Global Game, Local Goals

Football and the Global-Local Nexus

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Abstract

Association football is the most popular sport in the world with massive numbers of players and supporters, both male and female. The global spread of football coupled with its projection through mass media to global audiences suggests an analysis based on the discourse of globalisation. However, 'Global Games, Local Goals' shows that football is also highly-localised, with football clubs and national teams having great significance as centres of community and identity. Thus an anthropological analysis of football necessitates a dialectical approach that addresses the inter-relationship between the global and the local.

'Global Game, Local Goals' also argues that while the 'big picture' of globalisation studies offers relevant macro-analytical possibilities, the particularism of highly-localised ethnographic studies that have been part of the anthropological tradition should not be lost in the rush to larger scale studies of 'globalisation'. Thus the anthropological tradition of particularism is preserved but is also blended with the universalism of globalisation and theorisation.

Preface and Acknowledgements

In New Zealand, association football is not the dominant sporting code that it is in many other countries. Association football here is often referred to as 'soccer' and the dominant football code, rugby union, takes the unmarked word 'football'. However, association football is a global sport and over most of the world the sport it is also known as 'football' or a localised translation of that name, for example in Germany it is *'fussball'*, and in Brazil it is *'futebol'*. 'Soccer' comes from a derivation of the word 'association' and is a colloquialism like '*rugger*' for rugby. In this thesis I utilise the term 'football' as it is the international form and my field-study site, Central United refer to themselves as a 'Football Club', not a 'soccer club'.

As a young male growing up in New Zealand in the 1960s and 1970s, I was aware that there was an expectation from some quarters that I should also play the dominant sport of rugby union. However, as a result of being brought up in an immigrant Scots family where association football was seen by my father as the 'manly' game to play, I put up with the taunts from friends, strangers and teachers and played 'soccer' as it is known as here. Growing up in the Hutt Valley near Wellington was fortuitous for a budding footballer as a 'soccer' sub-culture existed, in part due to the presence of large numbers of working-class immigrants from countries such as Britain, Holland and Ireland where association football was the dominant sport.

The perception of football or 'soccer' as being a minor and slightly suspect sport for young New Zealand men to play, necessarily lead to an international outlook for the sport's players such as myself. I and many of my friends looked to Britain, Holland, Brazil and Germany for models of how the game should be played. We also talked of playing overseas and watched televised English football and the FIFA World Cup on television. My ambition was not to play for New Zealand but for Scotland, a 'real' football nation. Unfortunately my senior playing career was cut short by injury, briefly reignited years later in the First Division in Wellington, followed over a decade later by a stint of junior coaching at Central United FC in Auckland in 2004, including gaining a junior coaching qualification.

In between times I have thrilled at the sight of the New Zealand men's team qualifying for the World Cup finals in 1982, with a nail-biting win over China. I also joined in a game with local players in Bali, had a kick-around on the beach with local men in Java and watched international matches in New Zealand, Malaysia and Australia. In 1984 I coached children in England and watched one of my favourite clubs, Tottenham Hotspurs, lose at home to Birmingham. I took great pleasure in seeing 'King Kenny' Dalglish play for Scotland against Iceland, and also attended two matches at Ibrox, the home of Glasgow Rangers Football Club. This included one of the Infamous Rangers-Celtic clashes. In Spain, I overdosed on televised football. Back in New Zealand, I attended the final of the FIFA Under-17 World Cup at North Harbour Stadium and conducted anthropological fieldwork at Central United Football Club in Auckland.

None of the above qualifies me as an expert on football or on the anthropology of the sport. While I do draw on a personal body of knowledge, extensive secondary research provides the global perspective that I seek to convey in this thesis. This is combined with my own ethnographic research on Central United Football Club, one of New

Zealand's premier clubs with an outstanding record of success for its senior men's teams.

Given my enthusiasm for football, my interest in anthropology and the discourse of globalisation it comes as no surprise to me that I now choose to write about how these elements connect. It is the task of this thesis to show these connections both at globalised and localised levels and to show the interconnections of both. At the forefront of this thesis is a desire to show how such an analysis of the world's most popular sport is relevant to the discipline of social anthropology, its methodology of ethnography and its concern for particularism.

A number of people or organisations contributed to this thesis and I would like to acknowledge their contribution:

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Chapter One

The Field of Enquiry

Imagine an activity in which an estimated two hundred and forty million people actively participated in 2000 (Lanfranchi et al., 2004:200). Imagine the huge anthropological interest in this activity which occupies one twenty-fifth of the world's population. Fortunately, anthropologists do not have to imagine such an activity as it already exists. The activity to which I am referring to is association football, the world's most popular sport (Maguire et al., 2002: 120): a sport that can be participated in or viewed in most villages, towns and cities in most countries of the world, at amateur and professional levels.

Football is truly global in its reach, yet is also of immense importance as signifier of local identity and community. It therefore offers anthropologists significant opportunities to research the nexus between the local and the global through the particularism of ethnography and the universalism of theory. Unfortunately anthropologists have only recently started to pay attention to what has grown to become a global cultural phenomenon that encompasses not only a large number of active participants but massive audiences. This thesis is one attempt to build on the relatively small body of work in the anthropology of sport, and especially the anthropology of football.

One of the reasons for the development of a world or global culture of football is its projection through television. Membership of the 'football community' is largely made up of a televisual audience that greatly outnumbers both the audiences that attend football matches and those men, women and children who play football. Indeed 1.7 billion television viewers were estimated to have watched the 2002 World Cup Final from Tokyo (FIFA.com, n.d.). Thus, the global football community also comprises in large part an extensive 'virtual community' of football consumers.

The prime example of football's 'global imagining' is the quadrennial FIFA World Cup, run by football's governing body where men's teams representing their nations of origin compete for the sport's ultimate prize. The World Cup is therefore inter-national and could also be said to be representative of a global or "world culture" (Lechner and Boli, 2005: 86-87) Ironically, many of the participants playing in teams representing their country play their professional club football in yet another country. Football therefore combines both nationalism in the composition of national teams and in their support, and trans-nationalism as players cross borders to play for club teams domiciled in foreign nation-states.

Football is also highly-localised. Football, both amateur and professional is largely played by members of club and school teams, by adults and children of both genders. Football clubs offer a partisan experience for players and their supporters, with most clubs representing a geographical area such as a district, town or city or even a particular ethnicity. With its strong links to geographical place, class, gender and ethnicity, football is highly-significant at the local level in terms of identity and community (MacClancy, 1996:2). Football also encompasses audiences of highly-localised or deterritorialised supporters. This results in a complex interplay between community, and identity while at the same time being

consumers of a commodity that is both local and global. This offers ethnographic and analytical opportunities for anthropologists to further their understanding of the interplay, contests and resolution between the global and the local and between community, identity and commodity.

However football is not just localised in its appeal. It has been professionalised and commodified through the payment of players, the charging of entry fees to grounds, the sponsorship of clubs, the merchandising of club products. The organisation of football into clubs that compete in local, national, regional-international, and world-wide competitions, creates significant opportunities for the global marketing of football clubs and football matches. Due to its extensive reach to audiences of potentially billions, football is also utilised as a marketing tool for commercial products. This had led to the widespread development of sports sponsorship that create a partnership between football clubs and businesses that use football to project their brand to mass audiences as part of their marketing strategy.

If football is 'global' does it provide a model to enhance our understanding of global interconnectivity? As a sport diffused from the 'core' of Great Britain and later Western Europe, these regions remain as economic and cultural centres of the sport. This and the relationship of the rest of the world with these centres of football, apparently reflects Wallerstein's (1974) world system theory. While this model schematically lays out the existence of a 'core', a 'semi-periphery' and a 'periphery', at global levels, it cannot explain the complexities of the global trade in players, or the anomalous positions of Brazil and the USA with respect to top world football ranking and first-ranking economic performance. A football world system is therefore not entirely consistent with that based on an economic perspective. Thus universalising positions may be critiqued by particularisation.

Just as economic globalisation is linked to the spread of capitalism across the world, the growth of football is also linked to that of capitalism (Duncan, 2004: Lanfranchi et al., 2004). Football was codified in the mid-nineteenth century in England and Scotland as capitalism was rising to international dominance as an economic form. The organisation of the sport reflected this in its standardisation as well as in the division of labour between players and club owners. Centralised bureaucratic control of football led to the sport's ability to become internationalised relatively quickly.

Football and commerce both profited from their relationship. Football's world governing body FIFA (*la Federation Internationale de Football Associations*) set out in the 1970s to make football *the* global game (Lanfranchi, 2004: 224; Lever, 1983 [1995]: ix), forming a partnership with sportswear company Adidas, to provide the funding for the expansion of football in new or underdeveloped markets in Africa and Asia and new markets for Adidas. Conceptualising football as both a global social and cultural activity and a global business is necessary in any investigation of this 'global' sport.

Football across the world provides evidence that a culturally and economically 'globalised' activity does not necessarily mean that nationality and parochial identity are no longer important. Indeed football relies on both globality and locality for its continuing significance as the world's dominant sporting code. Articulating the relationship between the two is a necessity.

Is a study of football a relevant vehicle for the analysis of global and local interconnections, often referred to as the 'global-local nexus'? I argue that

it is. Framed within the global-local nexus, 'Global Game, Local Goals' tracks the growth of association football from its beginnings as various forms of football in numerous countries to a codified sport in Britain in the mid-1800s and its subsequent rise to cultural and economic predominance as the world's favourite sport. Although placed within a wider context, this thesis shows how football has been indigenised by its recipients, becoming an important part of a hybridised culture, one that is being re-exported back to the centre of England and Europe in the form of transnational football professionals and their playing, coaching and management styles. This offers a critique of Wallerstein's (1974) world system theory while at the same time demonstrating Appadurai's (1996) thesis on uneven cultural flows.

Limitations

Social anthropology utilises a particularistic approach grounded in ethnography. The highly-localised context of a New Zealand football club, Auckland's Central United FC, is discussed in terms of its global and local connections. Due to a change in personal circumstances I was unable to undertake further fieldwork at the club as intended. Instead I had to rely on a reinterpretation of the research I undertook at that club in 2003 for a research paper (McAdam, 2004).[1] This is contrasted with my experiences of attending matches overseas and the 'consumption' of televised football, drawn from literature and from my own experience.

Given the constraints of time, word limit and the availability of relevant material, I chose not to investigate various issues such as football hooliganism as it has already been well-documented and gender issues are dealt with only briefly. Given my own gender and the overwhelmingly

[1] *Yellow Fever, Stories of Soccer Community* (McAdam, 2004)

phallocentric nature of relevant research material, I too have taken a phallocentric approach. However, where possible I explicate the nature of women in the football milieu. Top professional football players are accorded the status of pop-stars. Clubs too provide such a strong focus of emotional outlet and attachment that this becomes quasi-religious in nature. Although I examine how football clubs act as foci for community and identity, I do not discuss football as a form of civil religion as this, I believe, requires a depth of discussion that cannot be fully met within the constraints of this thesis.

The Organisation of this Thesis

This thesis is organised thematically by chapters. Chapter One lays out the key issues for this thesis and signals the scope and the limitations of the research. Chapter Two discusses key concepts and reviews relevant literature and applicable social theory. Chapter Three places football within the context of its history, discussing how it came to global prominence. Chapter Four narrows the field down to a localised context of football in New Zealand arguing that its development has been hindered by a lack of commodification and its subaltern socio-cultural status. Chapter Five reinterprets ethnographic material collected in 2003 (McAdam, 2004). It places one New Zealand club, Central United Football Club, within the context of its history and focuses on the aspects of the club that see it acting as a type of community. The politics of identity are also discussed through the examination of a Rangers-Celtic match in Scotland. Wider connections to the political-economy of world football are made through a discussion of the commodification of football, including the projection of the game to audiences globally through television and the global football labour market. Chapter Six contains a synthesis and analysis of the preceding chapters, providing the basis of the conclusions

in Chapter Seven. In this Chapter I also examine the strengths and weaknesses of this thesis and signal issues that require further investigation.

Theoretical Approach

The complexities of social, cultural and economic implications of football militate against the utilisation of any one single theoretical paradigm. Instead I take a broad approach, one that Gupta and Ferguson (1997: 26) refer to as 'critical anthropology':

> *...we emphasize that we do not conceive of a critical anthropology as a negative or reactive project. On the contrary, questioning assumptions and deeply ingrained habits of thought is important, for us, not as an end in itself but because doing so enables different kinds of ethnographic work to go forward.*

I have also been influenced by Marcus and Fischer's (1986) *Anthropology as Cultural Critique* and their ideas of utilising cross-cultural juxtapositions, interpretation and ethnography to critique one's own society and its cultural practices. In this thesis I utilise both ethnographic and secondary research of football to investigate how football forms a dialectic between the global and the local; and how issues of political economy and society and culture can be explicated through the study of this sport. However in doing so I must ensure that as a football 'insider' my critical faculties are not blunted by this status, and that I practice participant-'critical' observation in my analysis of football, blending both emic and etic perspectives.

