (2001) have revised Coleman, Katz, and Menzel’s (1966) classic study of the adoption of a new antibiotic drug among a community of Midwestern doctors, but diffusion research has otherwise largely neglected these topics. It is significant, note Mizruchi and Fein (1999), that sociologists have widely overlooked the role of power in DiMaggio and Powell’s (1983) celebrated study of the diffusion of organizational forms. Inequality, in particular, seems to be a neglected subject in the diffusion literature. Rogers (1995:7) makes a distinction between homophilous and heterophilous diffusion processes – that is, those in which the change agents and adopters either share or do not share comparable social positions – but fails to explore the ramifications of the latter situation in detail. As we will see in the case of cricket, status differences and the attendant mechanisms of distancing and inclusion can be decisive variables in explaining the adoption of cross-nationally diffused cultural practices. It will be shown that

a top-down, or vertically heterophilous, process of diffusion best explains diffusionary success in some cases.

Some sociologists who work within the institutional framework of diffusion studies have, happily, attempted to address these concerns (see, e.g., Clemens and Cook 1999; Cole 1989; Dobbin and Sutton 1998; Guillén 1994; Lillrank 1995; Meyer and Hannan 1979; Molotch, Freudenberg, and Paulsen 2000; Patterson 1994; Strang 1990; Strang and Meyer, 1993; Starr 1989). While we applaud the temporal and causal acuity of these studies, we think there are further insights to be gained from case studies that explore the cultural and structural complexities of the diffusion process in broad socio-historical terms.

The case study presented here will focus on a Western social practice that is, by any measure, an internally complex cultural entity with powerful symbolic and political consequences (Appadurai 1996; Beckles and Stoddart 1995; Bourdieu 1978; Maguire 1999; Malcolm 2001; Miller et al. 2001; Nandy 2000; Patterson 1995; Stoddart 1988). It involves cross-national diffusion among large collective entities engaging broad arrays of both practitioners and spectators. It illustrates both the successful diffusion of a politically potent national cultural practice and the potential for such diffusion to be discontinued midstream. Finally, the case of cricket highlights the roles of social structure and “cultural power” in the diffusion process.

We first dispense with several common explanations of the diffusion of cricket, each of which hinges on one or another argument about national culture. Instead, we demonstrate the need to consider four aspects of the adopting countries’ social systems that appear to mitigate the potential diffusion of a cultural practice from a “dominant” power to its “subordinates”: *social stratification*, *secondary education*, *entrepreneurship/network-building*, and *indexical nationalism*, or the frame of reference in which citizens measure their own national accomplishments. Of the four, social stratification seems to have had the most widespread (i.e., generalizable) impact on the global diffusion of cricket, though this occurred at least partially through indirect effects related to the other three. Before explaining any of this in more detail, however, we will enumerate our study population, evaluate evidence relating to the popularity of cricket and other sports in various countries, and outline the criteria by which we measure national sports cultures.

Cricket’s Universe: The Study Population

As noted earlier, our primary concern here is the transmission of a complex innovation between very complex collective units.¹ This presents formidable problems of verification, made more difficult by the fact that there are limited data sources on sports during our period of focus – the mid-nineteenth through early twentieth centuries. Were our objectives similar to those of most