Critical anthropology asks anthropologists to engage both the universal and the particular equally. In doing so it provides a framework for the investigation of the concept and phenomena of globalising processes that affect people and events at a localised level. It also seeks to find out how events at local levels are stretched so that they become of global importance. My previous ethnographic project (McAdam, 2004) shows that at a local level football fosters a sense of community and identity. However football is also a global cultural and economic phenomenon. *Global Game, Local Goals* shows that a social and cultural category such as sport is something that can be documented and analysed at various levels from local to global, making significant contributions to the discipline of social anthropology and its concerns for society and culture. It argues that while the 'big picture' of globalisation studies offer relevant macro-analytical possibilities, the particularism of highly localised studies that has been an integral part of the anthropological tradition should not be lost in the rush to conduct larger-scale studies of 'globalisation'.

Chapter 2

Anthropology and Globalisation

The globalization of soccer culture through promotion efforts in Third World Countries without thriving organized sports, as well as First World countries with numerous deeply entrenched spectator sports, is not accidental. Rather, expanding the market for the sport to all corners of the globe was consciously designed and executed. Because of the success of the plan, understanding the cultural and sociological importance of soccer is more important than ever. (Lever, 1983[1995]:ix)

Football (or 'soccer') as Lever (1983 [1995]: ix) pointed out is of such global importance that academics should engage it as a site for study. What then, is it about anthropology that makes it a suitable discipline for the study of football's global and local interconnections? This chapter examines social anthropology as a discipline and explores the connections made between anthropology, and studies of globalisation and football.

The Discipline of Social Anthropology

An orthodox view of social anthropology stems from its history as a discipline focused on the cross-cultural study of society and culture. It is holistic in the sense that it is concerned with placing activities within the

wider context of culture and society as a whole (Peacock, 1986:10), and comparative in the sense of making comparisons between the practices of different societies and cultures. Particularism and universalism are synthesised, the similarity and diversity of human society and culture is documented and theories are grounded in research that focuses on the lives of real people in real places.

However laudable, the aims of anthropology are not unproblematic. Assumptions that holistic studies encompassing all parts of any given society can be undertaken are somewhat naïve: the view that a professional anthropologist could study a society in detail is based on Malinowski's (1922) edict that all parts of society and their contribution to the overall functioning of society as a whole should be studied. Combined with colonial settings and ethnocentric attitudes, 'holistic' ethnography was based on assumptions that peoples living outside of states could be classified and studied as 'simple' societies and could therefore be studied in the 'whole' . With decolonisation and the independence of formerly colonised peoples, the discipline and its practitioners have had to undergo attitudinal changes. Anthropologists are often now facilitators of knowledge rather than 'experts', offering groups of people a means to say something about themselves through film and written ethnography, jointly conceived and interpreted between participants and professional anthropologists (Marcus and Fisher, 1986). Indigenous anthropologists have begun to document their own societies and cultures, replacing studies of the other with auto-ethnography of their own society and culture and relationships with national and international political and economic processes.

A critical examination of changes in the discipline is revealing. The perceived need to develop social anthropology as a 'social science' reinforced drives towards the development of generalised theories of

society and culture, away from the Boasian cultural relativism of American cultural anthropology, with its emphasis on the unique nature of 'cultures'. However, anthropology conversely saw a shift away from theorisation and holism, to a more interpretive approach where 'culture' is stressed over 'society' and where culture is viewed as a text to be read, interpreted from both emic and etic perspectives (Lewellen, 2004; Marcus and Fischer, 1986). Thus, the meanings of cultural 'actors' are constructed through their own world view, with additional interpretation by the anthropologist for the audience. In this sense it apparently blends Geertzian symbolism and Boasian relativism with a privileging of the particular over the general. However, this has led social anthropology, like cultural anthropology, largely down the route of cultural relativism, away from larger scale analyses of society to the detriment of the discipline's contribution to theoretical explanations of the human condition (Marcus and Fisher, 1986). Such an approach did not and does not lend itself to the analysis of a more interconnected world.

The concerns of political-economy and more latterly the impact of increasing globalisation, have forced anthropology to place its studies within a wider and more critical perspective. This perspective includes critical studies of large state societies, and the study of massified and commodified activities such as popular culture, including sport. New sites include urban areas in states: anthropology is no longer necessarily the study of the exotic 'other' (Marcus, 1998). Critical anthropology offers a way to mediate both universalising and particularistic positions. An example of this is Gupta and Ferguson's (1997 eds.) *Culture, Power, Place: Explorations in Critical Anthropology'.* With its emphasis on global-local interconnectedness, this offers a route out of the *cul de sac* of particularism that is not partnered with a concern for theorisation. This collection advocates the development of a critical anthropology that syntheses the particular and the general required in expositions of

localised events and global trends: a blending of both relativistic and universalising positions within the discipline. However, they advocate retaining the distinguishing research practice of social anthropology; that of ethnographic fieldwork. Critical anthropology therefore is a suitable framework for the investigation of economic and other interconnections referred to as 'globalisation'.

In a sense, the concerns of globalisation are regrounding social anthropology in its traditions, which went beyond a concern for the purely local. The particularistic-universalistic dialectic that has existed in the discipline since its early days is to be found in the methodology of ethnography. This has most often been combined with a concern for theorisation and has therefore implicitly, at least, focussed the discipline on the nexus between the local and the global (Lewellen, 2002).

Globalisation

The academic discourse of 'globalisation' is rife with conflicting understandings and explanations. The concern lies with the increasing economic, political and cultural interconnections that have been brought about through trade, the mediation of relations between states through international treaties and agencies, immigration and the mobility of capital and labour, information technology, the commodification of cultural products and adaptation and resistance to these events (Robertson, 1992; Lewellen, 2002:8). Globalisation therefore has significant implications for the discipline of anthropology and bears further examination.

Although the term 'globalisation' has been in common usage since the 1960s and in academic currency since the 1980s (Guinness, 2003: 2), the processes of global human interconnection have long been the subject of

analysis. From ideals of common humanity entailed in the anti-slavery movements of the 1800s, the concept of world religions such as Christianity and Islam to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights of 1947, people of the world have perceived or have been perceived as sharing a common humanity. Environmentalists too, such as Greenpeace have done much to stir global consciousness. However, much of the discourse of globalisation is econocentric ignoring both the cultural and humanistic dimensions of global interconnections (Synott, 2004).

Apposite to this is Immanuel Wallerstein's (1974) development of the concept of a 'world system'. While Eurocentric in outlook, Wallerstein charted and analysed the incorporation of diverse parts of the world such as the myriad of islands that now form the state of Indonesia into the Dutch trading empire and India into the British capitalist system. Documenting the change from mercantilism based on trade, to capitalism based on production, Wallerstein showed how the world was becoming incorporated into a system based on the global division of labour. Concepts of dominant core, semi-periphery and periphery were developed to explain the relativisation of relationships and a global division of labour between the exploiter (core) and the exploited (periphery) with the semi-periphery acting as broker between the two poles (Wallerstein, 2004: 66-67).

As the discourse of worldwide interconnectedness moved from a world view dominated by the conceptualisation of a world system, 'globalisation' gained prominence as the dominant concept. Many sociologists such as Giddens (2003) discussed globalisation in terms of economic interconnection based on trade and communication over distance via information technology, even seeing globalisation as an historical departure or transformation of the world. However, Robertson (1992:8) sees globalisation conceptually as "*the compression of the world and the*

intensification of consciousness of the world as a whole." Unlike Wallerstein, who appears to view globalisation as global pillage, rather than global village, Robertson's views extend the discourse of globalisation beyond the economic to be all inclusive of human perception of their shared relationship with our planet.

Where does football lie in all this rhetoric? Appadurai (1996) conceives of globalisation as creating 'disjunctures' forming the world into a series of fields, which he calls: '*ethnoscapes, mediascapes, financescapes, technoscapes and ideoscapes*'. He conceives of the experience of globalisation as one of fragmentation. Given his position it is likely that he would also view culture, not as a series of distinct and separate value systems and experiences, but as a series of subcultures within an overall 'culturescape'.

Inconveniently for Appadurai, academic studies of football (for example MacClancy 1996 and Maguire, 2002) tend to synthesise rather than fracture analytical categories such as his disjunctured 'scapes': the mediascape is part of the projection of the sport worldwide and the culturescape of football sees it as virtually a cultural universal, mediated semiotically at the local level and projected internationally for consumption by audiences in the mediascape. Football is also operant within the financescape due to the intricate nature of football economics where both players and their football products have a commodity value. It is increasingly a part of the technoscape as the sport is projected digitally through the internet and pay television, and is imbedded in the ideoscape as a dominant worldwide representative of capitalist economics and also encapsulates the quasi-religious nature of the fervour for the sport and the highly-localised support for national and local teams. If one were to develop a concept of the 'sportscape' , 'footballscape' or 'soccerscape', it would be broadly inclusive rather than exclusive of all of Appadurai's

categories, synthesising rather than fracturing social, cultural and economic categories. While theorisation is part of the role of anthropology and anthropologists, theory must stand up to the scrutiny of particularism. It must be grounded in the particular rather than existing on the basis of elegant terminology. An analysis of football shows how the experience of football's cultural and economic organisation and the experience of players and supporters tends towards integration rather than a series of disjunctures.

What is globalisation? An econocentric definition posits globalisation as the process of increasing economic interconnection, supported by the spread of telecommunication technology (Synott, 2004). This is illustrated by a global division of labour including the 'export' of production to cheaper centres of labour such as China, Thailand, Indonesia and India. The growing economies and consumer markets of China and India may yet see globalisation becoming a process of the decentring of the world, no longer dominated by the economies and culture of the USA, Western Europe and Japan. Global theorists, drawing on transnationalism in current business practices of searching for cheaper labour markets, diffused national ownership and operation of companies posit that the power of states over their own economic affairs is eroded by major transnational corporations (Synott, 2004; Holton, 2004). New modes of world governance they argue, now involve corporations that can influence trade rules internationally, undermine regulations set by national governments and influence international rule-makers in the WTO and UN agencies.

Globalisation also conceives of the emergence or re-emergence of major centres. As China expands its construction industry founded on the expansion of its manufacturing capacity, its needs for steel have vastly increased, leading to a huge growth in the Chinese steel industry to the

detriment of steel manufacturing in the USA. Mass redundancies have resulted from the export of jobs from the USA to China, illustrating not a decentring of the world, but perhaps the development of a new centre that is either increasingly dominant or part of a network of centres such as the USA, the European Community, Japan and a growing South Korea. This is a reflection of the historical economic and political dominance of Asia. The power of Western Europe and the United States of America are relatively recent aberrations when considering general historical trends (Synott, 2004: 59-70). This thesis will show that the football industry is beginning to recognise this trend.

When viewed from a particularistic perspective, it becomes apparent that all is not what it seems to be: globalisation is difficult to theorise as a monolithic process that overpowers governments, and simply creates a global division of labour. Instead the processes of increasing economic interconnection, the expansion of telecommunications and e-business, the impact on world culture of migration and the commodification of cultural activities such as sport can be viewed from an anthropological perspective that privileges the particularism of highly-localised studies. When coupled with the concerns of global economics, a strong analysis of the interconnections between the global and the local are created, showing how interconnections are mediated by individuals, communities, states, regional groupings and NGOs (Synott, 2004). An example of this is Africa which has seen only partial inclusion in global interconnectedness, and was more integrated into a world system in colonial times (Guinness, 2003). Such perspectives indicate that globalisation is not as global as some would have it and instead connections beyond states are mostly regional and international (Guinness, 2003). Globalisation could then be said to be a relativisation of economic, cultural and social relations between nation-states, corporations and populations.

If 'globalisation' is a verb, then we are really discussing process. Can we also position globalisation as a concept? However, the discourse of globalisation is not monolithic, and disagreement abounds about the definition of the concept. What is apparent is that when we are enmeshed in the discourse of globalisation we are doing more than conceptualising the world as one place. Instead we are involved in the teasing out of strands of connections that connect the local to the global and develop an understanding how the local is stretched so much that it becomes considered to be global. Such connections are illustrated by activities such as football, that are simultaneously highly localised, yet global in their reach.

When viewed through the lenses of particularism and universalism, an investigation of the football-scape both supports and contradicts various concepts of globality including world system theory and the world as a single space. The former is indicated by European football clubs staffed by local and transnational professionals, while the latter's strongest indicator is the FIFA World Cup, which is at once located territorially at the host venue, in the hyper-space of global television and in the lounges and bars of the televisual audiences.

Anthropology is in a very good position to study globalisation from the ground up. With its methodology of ethnography, anthropologists can record and analyse the complex inter-relationship between the global and the local, examining how each is enmeshed in the other, and recording the myriad of ways in which people at the local level react to global events (Lewellen, 2002:36). With its focus on the particular and real people in real places, anthropology can also question whether such hard and fast differentiations can be made between the local and global events. Football with its global diffusion but high local significance is just one of many cultural activities such as art, music, food, literature, film and

television that reflect not a global-local dichotomy but an enmeshment and relativisation of global-local projection and production.

Globalisation and Culture

If the discourse of globalisation largely focuses on economic interconnection, where does this leave anthropology's concern with culture? The functionalist assumptions of societies that could be studied holistically and in isolation drew on the idea of societies as a mosaic: neighbouring but yet with distinct and separate 'cultures'. A re-evaluation of social and cultural interconnection has been brought to a head by the need to understand the effects of globalising process on people at the local level. This reiterated that all 'cultures' were not distinct, unique and separate but were the product of hybridisation of the blending people and culture through trade, marriage, warfare and imitation. Cultural activities other than football bear this out from language, agriculture, music, art, political organisation and gender relations. Globalisation sees not the triumph of cultural imperialism, but the creation of new hybrids: hip-hop loving Maori youths may also participate in *kapa haka* (supported by guitars), Samoan-New Zealanders may receive traditional *tatou* but also play volleyball and rugby union, while some Pakeha youths may love 'New Zealand music', but also wear replica football shirts that denote an interest in a particular professional team from overseas.

Globalisation need not be defined only in economic terms (Guinness, 2003; Robertson, 1992) and indeed the implications for cultural interconnections and diffusion are great if one considers the role of media and migration in the transmission of culture. Does this lead to a development of a dominant 'global culture'? An examination of football

shows that culture is also part of the processes of globalisation. While football has been diffused worldwide to create a global football culture, it is not homogenous in every country. For instance the USA, the world's greatest economic and military power, has a men's national football team ranked in the top ten internationally, whereas in women's football it is ranked in the top three (FIFA.com) . The Brazilian men's team is consistently ranked the world's top team, with women's football less developed than that in the USA. However, the styles played by the USA and Brazilian men's team are quite different, with the Brazilians opting for organised artistry, whereas the USA has a much more muscular English style of play that also combines some of the flair of their Latin-American players. Either way they are playing the same sport, yet doing it in their own way, creating their own idiom. Both the Brazilians and Americans are also influenced by the styles of football played in Europe and England where most of their professional players are based. Thus their idiom is in reality the result of hybridisation. Even though the USA is an economic superpower, Brazil has the status of a national football superpower as five-time winner of the FIFA World Cup, exporter of its football culture through the export of players, coaches, managers and the widespread admiration of its football style. The USA on the other hand is relatively unheralded as a footballing nation and tends to be a receiver rather than a transmitter of football culture.

Football then, is not just representative of homogenisation or cultural imperialism: it is an example of hybridisation and even creolisation when Brazilian and American values of trickery or work ethnic, respectively, are on display through what was originally a British sport. In reality, the huge number of Brazilian players (5,000) playing outside of Brazil are not only influencing the playing style of their European teams, but the Brazilian national team is starting to play a blend of a European style of play where

efficiency and structure is called for, with some elements of the more entertaining Brazilian *arte de futebol.*

Is football a manifestation of globalisation? Football is a standardised cultural form that can be enacted anywhere in the world locally, and its participants can also meet with and compete against participants from different countries and continents. This is evidence of a culture that could be said to be globalised. However, there is also evidence of cultural homogeneity and cultural imperialism in the deliberate spread of football by colonial authorities in Africa and Asia, and in FIFA's policy to deliberately disseminate and market football to those continents and countries where football was not the dominant sport (Lanfranchi et al., 2004). Where that homogeneity breaks down is when football is 'indigenised' by Africans and Asians and the values and style of the new localities are applied to create hybridised forms of the sport that are then projected outwards through the export of players, international tournaments and televised games.

Earlier in this chapter, I discussed how much of the African continent is less globally-connected than it was in colonial times. However, as a global cultural and economic form, football is one of the ways in which Africans participate in globalising processes. This is achieved through the migration of their best players to Europe and the following of their careers by African audiences via television, newspapers and the internet (Lanfranchi and Taylor, 2003). Thus Africa's involvement in football's global labour market, matches the export-orientation of other commodities such as oil, cocoa, palm oil and copper. The world system may draw commodities from the periphery to the core, but in doing so it not only assimilates human football commodities but integrates new playing styles and skills into professional clubs and leagues; a kind of hybridisation and colonisation of the core by the periphery and vice versa.

While the concept of global culture implies homogeneity, global football culture is more diverse. Football shows how this is really a series of hybrids or creolisation of the supposedly global form. Where football in Europe is highly professionalised, it also encompasses community support, ideas of a localised identity and nationalism. Football in Africa is much more bound in ideas of nationalism and the creation of national identity.. Club rivalry can entail political and tribal differences (Stuart, 1995). Is this a localised production of globality? Certainly it is. Is the FIFA World Cup with its clash of national teams and national styles a display of the global production of locality? Again, it is that too. Football is the most globalised of all sports, yet is also highly localised, showing how difficult it is to categorise as local or global one when in fact it encompasses many such categories.

Chapter 3

Anthropology and Sport

Anthropologists have a great deal of ground to make up in the study of global culture. There should by now be a body of work on such a globally popular activity such as football as well as other elements of popular culture such as music, art, language and television. Sands (1999:9) notes that social and cultural anthropology do not have an extensive sporting literature. Instead 'sport' and 'games' have been marginalised as trivial forms of leisure not worthy of anthropological investigation (Sands, 1999:3, Dyck, 2000:14).

Anthropological studies of games and sports were, until recently, relatively rare. However the anthropology of sport is not a contemporary practice. Tylor (1879) was one of the first anthropologists to undertake an investigation of games as a cultural activity. In *The History of Games'* Tylor(1879) analysed the history of ball-games, arguing that some were so distinctly artificial yet similar, that they were evidence of diffusion from some common geographical centre. If one were to think in diffusionist terms, then football is the ultimate diffusionist sport: codified in England, colonising the remainder of the United Kingdom and then exported to much of the world aided by colonisation, education and trade. James Mooney (1890) of the Bureau of American Ethnology published a description of a Cherokee racket and ball game in *The Cherokee Ball Play*. In doing so, he claimed that the game was commonly played in all of North America and was an important community event with an integral role in Cherokee culture. Parallels to the role of football in European,

South American and African societies and cultures can be drawn. Stewart Culin, Curator of Ethnology at the Brooklyn Museum, published an epic eight hundred and forty six-page classification and description of games of two hundred and twenty six tribes in of the North American Indians (Culin, 1907). His theoretical contribution included the origins and distribution of games and sports, using a diffusionist framework, although he erroneously argued for the diffusion of games from North America to Asia. Closer to home, in New Zealand, ethnologist Elsdon Best (1925) published '*The Games and Pastimes of the Maori*' describing games, exercises and music of the past among Maori tribes. Closer to my own perspective of the social and cultural importance of sport, New Zealand-born social anthropologist Raymond Firth described a competitive darts match in Tikopia in terms that strike me as applicable to the most professionalised of 'modern' sports:

> the game of *tika* comes to pass beyond the bounds of simple play for exercise and relaxation, and to attain considerable importance in the general economic and religious life, in addition to its reactions on the social organisation of the community and on the personality of its component members... (Firth, 1931: 95).

Firth advocated further anthropological study of sport, seeing it as rich source of cultural information. However, his comments on the integrative aspects of game described are apposite to football.

In *The Pawnee Ghost Dance Hand Game: a study of cultural change* Alexander Lesser (1933) analysed the role of the game in the overall cultural responses to colonisation. Such observations trigger thoughts about the adoption of football by colonised countries, and its utilisation as a force for the integration of disparate peoples in a new state similar to football in Africa as well as Appadurai's (1996) writings on Indian cricket

as a force for both integration and projection of Indian identity and prowess.

Although not exhaustive, the scarcity of these few relevant examples to be found in the huge range of anthropological literature indicate that sport was not taken very seriously by anthropologists as a social and cultural phenomenon worthy of intensive investigation, until relatively recently.

More contemporary literature provides a richer vein of work. Roberts, Arth and Bush's (1959) article, *Games in Culture*, attempted to provide a theoretical framework for the study of games and sport and provided an impetus for the further studies in this area. In the U.S.A., baseball was the sport chosen for a number of studies: Robin Fox's (1961) article *Pueblo Baseball: A New Use for Old Witchcraft* documented the use of magic in Navajo baseball; former major league baseball player and anthropologist George Gmelch's (1972) *Magic in Professional Baseball* was a study of superstition and ritual in American baseball, analogous to anthropological studies of 'primitive' societies. The film *Trobriand Cricket* also shows how indigenous rituals can be incorporated into imported games, and even the purpose of the game as competition can be altered to take into account indigenous priorities.

Perhaps one of the more influential works from anthropology that took sport or games as its central theme was Clifford Geertz's (1972) *Deep Play: Notes on the Balinese Cockfight.* Although, not specifically sports-oriented, Geertz's symbolic and interpretive anthropology drew on Balinese ritualized sport and gambling. To an anthropologist of sport, Geertz showed that symbolism and interpretation were relevant to the study of games and sports and that cultural events could be read like a text: a performance in which social and cultural values were on display.

The backing of various fighting cocks showed how various parts of the village were cleft, like a local derby in football between two teams from the same city.

Kendall Blanchard and Alyce Cheska (1985) published *'The Anthropology of Sport'* designed as a single volume introduction to the field. As neither were professionally-trained anthropologists, their ethnographic accounts were organised and analysed utilising an evolutionist framework. However, later works proved to be more in line with the professional concerns and practice of anthropology. Jeremy MacClancy's (ed. 1996) *'Sport, Identity and Ethnicity'* provided an interesting compendium of articles on how various sports act as symbols of identity:

MacClancy (1996) also provides a very useful discussion on the integrative value of sport and how through the symbolism of identification with a team as a supporter, identity and community are constructed. Thus, football could also be said to have a 'function' in the Malinowskian sense. That sport was documented and analysed in the framework of the symbolism of identity and ethnicity shows how close it is to the concerns of anthropologists.

Sands (1996) edited collection *Anthropology, Sport and Culture* (Sands, 1996) also ranged from methodological issues, to race and culture, culture change, identity, ritual and the establishment of a global sports culture.

Anthropologists are beginning to tackle the complex role sport plays in the construction of national identity and placing it in global-local context. Arjun Appadurai's (1996) 'Modernity at Large' includes a fascinating chapter (Appadurai, 1996:89 -113) on the role of cricket in India. It shows how the game is constructed as symbol of India's post-colonial nationalism and as evidence of the country's modernity through inclusion in the global web of

professionalised and commodified sport. Thus the global and local connections are investigated through the appropriation of cricket, the epitome of 'Englishness', by Indian batsmen and bowlers able to dominate their former colonial masters at their own game. The analogy can be made with any globalised sport where the former colonies strive to emulate and then beat their former colonial masters at sports, including football.

In a similar vein to Sands (1996), Noel Dyck's (ed. 2000) collection 'Games, Sports and Cultures' makes a clear argument for the anthropological study of sport from both theoretical and ethnographic perspectives, with a focus on methodology, identity, families and children and cultural performance. Such issues can be drawn on in any anthropology of sport.

While the anthropology of sport is slowly increasing, non-anthropological literature is also highly relevant to this dissertation. A great deal of work that takes football as its theme has emanated from sociology and other social sciences (for example Boyle and Haynes, 2004; Finn and Giulianotti, 2000; Lanfranchi et al., 2004; Manzreiter and Horn 2004; Redhead, 1997; Wagg, 1995) in the past few years, but little of note has been compiled by anthropologists. What this brief review has achieved is to establish that the anthropology of sport has a sparse body of work that requires supplementation. However respect must be given to those who conducted research into sport. These include study of sport as a vehicle for cultural diffusion (Tylor, 1879), the social and economic significance of sport (Firth 1931), the study of social symbolism and cultural values (Geertz, 1972), of modernity and nationalism (Appadurai, 1996) and the study of the role of sport in the construction of community and identity (MacClancy, 1996). This thesis is a small addition to a slowly growing

surprisingly body of anthropological literature that has yet to engage with football in any depth as a site for examination of global-local interconnections.

Chapter 4

Going Global

The globalisation of culture has in the past been discussed in terms of the anthropological term 'cultural diffusion': the spread of cultural influences from one society to another (Rosman and Rubel, 2002). This chapter examines the beginnings of the sport and its diffusion to become a global cultural phenomenon. This provides a basis for understanding how and why football is the world's most popular sport with both high global and local significance and why it is an excellent vehicle for understanding the processes of globalisation.

Football Kicks-Off

Football developed out of a plethora of loosely-organised ball games that were played all over the world. In Britain, codified forms of football such as association football and rugby football developed out of the unregulated folk football that was played in villages and towns. The codification and regulation of leisure was consistent with the capitalist division of labour. Association football was quickly diffused by football 'missionaries' keen to see it spread to other parts of the world (Wagg, 1995) as part of the civilising mission of a colonial and economic power .

While the spread of football to every country in the world can be said to be a form of cultural diffusion, the acceptance of association football often

drew on indigenous traditions of ball games. For centuries, various forms of 'football'[2] had been played in Britain, Europe, Africa, Asia and the Americas. A variety of ball-games in Italy from the fifteenth century were referred to as '*calcio*'. Somewhat more refined than the British mob football of the time and involving colourful uniforms, the game has endured in Italy as has the name, which is also applied to modern association football in an attempt to disguise its non-Italian origins (Soccer History.com, n.d.). Forms of football such as *calcio* and the Roman *harpastum* were already established as spectacles for the audience's consumption long before any of the British codes of football were established. Thus peoples of many nations adapted to the 'modern' form of the game, having a predisposition towards that stemmed from their own indigenous practices.

Football has long been associated with those 'beneath' the aristocracy. It is therefore representative of divisions that were to become categorised as of social classes. Mob football of various kinds was played in a number of regions in the British Isles and Europe, with large numbers of players, often most of the male population of one village against that of another village. The games were so rough that various kings of England and Scotland unsuccessfully tried to ban the sport at various times in the fourteenth to sixteenth centuries. In the Scottish town of Inveresk, in the seventeenth century, the regular games of football played by the town's married women versus unmarried women showed that women's football is not as new an innovation as many might think (Soccer History, n.d.). In parts of England, an annual Shrovetide football match is still played under the ancient rules that predate modern forms of football. Thus football developed out of a tradition of indigenous ballgames in Britain and complemented games or replaced games on its introduction to other countries (FIFA.com, n.d.).

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[2] Ballgames played on foot as opposed to games played on horseback by aristocrats.

Football represents more than a form of organisational modernity. The tensions that have pervaded and sometimes divided the sport were in evidence from its early days. These include social class, gender and race. By the 1880s, football had become professionalised through the payment of 'the Scotch professors' playing in the English league and working-class players in northern England for clubs such as Preston North End. The money to pay for this was gathered through the enclosure of grounds and the charging of an entry fee for spectatorship. A class division appeared between the professionalised Football League dominated by northern clubs, and the amateur southern league, set up in opposition to professionalism. The amateur 'gentlemen' and middle classes played for the enjoyment of the sport, while working class men were just as passionate about the game, but needed to be recompensed for taking time off work for training and for injuries following matches (Murray, 1994; Lanfranchi et al., 2004). The popularity of football was no doubt helped by its limited duration of ninety minutes, compared to cricket's one-day or longer formats.

However, the control of the sport by the Football Association based in London was challenged by the professional clubs from the North and the Midlands who chafed at the southern amateurs having dominance over the sport. The Football League threatened to break away from the FA, and this was only resolved by giving into the league's demands for the recognition of professional football as a legitimate form of the sport. The Football League has since gone on to feature a number of divisions, with the Premier League now taking the place of the former Division One, and the Coca Cola Football Championship, and Coca Cola Leagues One and Two forming the rest of the restructured FA Football League that is sponsored by global commercial interests (Lanfranchi et al., 2004: Murray,

1998). However, unfortunately for Coca Cola the vastly more popular Premier League is seen by most football fans as 'the real thing'.

The Sportisation Process

At the time of the late industrial revolution and the rise of capitalism in the nineteenth century many sports were brought into being as codified and organised leisure pursuits. Not only were the football codes in Britain established, but so was American football, Australian Rules football, volleyball and basketball. Maguire et al. (2002, 10-11) refer to the development of modern codified sports as the sportisation process. The globalisation phase they write, is the latest phase in this process, and is related to wider globalisation processes of economic interconnection and cultural diffusion (Maguire, 2002: 4-9).

The development of a unified sport with a common set of rules was necessary for the growth and diffusion of football in Britain and for it to become to a global cultural form. With various forms of football being played in towns, villages and schools and by all social classes in England in the mid-1800s, it was difficult to organise matches, given the lack of agreement over the rules. However, the increasing enclosure of lands by wealthy landowners from the mid-eighteenth century (Duncan, 2004: 45) reduced the amount of common land freely available for public recreation, impinging on unregulated sports. Instead, football in its various forms became institutionalised in England's elite public schools such as Shrewsbury, Eton, Harrow and Winchester. In an attempt to standardise the rules of the game, in the 1840s and 1850s students from Cambridge University who favoured a kicking rather than a handling game of football, advocated this form and their rules as the standard form of football (Murray, 1994; Lanfranchi et. al., 2004).

At a meeting of eleven football clubs and a number of public schools, the Football Association[3] was formed in 1863, and at a later meeting the Cambridge University rules were adopted as the common set of rules. Rugby School had earlier withdrawn from preliminary discussions when it became clear that the dribbling and kicking form of football rather than the handling and running game was to become the favoured style. The Rugby Football Union was set up in 1871 to promote the version of football favoured by Rugby School (Lanfranchi et. al., 2004: 17).

Football clubs were started not only by middle-class cricket clubs and church groups, workplace clubs started too (Lanfranchi et al, 2004; Wagg, 1995). Newton Heath was a railwaymen's football club which was founded in 1871. This was taken over by the owner of a public house when the club faced financial ruin and was relocated and renamed Manchester United Football Club. This football club is now one of the most famous and wealthiest clubs in world football (manchesterunited.com, n.d; Forbes.com, n.d.)

Early Football and Capitalism

The conversion of football into a codified sport suited the industrial age that regulated and standardised the world of work. The growth of organised competitive sport in Britain was also contiguous with capitalism. Modern industrial capitalism flourished in Western Europe, especially Britain, in the nineteenth century (Duncan, 2004: 44-45). Capitalism, entailed the management of capital, workforce and raw materials. It created a new social class of urban industrial labour to provide the

[3] The non-use of a national title was in the hope that Scottish football clubs would also join the FA.

workforce for capitalist enterprises. Leisure, including sport, also came to be standardised as part of its 'management'. The various forms of football played in rural areas, and in schools and universities became regulated and codified as leisure came to be controlled in the same way as industrial production. Thus time and space were controlled not only in the workplace, but in games that became 'sports' through the regularisation of competition and the codification of rules that involved the bounding of time (the duration of the match) and space (the specified size of the playing field) (Collins & Waddington, 2000: 19-21).

With working people in Britain having been granted a Saturday afternoon holiday in the Factories Act of 1850, (Maguire et al., 2002: 120), a demand for new forms of recreation grew. Not being able to afford the time off work for injuries or the long duration of a cricket match, the working-class players (mainly male) largely opted for association football following its codification as physical recreation. Unlike rugby football, 'hacking' (the kicking of opposition players) was banned and this reduced the need to take time off work while injuries healed. Large numbers of spectators were also drawn to football. This lead to opportunities to commodify the sport.

The commodification of football commenced within a few years of its codification. While many early players of the upper and middle-classes were amateurs, working-class players demanded compensation for time spent training and for the loss of wages when injured. In the 1880s, Football League clubs such as Aston Villa near Birmingham charged an entrance fee to spectators who came through the turnstiles, the earliest commodification of the sport (Lanfranchi et al., 2004).

With professionalisation, clubs had virtually complete control over players. Professional players were not only treated as a labour commodity, but

their contracts were owned by their club. Players became chattels of the club that could be transferred to another club without consultation, even if the player was out of contract. The division of labour was clear between the bourgeois owners and the proletarian players. The maximum wage and the 'retain and transfer' contract system smacked of feudal tendencies among club owners and hardly changed until challenged in court by the Professional Footballers Association in England in 1961 (Wagg, 1995:13). Tensions between amateurism and professionalism were played out on the field. The development of the professionalised Football League founded in 1888 and the adaptation of rugby football to professionalism culminated in the sport now known as rugby league football. Both had something in common; that of being based in the industrial north of England with its large working-class population (Lanfranchi et al., 2004).

Scottish Innovations and the Celtic Connection

The founding and the diffusion of football is somewhat less certain than a purely English beginning. While England founded the first football association, similar forms of football were already established in Scotland prior to this. Although football is often thought of as an English sport, it was Scots players and managers who were most influential in developing a 'modern' style of team play and in diffusing the sport beyond the United Kingdom (scottishfootballmuseum, n.d.).

Although not the first football club in Scotland, Queen's Park Football Club of Glasgow, founded by students and professionals in 1867, was important in the development of football tactics and styles of play. By the time of the first international between Scotland[4] and England in 1872, the

[4] The Scottish team was made up of Queen's Park players. The Scottish Football Association was formed until the following year (Murray, 1998; Queen's Park Football Club, n.d.)

then 'astonishing' tactics and techniques of passing the ball between team-mates had been introduced by Queen's Park. The Scots played a 'combination game', with players paired up in support of each other. This in turn led to the development of the short-passing game, with the ball being played on the ground. This was in contrast to the English dribbling game which consisted of one player dribbling the ball followed up by his team-mates with a mass rush behind the ball.[5] This was the first example of the divergence in national styles of play, and until the 1980s, Scottish football was widely regarded as being more sophisticated than the English variety (Murray, 1998:6-11).

The technical superiority of Scots players (the so-called 'Scotch professors') was recognised by the employment of Scots players as professionals in England by clubs such as Darwen and Preston North End. This led to the development of the cross-border importation of Scots players into England, the antecedent of the global football labour market. The Scottish style of play also came to dominate the way that football was to be played when it was diffused to the rest of the world from Britain and in a case of the periphery recolonising the core, a number of English clubs such as Blackpool and Sunderland were founded by Scots as was the Football League in England (blackpoolfc.co.uk, n.d., sunderlandfc.co.uk, n.d., Murray, 1998: 6-11).

Football was rapidly diffused to the rest of Britain including the colonised Celtic nations of Wales and Ireland. Football took hold in the north of Wales, closest to the northern and midland strongholds of professional football. In the southern coal towns and villages, rugby football took root, with its strict amateur ethic perhaps appealing to the highly-religious Welsh miners and their families. However in Ireland there was much resistance to the establishment of both association and rugby football,

[5] This led to modern English football being labelled as 'kick and rush'.

being seen to be pursuits of the coloniser. Gaelic sports such as Gaelic football and hurling were favoured by nationalists. To this day football has to share the sporting limelight with Ireland's indigenous sporting codes and rugby union is the favoured football code in the south of Wales (Wagg, 1995: 1-24). Global cultural forms do not necessarily overwhelm indigenous preferences. Although the dominance of football is contested in Wales, there is a passionate following of the sport in both countries. A large number of professional football migrants from both countries have earned their earning their living mainly in England with some also in Italy and Spain (Wagg, 1995), forming part of a trans-national British and European football labour market.

Within English club football Scots and Irish players were once highly-prized. Scots featured in the most successful English teams of the 1870s (Murray, 1994: 33-34), with that tradition continuing to relatively recently. During the 1970s-80s London team, Arsenal, relied on a contingent of Irish players, while Liverpool featured a number of Scots as well as English players. While the Celts may once have been the 'Brazilians' of Britain, better foreign players were eventually preferred when English football became more open to the international labour market. The 'Scotch Professors' had been surpassed and outclassed by their pupils from Denmark, Sweden, Holland, Croatia, France, Nigeria and Cameroon and the top English and even the top Glasgow clubs, Rangers and Celtic, now prefer to field teams that feature few home-grown players. Thus what appeared to be the Celtic fringe coming to Britain's English core was eventually overtaken by relatively newly-developed football countries as suppliers of labour for the 'football industry' (Lanfranchi and Taylor, 2001). This marked a change in football's political-economy as wealthier clubs began to develop transnational squads. This will be discussed further in this chapter.

Vectors of Culture: The Role of Colonisation and Trade in the Spread of Football

British traders, sailors and teachers introduced football to northern Europe where it quickly became very popular, re-exported by football converts from Switzerland and Germany to southern Europe and also to Europe's colonial empires and outposts (Lanfranchi et al., 2004; Murray, 1998: 21-41). Thus football was the handmaiden and beneficiary of trade and colonialism.

Argentina with its English business community was an early convert to the new sport, with the Buenos Aires Football Club being established in 1865 by English residents and Anglophile locals. What started out as sport for the upper classes eventually became a mass activity for males from various social classes (Del Burgo, 1995: 53). In 1899 Barcelona Football Club (known locally as FC Barcelona or *Barca*) was set up by Swiss and German technicians who had taken up football at schools taught by English and Scots teachers, with half the club's membership still of Swiss origins by the time FIFA was founded in 1904 (fcbarcelona.com, n.d, Lanfranchi et al, 2004.). In general in Europe and South America, football started out as an activity for the social elite, who saw the importation of English pastimes as the uptake of a form of modernity (Lanfranchi et al., 2004).

While British football had become more socially inclusive of the working class, the perception of football as a sport for Anglophile elites discouraged European socialists from taking up the sport. Instead German, Austrian and French socialists preferred not to take part in the pursuits of the class enemy, turning instead to gymnastics (Wagg, 1995;

Lanfranchi et al., 2004). However, with the spread of Soviet state socialism following the end of World War Two, team sports such as football came to be seen as politically compatible with the state ideology as long as players were amateurs and state employees. Football enabled the projection of the socialist state on the world stage. Its official status as a politically-correct activity combined with its huge popularity, also ensured its continuing support from the state. Thus Moscow Dynamo was sponsored by the secret police (NKVD and KGB), Lokomotiv Leipzig by the East German state railways, Honved of Budapest by the army. The Olympics and World Cup performances by national teams were of utmost importance to the state in a status competition with non-state socialist societies (Duke, 1995: 92-102; Lanfranchi et al., 2004.).

Industry teams often sought to improve their player numbers by opening up their ranks to manual workers. This changed both the social nature of football and was a partial but not necessarily deliberate attempt at the integration of various social classes. In Brazil, the black male population who were often excluded from Brazilian society became more integrated through participation in football, initially as members of industry-based teams. Even so, the attitude towards black players has never been consistent and following Brazil's World Cup triumph in 1970, the military regime proceeded to 'whiten' the team by ensuring Pelé and other black players were excluded from the 1974 squad after winning the World Cup in 1970 for the third time (Bellos, 2002; Lanfranchi et al., 2004:51; Wagg, 1995).

Whereas Britain was keen to extract value from its colonies in the form of cheap commodities such as cotton from India, and cocoa and palm oil from Ghana, its colonists were not so keen on sharing their leisure pastimes with Africans and Asians. In order to create viable competition, the colonised elites learned football as part of their education, with

teachers finding organised sport a useful means of teaching the values of 'civilised' and sporting behaviour (Stuart, 1995; Lanfranchi et al., 2004). North African countries such as Morocco and Egypt were initially very successful at developing their play to a high standard, but the focus of African football shifted south as black African nations developed leagues and strong national teams. The 'Black Stars' of Ghana who showed much early promise were later overshadowed by national teams from Cameroon, Nigeria and Senegal. That Africans came to play the sport at all indicates a desire to become as good as or better than their colonial masters. Indeed football was important in the liberation struggles in countries such as Zimbabwe, South Africa, Ghana and Nigeria. Football clubs were among the few indigenous organisations permitted by the colonial authorities and became useful as exercises in mass organisation and mobilisation of the population (Stuart, 1995; Alegi, 2004).

International competition between African nations is keenly contested as part of the projection of their modernity and development (Stuart, 1995: 37). Nationalism features more strongly in African football than it does in Europe. Club football there is extremely strong and the wealthy club teams of Britain and Western Europe resent having to release players for international duty. National football teams in Africa team are the focus of national identity in former colonial territories made up of peoples of disparate cultural backgrounds (Stuart, 1995: 37). However, as Kuper (1994: 111) reports, football is not isolated from the wider economic context. The German technical director of the Congo national team, Joachim Fickert observed that *"football is not an island"* (quoted in Kuper, 1994:111). An inability to feed the population and afford medicine or to pay for training sessions meant that contrary to expectations that an African nation would soon win the World Cup, Fickert predicted that African football would decline due to the effects of poverty. However he

did see improved prospects for North African countries and South Africa due to their relatively more prosperous economies.

Recolonising the Core: The Periphery Exports Itself

In the FIFA World Cup of 1966, the North Korean football team were minutes away from scoring a huge upset and qualifying for the quarter finals of the tournament. Portugal, who was the colonial power in Mozambique, could therefore call on the services of Eusebio[6] to ensure a close 5-4 victory over the unlucky Koreans, who had already sent the Italians home in disgrace (Lanfranchi et al., 2004).

Eusebio is not the only star to shine from the Portuguese colonies and ex-colonies. There are approximately five thousand Brazilian professional footballers plying their trade in various leagues around the world (http://peopledatabase.southamerica.org, n.d.) showing how Brazil's football labour force has been commodified as an export industry. This depletes their domestic league of talent and drawcards, thereby reducing interest in the local product. However clubs make significant profits from the sale of player contracts to European clubs, and the poor to middle-class players are provided with much-needed income for their families (Bellos, 2002).

The World Cup provides a global showcase for players to parade their talents before massive audiences that include the scouts of professional teams on the lookout for talented players. While only one thousand Africans play professionally overseas, there will no doubt be more Africans, Asians and inevitably South Americans playing professionally

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[6] Who at that time was a rival for Brazilian Pele's title as the world's greatest player.

outside their home countries as they showcase their talents at the next World Cup in Germany in 2006.

A global labour market for football players is not a fantasy. The recruitment of players from poorer countries to play in the wealthy leagues of Europe could be an argument for the application of Wallerstein's (1974) econocentric world system theory of the periphery being 'mined' by the core. Football clubs do not only recruit from cheaper labour markets such as those in Africa and Asia. The contracts of European players with highly-priced transfer fees are still bought and sold as part of the financial and football strategies of clubs (Lanfranchi and Taylor, 2001).

The development of a global labour market has impinged on the viability of the domestic leagues in the peripheral and semi-peripheral countries. If South Americans, Africans and to a lesser extent Asians now look to European leagues to see their best players in action, the revenues for clubs and for the administration of football in these regions are depleted with domestic and international spectator interest diverted to the core countries. Generally, the flow of player labour is one-way in accordance with Wallerstein (1974), but the Japanese professional J-League has drawn some of the world's best players for some time, albeit when winding down their careers.[7] . The financial strength of Japan may be able to overcome their lack of a well-developed football tradition. The USA has also had two attempts at creating professional men's football leagues with the NASL (North American Soccer League) of the 1970s with Pelé being brought out of retirement to become the major drawcard for the league and the New York Cosmos. The NASL proved to be unsustainable in terms of revenues, audiences, quality American-born players and sound management. Following the hosting of the FIFA World Cup in 1994, Major League Soccer (MLS) was instigated as a professional men's competition,

[7] For example Gary Lineker of England, Zico of Brazil and Wynton Rufer of New Zealand.

and so far has survived competition with other established sports such as basketball, baseball and American football (Murray, 1998).[8]

FIFA: Football Goes Inter-national

The internationalisation of football from the late nineteenth century saw an eventual reconfiguration of football's bureaucracy. French sports administrators emulated the international Olympic movement by advocating the formation of FIFA and the founding of the World Cup. La Federation Internationale de Football Associations (FIFA) was founded in 1904 in Paris the aims being to coordinate the growth of the sport (Lanfranchi et al., 2004: 59). As the founders of football, neither the English nor other British Football Associations were interested in joining FIFA, instead preferring to remain convinced of their own superiority to the 'continentals'. As FIFA began to successfully co-ordinate the sport internationally, the British nations felt compelled to join and did so within a few years of FIFA's inception. The administration of the sport's rules however, partially remained with the British associations, who made up half of the International Football Association Board, with FIFA making up the other half (Lanfranchi et al, 2004).

The common theme among FIFA members was the tension between the professionalisation of the sport and its administration for the good of the game. Surprisingly, successful football nations such as Germany, Holland (wealthy/core), Brazil and Argentina (less wealthy/semi-periphery) were late converts to professionalism. Until the advent of the FIFA World Cup in 1930, the amateur Olympics were the unofficial world championships. With many of the best British players being professionals, continental and

[8] New Zealand players Ryan Nelsen and Simon Elliot of English Premier League clubs Blackburn Rovers and Fulham respectively, were recruited from MLS clubs.

South American teams dominated the Olympic finals. A tournament that unified football was needed. The first World Cup kicked-off in Uruguay in 1930, with any national team that entered being able to play. By 2002, the game had grown so prolifically that the World Cup finals have expanded from a limit of sixteen in 1974 to thirty two in 2002 with most of FIFA's 205 member associations being involved in qualification for the finals (Lanfranchi et al., 2004).

Football within the 'FIFA family' is now organised through national associations and regional confederations with FIFA as the world governing body (Lanfranchi et al., 2004, Murray, 1998). The increased number of World Cup places ensures that all regional FIFA confederations except the small Oceania Football Confederation, of which New Zealand is a member, have a guaranteed place at the Finals. However, a nation's positioning as part of the wealthy core does not guarantee football success at an international level. While England, which claims to have developed the sport, has won the World Cup only once, economically poorer Brazil has won the World Cup five times. Other winners are Italy, Germany, France, Uruguay and Argentina (Lanfranchi et al., 2004, Murray, 1998), showing that economic wealth is not a determinant to football success. It is worth noting that neither Japan, the USA nor any other Asian or African nation have won the World Cup.

Football Goes 'Global'

While Sir Stanley Rous, a former referee from England, was President, FIFA's power base was Europe and South America. It took a commercially-minded Brazilian businessman, FIFA President Jao Havelange to take FIFA into the realms of commerce, marketing and the true globalisation of the sport from the 1970s onwards. The targets for

expansion were Africa and Asia, and with the backing of sports-wear company Adidas, Havelange took football towards global market penetration. The sport now had a significant presence in all continents of the world, except Antarctica (Lanfranchi et al., 2004: 242-250). This was a deliberate policy to turn football into the world's major sport. Havelange promised funding for football associations in Africa and Asia, the expansion of World Cup places and guaranteed entry for an increased number of teams from within the African and Asian Football Confederations as well as training for coaches and referees. Havelange's successor, Sepp Blatter instituted a policy of rotating the World Cup hosting rights around different confederations and in an election bid promised Oceania one guaranteed place in the finals. This promise was later rescinded (Wagg, 1995; Sugden &Tomlinson, 1998; Lanfranchi et. al, 2004). All these actions and the recognition of the need for coaching assistance for football's 'developing' nations, from New Zealand and the USA, to those in Asia and Africa assisted in the growth and consolidation of the sport as mass activity on a global scale.

Several challenges have been seen off by FIFA. These include two world wars, the ideological split between the democratic capitalist West and state socialist countries of the Warsaw Pact and China. It managed to incorporate those with opposing political ideologies into a football world system that was found to be morally questionable, holding World Cups in Fascist Italy in 1934 and military-run Argentina in 1978 (Lanfranchi et al., 2004).

FIFA is now accommodating, facilitating and benefiting from globalised capitalism. It has two hundred and five national member associations, representing more nations than the United Nations. (FIFA.com, n.d.; Lanfranchi et al.; 2004; United Nations, n.d.). Its combination of football missionisation and commerce has seen football become not only globally

dominant as a cultural activity, but also a major commercial property with FIFA partners such as Adidas and Coca-Cola providing much of the sponsorship for the running of age group, women's and men's World Cups (Lanfranchi et. al, 2004: 290-302).

Global Imagining: The World Cup

In 1930, the first quadrennial World Cup competition was held in Uruguay, with only four countries from Europe deigning to take part. Olympic champions Uruguay won that tournament. Since then, many senior and age-group men's World Cup competitions have been held every four years (broken only by World War Two) either in Europe, South America, North America and in 2002, Asia (Lanfranchi, 2004). In 2010, Africa in the form of South Africa will for the first time, host the 2010 FIFA World Cup finals. Entrance to the men's finals has been increased from sixteen to thirty-two ensuring that representatives from every continental confederation, except Oceania are guaranteed entry. New Zealand qualified for the men's finals in 1982, after playing off against China for the final Asia-Oceania shared berth. Our last representative at a World Cup was the New Zealand women's team at the Inaugural FIFA Women's World Cup in 1991 (Hilton, 1991). The FIFA Women's World Cup tournament has also become an important feature of the sport, with keen participation from most football-playing nations, with China, the United States, Norway and Germany performing exceptionally well, showing some divergence from the domination of the men's game by South American and European countries.

The most recent FIFA World Cup, co-hosted by Japan and South Korea, was a showcase for the sport's global reach, with the final played between Nike-sponsored Brazil and Adidas-sponsored Germany. To illustrate how

much the sport has moved beyond Britain, Europe and South America, Turkey defeated South Korea in the play-off for third place (Morris, 1981: 14; Murray, 1994; Gerhard, n.d.), again showing how within international football, the relationship between nations who are part of a either a strong economic core or a core of traditionally strong football regions and international standing is broken down. However one could also argue that the squads of both Korea and Turkey have benefited from the inclusion of players with experience of playing for European clubs.

While the World Cup is FIFA's major showcase, FIFA has also spent decades promoting technical training for players, coaches and referees. In doing so it has not only spread the football gospel, but raised standards of play and administration (Lanfranchi et al., 2004).

Beyond 2002

The news that North Korea had beaten Italy 1-0 in the 1966 World Cup finals enraged many Italian supporters and on their return home, the *Azzuri* were met with a barrage of vegetables. (Wagg, 1995; Lanfranchi et al., 2004). Until 2002, that was possibly the greatest victory by a team from Asia against one of the football superpowers.

The Asian Football Confederation is the largest of all of FIFA's regional football confederations, including as it does China and India and is based in the most populous of all continents. Within FIFA's project to fully globalise football and to exploit the huge marketing opportunities of expansion in Asia, Japan and South Korea were jointly awarded the hosting rights to the 2002 FIFA World Cup (Lanfranchi et al, 2004; Murray, 1998). The tournament was a huge success despite the animosity between the hosts since the Japanese invasion of Korea in the 1930s.

That football and commerce were able to over-ride such fundamental divisions is remarkable. Perhaps almost as remarkable was that both host nations performed extremely well on the field, with Japan proceeding to the second round and South Korea coming fourth in the tournament. With some of the countries' best players being snapped up by foreign clubs, this showed how the football semi-periphery was gaining in strength.

Football has a long history in Asia, being introduced as part of the colonisation process by missionaries, teachers, soldiers and traders (Murray, 1994). By 1990, there were over fifty-four million registered players (Murray, 1994: 202). Until the good showing by the two Koreas in the FIFA World Cup, Asian national teams had mostly made little impression at international level. However, the sport has continued to grow, with Iran, Turkey, and Japan also performing well at international level. Turkey was third and South Korea fourth at the 2002 FIFA World Cup. FIFA's men's rankings list Turkey at eleventh; Japan fifteenth, Iran nineteenth and South Korea twenty-ninth. With huge populations in both China (ranked 72nd) and India (ranked 127th), the potential for the marketing of the sport is immense, but the leagues and standard of play require much improvement (FIFA.com, n.d, ranking as at November 2005). Established sports such as cricket take precedence in India and individual sports such as table tennis and badminton are extremely popular in China. In its favour, China has a top-ranked women's football team that gives the sport a high profile. The Chinese appetite for football has been whetted by teams such as Real Madrid and Manchester United undertaking pre-season tours to market their brand to the huge Asian markets (Lanfranchi et al., 2004).

Football and economics have had a curious relationship. The strength of Italian and Spanish football leagues in the 1950s to the 1970s belies the relative lack of economic prosperity in those countries during that period

(Wagg, 1995). Football in America has had a curiously precarious existence, given their economic strength and it remains to be seen whether the growing economic strength of China, Korea, Japan, India and parts of the Middle-East will result in the development of financially strong leagues and become a major part of the global football labour market.

Football Future

To be considered a truly global cultural activity, football needs to expand to under-developed markets, be more inclusive of female participation and target 'underdeveloped' football countries (such as those in North America, the Caribbean, Oceania and Central Asia) for more assistance. The area of greatest growth will perhaps be women's football, where the level of competition in some countries such as the USA, China and Germany is very high. Indeed FIFA President Joseph (Sepp) Blatter declared that *"the future of football is feminine"* (FIFA.com, n.d.).

However the future is also increasingly Asian, in terms of the potential market growth of players and spectator numbers. Asia is the world's largest continent with sixty percent of the world's population and the large markets of China and India yet to be fully penetrated by either consumerism or football. In the land of Mercedes Benz and BMW, FIFA's World Cup officials will be driving Korean Hyundai cars (FIFA.com, n.d.). Top English club Arsenal's new stadium has been named 'Emirates Stadium' after the club's Middle-Eastern sponsor. Toshiba, Emirates, and Hyundai are major sponsors of this year's World Cup (Lanfranchi et al., 242-251, FIFA.com, n.d.) in Germany. While apparently a case of the semi-periphery sponsoring the core, this also increases the visibility of these companies to global markets through the worldwide interest in such

a major sporting event. This also shows the growing economic importance and confidence of Asian companies, and the powerful role of football as a marketing vehicle for capitalist corporations whether they be from Western Europe, the United States or Asia.

Chapter Five

Peripheral Vision

Football is a truly global activity. What impact has it had on New Zealand society and culture? This chapter analyses the role of football in New Zealand society, enabling comparisons to be made with the extensive literature on football in the core countries.

Football in New Zealand Society

New Zealand was a recipient of football as part of the colonial phase of globalisation. As a British colony, New Zealand received not only British migrants, but also their culture. The two main codes of football, rugby union and association football, were imported by the colonists. However, it was rugby union that prevailed as the dominant sporting code.

Football has a long history in New Zealand. Hilton (1991) and Murray (1994:78) describe the history of the game in this country: the NZ Football Association was founded in 1891, although the first game of football was played in Auckland in 1870, possibly a combination of association and rugby football rules. While New Zealand as a British colony had a large number of English and Scots colonists who were instrumental in the establishment of association football, the association game had a hard time being accepted by the male population due to the uptake of rugby football. However, the dominance of the rugby union code was not

uncontested in the early days of the establishment of sport in this country with association football, rugby league and Australian rules codes all competing for participants.(Little, 2002:40-42).

Since then, football has struggled for a foothold in the national consciousness. Even so, it has one of the highest levels of participation of any sport in the country, with 105, 023 registered club players to rugby union's 98,543 (Little: 2002:39). Unlike many other countries, football in New Zealand has a subaltern status within society and sports media here provide saturation coverage of the culturally-dominant rugby union code. Such coverage raises the profile and status of rugby in contrast to that of all other sports. Apart from the early years of the National League in the early 1970s and in the World Cup campaign of 1981-1982, football has had a low public profile. Indeed, the New Zealand Football Association caved in to what it saw as 'reality' by renaming itself New Zealand Soccer, thus reinforcing the place of rugby as the premier 'football' code in New Zealand. Giving up the name 'football' altogether recognised the hegemonic nature of rugby union which has taken the unmarked term 'football'. This has forced association football here to adopt the crude colloquialism 'soccer' as its identifier (Little, 2002). In football's core countries, association football is culturally dominant over all other sports.

Similar to football in Britain, the recurrent themes in New Zealand football suggest a class-based analysis when comparing the status of both football and rugby union. Unlike rugby union, a number of football teams were industry-based, for example Wellington's Waterside FC (known appropriately as 'Wharfies', now Karori-Waterside), Tramways, also of Wellington and Harbour Board of Auckland, along with the clubs belonging to mining towns on the South Island's West Coast. A number of teams with the suffix 'Technical' have been winners of the Chatham Cup, for instance, Dunedin Technical, and Technical Old Boys sides from

Christchurch and Hamilton representing former pupils of working-class technical high schools. University and elite school old boys clubs form the basis of many rugby clubs, suggesting football is a working-class sport as opposed to middle and upper class involvement in rugby union (Little, 2002: 50). The place of football in mining on the West Coast of the South Island (Stockton, Denniston and Millerton), Otago (Kaitangata), Southland (Nightcaps) and Waikato (Huntly) is largely unexplored. However, football may have been more popular than a rival code such as rugby league with which these areas are popularly perceived to be more closely associated than football (Little, 2002: 44). My own experience of the football in the Hutt Valley and Wellington in the 1970s-1980s supports the working-class hypothesis. In addition I would note participation also entailed a large proportion of players who were immigrants from Europe and Britain, with significant participation from their New Zealand-born offspring also in evidence.

Social class could also have had a flow-on effect to the representation of sporting codes in the media. Male journalists are more likely to have come from an elite rugby-dominated educational background. Given the domination of local politics by those from the middle and upper classes, it is likely that one of the factors hindering the development of football in this country is the availability of grounds due to competition for the same facilities as rugby union (Little, 2002: 42-45). The issues that characterised and at times plagued the development of New Zealand football were in some sense unique, yet drew on the working-class identity of British and European males. This was oppositional to the hegemonic middle-class and upper classes' rugby culture.

New Zealand: Football on the Periphery

Geographically a long way from any other country, New Zealand football is also relatively isolated from the world scene. Using an analogy drawn from world system theory (Wallerstein, 1976), if Britain and Europe are the centre of world football, South America and Central America the semi-periphery, then New Zealand is decidedly on the periphery of the world's most popular sport. As previously discussed, it also has to contend with the high status of rugby union, and is therefore doubly peripheralised; nationally and internationally.

However far it is from the centre of world football, New Zealand is still integrated into the structure of the global game through New Zealand Soccer's membership of FIFA and its regional organisation, the Oceania Football Confederation. Scots émigré, Charlie Dempsey, as New Zealand's representative was at one time both OFC president and a member of the FIFA executive. New Zealand has also played at the finals of the men's FIFA World Cup in 1982 and at the Women's World Cup in 1991 and hosted the finals of the boys Under-Seventeen World Cup (Hilton, 1991; nzsoccer.co.nz).

New Zealand football is not so isolated that it is immune from the commercialisation of the sport. Until recently the national association was sponsored by sporting goods giant Adidas, to be replaced by the transnational Nike corporation who offered around $2 million to New Zealand Soccer, with McDonald's also significant contributors, especially to junior coaching programmes (nzsoccer.co.nz, n.d.).

New Solutions for Old Problems

Football in many countries has faced similar challenges: the establishment of the sport as a credible pastime, the formation of a national competition and the funding of the sport. As previously discussed in this chapter, the status of football in New Zealand has never been consistently high. Although regional leagues have been established for decades, a National League competition was only founded in this country in 1971. While this seems late, rugby union did not have a national competition until 1976 with the advent of the National Provincial Championship. Due to the high cost of travel between New Zealand's towns and cities, sponsorship was a vital ingredient in the funding of the League (Hilton, 1991; Little, 2002). Thus, while New Zealand football was geographically distant from major football centres, its challenges and solutions were similar to those faced by many of the world's top national club leagues: that of funding and commercialisation in order to provide a viable football league and to provide payments for players.

As with European football, the National League was based on club teams, unlike rugby union that opted for a national championship based on provincial teams. Some of the very successful clubs at a national level have been Christchurch United (who at one stage due to sponsors' naming rights were known as Trans Tours United), Gisborne City and Auckland's Mount Wellington (Hilton, 1991). This demonstrates that while major metropolitan (core) status has been an advantage, it has not always been an absolute necessity for footballing success within a small country such as New Zealand.

Connecting to the World

Even though it has one of the oldest football associations in the world, New Zealand has had little impact on the international scene. As long as football is dominated by the superstar teams and players of Europe and South America, the smaller countries of the Oceania Football Confederation such as New Zealand and the Pacific Island nations have little chance of making it onto the international stage of the FIFA World Cup. Even Australia has abandoned OFC to join Asia in an attempt to get regular international competition and take advantage of Asia's guaranteed place in the World Cup finals, whereas OFC does not have such an allocation, and often has to play-off for a place in the FIFA World Cup Finals against teams from Asia or South America (Hilton, 1991, nzsoccer.co.nz). Thus core-periphery issues affect New Zealand's access to international tournaments.

The Oceania Football Confederation has been represented twice at the FIFA World Cup[9]. Australia qualified for the World Cup once in 1974 in West Germany and while not winning a game was not embarrassed at the tournament. Somewhat surprisingly, a New Zealand side the 'All Whites' (a reference to the colour of their uniforms and also to rugby union's All Blacks) won a marathon qualification campaign, garnering popular support on the way, helped no doubt by the opposition to rugby following the divisive Springbok rugby union tour of New Zealand in 1981.

That same year I drove from Hamilton to see New Zealand grind out a hard fought win against a tough Taiwanese side at Mount Smart Stadium in 1981. The All Whites were supported by a large and enthusiastic crowd and were given rapturous applause at the end of the game by the

[9] Australia will represent the Oceania Football Confederation at the 2006 FIFA World Cup in Germany. Following that tournament it will depart OFC for the more powerful Asian Football Confederation.

delighted crowd. Many people who I worked with (some of them disgusted with rugby's pro-South Africa politics) talked excitedly about the prospects of a New Zealand team appearing at the World Cup and were impressed with the 'manly' way in which the All Whites dealt with the skilful Taiwanese. Temporarily the profile and status of football grew as the hegemony of rugby union was challenged.

The New Zealand 'All Whites' teams that went to the World Cup finals was a team made up of a mixture of New Zealand-born and British and Irish players, reflecting the composition of players in the men's game at that time (Hilton, 1991). Seventeen year-old Wynton Rufer, who later became a superstar in the late 1980s with champion West German club Werder Bremen, was one of the few with Maori heritage, being of Ngati Porou and Swiss parentage. Rufer eventually returned to New Zealand, using his knowledge and international connections to help improve the standard of play in this country and to create access for New Zealand junior teams to international tournaments.

Since their brief appearance on the global stage of the World Cup in 1982, the All White's appearances at major international tournaments have been limited. This has reinforced New Zealand's peripheral status in world football. However this fallow period has been briefly punctuated by sporadic success. Major achievements for the men's international team since 1982 have been the qualification for the Confederations Cup finals twice as Oceania Champions, each time having to beat arch-rivals Australia to qualify. Although not as prestigious as the World Cup, the champion nations of each confederation meet in a tournament, similar to a truncated version of the World Cup.

New Zealand has made few forays into globally important tournaments. However, the football world has come to New Zealand in the form of the

finals of the FIFA Under-Seventeen World Championship. FIFA specifically use these tournaments to promote the sport in non-core countries, hence host countries tend to be in Asia and Africa (FIFA.com, n.d; Lanfranchi et al., 2004). Thus New Zealand has participated in FIFA's plans to make football the globally dominant sport, showing that the football periphery is important to FIFA's globalisation project.

The 'McDonaldisation' of NZ Football?

The peripheral nature of football in New Zealand has created problems for players similar to those faced by players and administrators in other non-core countries. Players who want to play professionally in top competitions must leave the country. While no New Zealand players have managed to measure up to the high standards set by Wellington's Wynton Rufer in becoming a major star in European Football, some have become established at high levels of the sport.[10] Around thirty New Zealand male players also ply their trades in the lower divisions of English, Continental, American and Australian football, with a smaller number of women also playing professionally outside of New Zealand (nzsoccer.co.nz, n.d.). Without a viable football career in New Zealand, both the players and New Zealand Soccer feel it is better for the best players to improve their skills and earn a living overseas thereby also integrating New Zealand players into the global football labour market. While this is laudable in terms of player development it has deprived the game here of its best players, with a resultant drop in spectator support, thus reinforcing the peripheral nature of football in New Zealand.

[10] Such as former Central United player Ivan Vicelich at Roda JC in the Dutch first division, and Ryan Nelsen, at Blackburn Rovers in the English Premier League and Simon Elliot of Fulham in the English Premier League.

With the above issues in mind, New Zealand Soccer launched the New Zealand Football Championship in October 2004. The model loosely resembles that of the American sports business: a top-down approach with sports 'franchises', not community-based clubs. However the New Zealand versions are not profit-making ventures. Franchise bidders had to bid for a licence from New Zealand Soccer, pay a substantial fee of $45,000 to enter the competition, have adequate financial backing and approved spectator facilities. Eight franchises were approved, with the aim of concentrating football talent in a few teams, while spreading interest around the country by awarding franchises to Auckland (Auckland City and Waitakere United), Waikato (Waikato Football Club), Manawatu (Young Heart Manawatu), Hawkes Bay (Hawkes Bay Football Club), Wellington (Team Wellington), Canterbury (Canterbury United), and Otago (Otago United). This created a semblance of provincial representation and hopefully parochial interest (nzsoccer.co.nz, n.d.), similar to rugby union's National Provincial Championship. Apart from Auckland City, (the inaugural championship winner) whose backer is Central United Football Club, all other franchises were awarded to conglomerate bids of joint clubs and commercial organizations, which was New Zealand Soccer's aim. Auckland City was the inaugural champion. Reportedly, the quality of football in the new franchise league is an improvement over that of the former National League as were the facilities and attendance figures (nzsoccer.co.nz, n.d.).

It remains to be seen whether a model based on a standardised managerial system will prevail. Apart from the Chatham Cup, clubs no longer have a vehicle for their projection on the national stage. With NZFC franchise Auckland City representing New Zealand in the Oceania finals of the recent World Club Championship, clubs can no longer project themselves onto a world stage, and are instead relegated to regional competitions and feeders to NZFC teams. This will impact on attendances

at club matches, resulting in drops in revenue and affecting the viability of clubs.

The other avenue for footballers to progress to a professional football career, and intersect with the sport transnationally is through the new Australian A-League, in which the New Zealand Knights franchise has a licence. Largely owned by South African businessman Brian Katzen and coached by the former coach of the 1982 World Cup heroes, the Knights have yet to take shape as a winning force, even though they are a multinational team with only five of the squad being New Zealanders, the rest being European, Australian and Asian imports (nzknights.co.nz, n.d.). Thus, a team purporting through its name, at least, to represent New Zealand, is made up largely of transnational professionals and becoming less distinguishable from commercially-oriented football clubs in Europe, or other sports franchises in America than our local amateur clubs. This clearly shows that New Zealand also constitutes part of the global football labour market.

Partial Commodification

The men's National League of the 1970s was regularly televised, giving football a high profile. The highest point of that profile came in 1982 when the New Zealand men's team qualified for the World Cup finals in Spain (Hilton, 1991). However since then only sporadic efforts have been made to present a marketable product for the projection of the game beyond players and the limited spectatorship at football grounds. Football authorities have largely been unable to convince television executives of the worth of televised football. While rugby has reached near year-round saturation coverage of its professional games in all mass media, New Zealand football struggles to find a market for a highlights package of the

season-old New Zealand Football Championship. Whereas football in some countries has been so commodified that spectators cannot afford to go to games or afford SKY subscriptions, New Zealand Football conversely suffers from too little commodification and media projection.

A Not So Gentle Touch

No discussion of football in any country would be complete without mentioning the role of women's football. While most of my discussion has privileged the male game, this is because it is much better documented than women's football. However, women's football, although numerically smaller than the men's game, has a higher international ranking than the All Whites with New Zealand women's national team currently ranked number twenty-one out of one hundred and twenty nations (nzsoccer.co.nz, :n.d.). 1991 was the last time a New Zealand team played in the World Cup finals, and the honour went to the women's team, who like the men in 1982, lost every game in the finals (nzsoccer.co.nz, :2005).

Cox and Thompson (2004) documented the struggle of women's football to gain recognition in New Zealand, noting the male domination of the sport and the lack of funding for women's football. The development of women's football in New Zealand lags behind overseas trends. Norway, Germany, China, the USA have highly competitive leagues and are highly ranked at international level (Lanfranchi et al., 2004) and some New Zealand players such as Michelle Cox and more recently Amber Hearn have played professionally in Europe, China or England (nzsoccer.co.nz, n.d), showing that New Zealand female players are also valued as part of the global football labour market.

Women's football in New Zealand is steadily improving in quality and status. The New Zealand Women's Football Association was formed in 1975, but merged with New Zealand Soccer in recent years and has taken some time to emerge as an integral part of the sport in this country (Cox and Thompson, 2004). The structure of women's football includes a national league, although unlike the men's game it is based on regional federations rather than franchises and is sponsored by Australian firm Uncle Toby's. (nzsoccer.co.nz, n.d.). Former international Michelle Cox was recently appointed as New Zealand Soccer's Head of Women's Football with the aim being to develop women's football as an elite sport in New Zealand and to become the dominant force in Oceania (nzsoccer.co.nz, n.d.). No doubt this is enhanced by the withdrawal of Australia from OFC and thus increases New Zealand's chances of qualification for the next Women's World Cup. New Zealand Soccer is making amends for the sexist treatment of women in the past, in accordance with FIFA's directives to foster the growth of women's football. In this sense the direction of football's global bureaucracy has had a beneficial effect for the women's game here. This reflects a trend towards the true globalisation of football by being inclusive of both genders.

Clubs and Identity

Football clubs form the basis of competitive football in most countries. Players, amateur or professional, plus managers, members and supporters have an affiliation with a club. In New Zealand, most clubs are amateur in ethic, but not necessarily so in the quality of their organisation. Clubs are comprised of people dedicated to playing and administering the game they love. Membership is often drawn from the surrounding area,

and most clubs were founded for the purpose of giving local people a club to play for and a local team to support. In this sense, they are a form of community. The other sense of community is one based on shared cultural identity or ethnicity, such as the former Hungaria and Adriatic (Dalmatian) clubs of Wellington, the 'Olympic' and Christian Youth FC teams (both Greek in origin), Londoners from Wellington's Mercantile League and the original Central Soccer Club of Auckland, founded by Dalmatian immigrants which is now known as Central United F.C (Hilton, 1991; centralunited.co.nz, n.d.).

In Chapter Five I discussed issues of social class in New Zealand football. Most successful clubs have been, like Mount Wellington and Central United, located in urban working-class areas. However, similar to the suburban growth of the game in the USA, participation has been stimulated by a reported middle-class 'white-flight', where boys have been encouraged by their parents to take up football at a young age to avoid playing rugby with much larger Polynesian children (Little, 2002: 47). The entry of large numbers of girls into the sport, who are permitted to play in an open competition until the age of thirteen when they must join a gender-specific team, is an interesting development. If the structure is in place to encourage the participation and retention of women, this will boost player numbers, gender equality and the quality of the sport in this country.

As a member of FIFA and OFC, New Zealand has long been connected to the international footballing community, if somewhat peripherally. However, it is currently constrained by a lack of funds and has few international matches lined up for its All Whites and women's teams. There is also tension between the community-based clubs that form the backbone of the game here and the franchises of the NZFC. If spectators and club members identify with clubs rather than a conglomerate

franchise, then the support base of both will be eroded. This is based on a premise that supporters want to see top-level football and yet crave success for the clubs with they identify themselves. There is some involvement of New Zealand players in the global football labour market which has drained the sport here of some of its best players. However, as a generalisation, New Zealand football remains largely on the periphery both nationally and internationally. This may only be alleviated with success on the international stage for both men's and women's teams.

Chapter Six

True Colours

> Sports...help to define moral and political community. They are vehicles of identity, providing people with a sense of difference and a way of classifying themselves and others... (MacClancy, 1996:2).

Football connects with its fans in many ways. For many, football clubs create a sense of community by bringing fans together in support of 'their' club. Identity as a fan of a club or national team is also important to many supporters as part of their self-identity and cultural identity. This chapter investigates how football acts as vehicle for the formation of community through a discussion of ethnographic research conducted at top Auckland football club, Central United. Some of this material is excerpted from my research paper *Yellow Fever: Stories of a Soccer Community* (McAdam, 2004). How football supports the identity of its fans is also introduced by focussing on a Rangers-Celtic derby in Glasgow: a very powerful display of the politics of identity in Scottish football and society.

Yellow Fever: Football and Community

"Pressure yeeellow, yellow, yeeellow!" The call rang out from somewhere, accompanied by the beating of a rhythm on a drum. Central United Football Club was playing North Shore United in the National League at Central's home ground in Auckland. From the embankment above the ground, I scanned the game and the crowd. The game itself was

quite scrappy, with only a few periods of constructive play. However, the exotic looks of some of the spectators and players, along with their Slavonic accents made the crowd seem more interesting than the football. There were also spectators of African and Pacific Island origins and I could hear New Zealand, English and Scots accents. The crowd of spectators seemed more cosmopolitan than the audiences at classical music concerts or indeed at any rugby test match I had attended. The crowd was comprised of a wide range of ages and there were nearly as many female supporters as there were male supporters, many of whom were wearing Central's yellow club scarf. It was obvious from the interaction of many of the supporters that they knew each other well. A few North Shore supporters wore their maroon scarf or a club jacket. With around one thousand people crammed into the small ground, there was a real 'buzz' of excitement even if the football was not of the best quality.

There were further signs of support. Advertising hoardings around the ground showed Central United's support from the Croatian and Dalmatian cultural societies, and Dalmatian-owned businesses. A property behind the southern goal was proudly flying Central's flag, and there were a number of spectators wildly yelling their support for Central. I spied one man there who was avidly banging on what appeared to be an empty ten litre plastic paint pail. It was he who was yelling out in support of his team: "Pressure yeeellow, yellow, yeeellow!" My eyes and ears worked overtime taking it all in.[11]

The above recounts the first time I attended a match at Central United Football Club in February 2003. While the football was unremarkable I was excited at seeing such a cosmopolitan crowd at a match. Even more, I noted the friendly relationships that people had as they gathered in groups around the sidelines and talked to each other in the stands. I wondered for the first time if this or other clubs could be categorised as a community. My previous experience in football had been as a player, and while we sometimes socialised together, I had not given much thought to

[11] This was compiled from notes written for my ethnographic research project on this club (McAdam, 2004) but did not feature in the written ethnography.

conceptualising it as anything more than a football club where we focussed on an activity we enjoyed. Perhaps the etic perspective of the observer is most useful when analysing social activities. Certainly as I became more enmeshed in the research and drew on my own experiences, I found it difficult to establish a critical assessment of the sport and of the material I had gathered. I understood for the first time that football was not merely a sport. Its attraction is its emotional appeal, a feeling of community and belonging and the identification of the self with one's favourite sport and team. In this sense it is socially integrative (Lever, 1984[1995]: ix).

Following my first attendance at one of Central United's home games, I attended a few more where the quality of football was superb and began to feel that Central United was also 'my' club. I felt elated when they won and the complete opposite when they lost. I was so enthused by the experience and the possibilities for anthropological understanding, that I later went on to undertake ethnographic research at this club for a post-graduate research project entitled *Yellow Fever: Stories of a Soccer Community* completed in 2004 (McAdam, 2004). In approaching the club about the possibility of conducting research, I introduced myself to club members as a Central United fan, which by that stage was quite true, and as a researcher who found the club so interesting that he wanted to work with club members to document and analyse the club' s history and culture. Highly delighted with my approach the club President was keen for me start there and then. However, research took most of the season, consisting of participant-observation at fourteen matches, all except one at Central's home ground, plus a number of semi-structured interviews with club members.

Research Findings

Central United was founded in 1962 by male immigrants from the then Yugoslav region of Dalmatia. These young men would meet at weekends, enjoying each others' company and being able to converse easily in their own language rather than their stilting English. As most of the young men were keen footballers, they founded the club as a focus for their developing community and eventually their membership broadened so much that the Dalmatian element of the club now constitutes around ten percent of the club membership. However, the club committee and the club's 'culture', reflects a strong Dalmatian element (Antunovich, Personal Interview, 14 August 2003; Ruane, n.d.; Vuksich Personal Interview 14 August 2003).

At my first meeting with the club's President, Ivan Vuksich, he talked of the ways in which the club acted as a focus for its members: *"It brings people together",* he explained (Ivan Vuksich, Personal Communication, 2 June 2003). A few months later I interviewed him for my research paper (McAdam, 2004). He was keen to stress the balance between the sporting and social sides of the club.

> ...football is number one, but the meeting place aspect, the social side, is important. The football is not enough for people in their fifties and sixties – you've got to have something else. Even for the younger people, you've got to have more than that. If you can add that to it, you'll get more people at the club. At the same time, they'll get some benefit out of it. (Ivan Vuksich, Personal Interview, 14 August 2003).

Some of the other members I interviewed or talked to informally also stressed the community-oriented nature of the club giving examples of

lunching together before matches and the ways in which members banded together to help build the clubrooms and redevelop the playing surface (Davor Antunovich, Personal Interview, 9 August 2003; Tony Vlatkovich, Personal Interview 15 August 2003; Ivan Vuksich, Personal Interview, 14 August 2003)

Tony Vlatkovich, the club's lawyer, long-standing member and current player also stressed the community-based nature of the club:

> It's a total community feeling. If you've sat there and got there early and had a meal, brilliant! And the same sort of feeling goes right through. I don't know of any other club in Auckland that has that same sort of thing...You look at Central – it's different. People are there Thursday nights, Saturdays and Sundays...they're all there and their sons have either played or are playing, and the grandchildren are filtering through the junior ranks as well.
> (Tony Vlatkovich, Personal Interview, 15 August 2003).

It was these responses from club members that led me to the conceptualisation of this club as a community, at least from the perspective of the Dalmatian club members whom I interviewed.

When Scotsman Colin Cook joined Central in the early 1980s from another club he noted the close bonds that the players had:

> Most of them were Dally guys and they knew each other and did everything together. They used to work out their differences on the pitch and there would be punch-ups at training...and then they'd have a beer afterwards. It was just like a family in a way...

However for him the main attraction of the club was not the community aspect (which seemed to appeal most to members with Dalmatian

heritage), nor did he express any views on the club's status as a type of community. Instead, he was attracted by the passion that the members had for the game:

> The spectators were very excitable and could be critical. But there's a nice atmosphere and everyone's mad about football. It's like a real football club.

With second and third generation membership from some families (Tony Vlatkovich, Personal Interview, 15 August 2005) an argument could be developed for club membership as a form of enculturation not only into football but into the 'community' and culture of the club. Perhaps as Bourdieu (1984) argues, there is a predisposition towards certain activities due to upbringing and social class. Part of that 'upbringing' may happen through sport. .If the football club reflects the values of its members a form of 'habitus' (Bourdieu, 1984: 101) may develop as newer members are inducted into the club and learn the values of existing club members.. Although this has the appearance of a functionalist argument, as a coach I certainly used to stress values to my young players: the need to operate as a team, helping each other out and the need to think about others. As representatives of their club they also needed to behave in a sporting manner, playing hard and never giving up, but being gracious in victory or defeat. Community then, may also be reproductive, but like any social grouping cannot be regarded as a closed system. The concept of community may provide one explanation for the huge popularity of football nationally and globally.

'Community' is a concept that is difficult to define. It has often been seen as being comprised of small-scale societies (Barnard & Spencer, 114-115). . Modern conceptions of 'community' see it grounded in discrete geographical areas, sometimes in ethnicity, for example immigrant communities, sometimes on shared interest (such as the 'motor racing

community'), sometimes as a shared social system or even the bringing together of people through shared ideas or lifestyles (such as a religious community, for example the 'Muslim community'). (Barnard & Spencer, 1996: 114-117; Jary & Jary, 2000: 92-94). Barnard & Spencer (1996: 116) argue that anthropologists continue studying 'community' as this is what their 'subjects' articulate that they live in and value highly. Cohen (1985 in Barnard & Spencer, 1996: 115-116) regards community as symbolic worlds with which members feel a sense of belonging. The community acts as a source of identity and contributes to a sense of selfhood. This also brings into play the integration of self/others – a kind of personalised local/global construct. However 'community' is defined, it is a concept that is in common usage to describe a group with which feel a sense of belonging.

Fiona, a friend of my wife's who was visiting from London, knew exactly what I was talking about when I discussed how some of Central United's Dalmatian members described their club as a community (Davor Antunovich, Personal Interview 9 August, 2003, Ivan Vuksich, Personal Communication, 2 June 2003, Personal Interview, 14 August, 2003). Several generations of her family had supported north-London team, Tottenham Hotspurs and she explained they identified strongly with the club[12]. It was something the family shared among themselves and with others especially in the surrounding area, showing that the idea of football communities is not unique to Central United.

While community is often thought to break down following urbanisation (Jary and Jary, 2000) football clubs are one way in which new communities are constituted. My ethnographic study of Central United illustrated this point. Perhaps as Lever (1983[1995]:3-4) also suggests,

[12] Due to the numbers of Hassidic Jews resident in the area, Tottenham supporters (mainly Gentiles) are subjected to anti-semitic abuse. They have therefore taken on a Jewish identity as part of the resistance to anti-semitism by parodying this and calling themselves the 'Yid Army.' (Foer, 2004:80).

the shared ritual of sports matches creates social solidarity. Thus an urban sporting organisation contributes to the formation of community, to urban cohesiveness as well as a sense of inclusion for existing and new members.

"Kill the Fenian Bastards!":
Football and the Politics of Identity.

My hypothesis that Scotland has never had consistently good national football teams while for a hundred years it produced the best players in Britain, hinges on the historical divisions within Scottish society. These divisions include those between the Highland clans, divisions between Anglicised Lowlanders and Gaelic Highlanders and Islanders, between Catholic and Protestant, and between rural and urban areas, rich and poor and the landed aristocracy and their tenants. Nowhere else are the divisions in Scottish society more evident than at a Rangers-Celtic match (or from an Irish Catholic perspective, a Celtic-Rangers match).

Glasgow is a city that did very well out of Scotland's inclusion in Britain and the British Empire. Its wealth was founded on trade and ship-building, culminating in a population drawn from all over Scotland, with a large Irish immigrant community who mainly worked in the shipyards or on construction projects. The Catholicism of the Irish clashed with the largely Protestant, entrepreneurial pro-British capitalism of the city's elite. Glasgow was also a hotbed of proletarian socialism, but even so, many Protestant Glaswegians were also suspicious of the 'Papist' Irish Catholics (Foer, 2004: 44-46)

Glasgow's major football clubs, Rangers and Celtic, are often referred to as 'The Old Firm' (Rangers FC, n.d.). On the face of this seems a strange symbiotic relationship. Rangers are representative of Protestant British Unionism in opposition to Celtic which represents the Irish Republican Catholic immigrant minority (Finn, 2000: 54-99). 'The Old Firm' epithet acknowledges the domination that the two clubs have had over Scottish football for over one hundred years. It also recognises that their fierce rivalry is good for business. Parochialism and sectarianism and the politics of identity not only ensure that club supporters avidly support their club, but that the rivalry is exported to Ireland, America and British Commonwealth countries with Scottish and Irish populations. The supporters who come over from Ireland to attend matches between the fierce rivals, and who buy the merchandise including club shirts and scarves which they wear to matches and as casual wear, the lucrative television rights and commercial sponsorship, all ensure that business is good for both clubs who regularly share the spoils of the Scottish Premier League and Scottish FA Cup (Finn, 2000-54-99).

'Share' is perhaps too nice a word. 'Wrest' is more appropriate, for even 'The Old Firm' does not like to make life too easy for either of its members and the competition between the two clubs is fierce. With a virtual duopoly on the Scottish League, both clubs made overtures to the English premier league about leaving Scottish football and joining the more lucrative English competition, before being rebuffed and returning their foci on a revised Scottish Premier League (Kuper, 1994: 205-219)

With my family in Scotland being Glasgow Protestants, it was inevitable that at some stage one of their number would desert the amateurs of Glasgow's south-side, Queen's Park, to become a passionate follower of leading professional club, Rangers. In 1984, my family connection allowed me to me to experience a Rangers-Celtic match. I write

'experience' as one does not merely attend one of these fiercely-contested local derbies; you experience it, as the football is a forum for the expression of passion, loathing and identity.

I attended the game with my cousin, Alan and some of his friends, one of whom had come up from England for the match. They were all Rangers supporters. Sitting in the huge stand at Ibrox, Rangers' home ground, my hearing was assaulted by one nearby lunatic continually and rabidly yelling *"Kill the Fenian Bastards",* while the Rangers supporters' reply to the chants of *"Celtic"* was a much more eloquent *"Shite".* It became a contest of who could yell the loudest. The football was poor, with the players seemingly trying to break each others' legs rather than scoring goals. The stands were packed and the spectators were chanting, most of which I could not make out the words. I imagined it being rather like Belfast without the shooting. A number of Irish tricolour flags waved in the Celtic section, with many of their spectators dressed in replica Celtic green and white hooped football shirts. Rangers' spectators wore blue, white and red colours, and waved Rangers as well as the Scottish saltire flag and the British Union Jack. What stuck in my mind was the behaviour of the crowd, the constant noise and the heavy police presence. As I later described to some friends back in New Zealand, there was more action in the stands than there was on the field. In the end I recollect Celtic won the match, with the chanting and yelling contest perhaps being drawn.

I remember my cousin and his friends being quite philosophical about the loss. Their main concern was to get out of the stadium and into Alan's car safely. Wisely, they all removed their Rangers scarves and hid them in their jacket pockets to avoid any confrontations with Celtic supporters on the way out of the stadium. Twenty years later, my memory of the football has faded while images of the competition between rival spectators remains vividly etched on my memory.

Even in 1984, Rangers had recruited some English players, but at that stage no Catholics. The first 'Catholic' player in the Rangers squad was Maurice Johnston, recruited by manager Graeme Souness. This was no attempt at merely changing Rangers' image as a sectarian Protestant club. Chairman David Murray realised football was changing, becoming more globalised, with The Old Firm becoming more oriented towards lucrative European competitions such as the Champions League. The appeal of Johnston a former Celtic player was not to widen the fan base but to attract sponsors who might formerly have been scared off by Rangers' sectarian reputation (Kuper, 1994: 208-209).

Twenty years later both Old Firm clubs comprise trans-national professionals and play few Scots or Irish players (Celtic, n.d; Rangers, n.d). Some doubts have been expressed about the lack of understanding of the occasion by some players who felt that an Old Firm clash is just another match. However the Unionist-Protestant identity remains strong for the supporters (Sandvoss, 2003:128-129). In the televisual representation of Rangers and in Rangers own website this signification has been eliminated (Rangers, n.d.; Sandvoss, 2003:129).

The cosmopolitanism of both Rangers and Celtic is strangely reminiscent of FC Barcelona, the Spanish champions and representatives of Catalan nationalism. This nationalism is projected through the highly cosmopolitan team, nationally and internationally. The success of the club is most important to its owners, the club members. The fact that this is achieved by trans-national football professionals projects FC Barcelona as cosmopolitan, modern and successful. A win by Barcelona is a symbolic challenge to the authority of Madrid. If foreigners can achieve this, so be it: they are adopted Catalans who are representing the city and the region of Catalonia (Foer, 2004, 193-216).

Sandvoss (2003) is sceptical of the localised significance of clubs from the wealthy core regions:

> ...football clubs located in the core regions of global consumerism are generally those that have reached the highest degree of semiotic emptiness, and referentlessness, while clubs on the semi-periphery and periphery of global consumerism continue to be of direct political, cultural or social signification value. (Sandvoss, 2003: 128).

However these assumptions cannot be supported by observations such as mine at Rangers Football Club[13], by research at FC Barcelona (for example Kuper, 1994: 85-92) or Athletic Bilbao (MacClancy, 1996) or indeed Sandvoss' own analysis of Rangers Football Club (Sandvoss, 2003: 128-129). With capitalism and the global labour market having made substantial inroads to changing the player representation on the field, it becomes obvious that the identity wars of The Old Firm are still marketed to supporters, even though this is no longer represented on the field of play (Finn, 2000: 54-99).

For clubs in the wealthy core, their significance is no less than that of clubs in peripheral or semi-peripheral regions. Their significance is more complex, that is all. The difference is that while the local signification is extremely strong for non-core clubs, this signification may still remain strong for core region clubs and be magnified by projection to wider audiences. The signification then may change to a form of deterritorialised identification or significance not as a symbol of a highly localised but struggling local club, but as a reference point for a successful global brand or capitalist sports business. The latter two are no less

[13] In 1998 versus Kilmarnock. There were only two Scots player in Rangers' squad.

significant than the signification provided by clubs that have little projection beyond their locality.

A case in point is that of the much-celebrated but also much-maligned Manchester United. While it has grown to become a global brand and a signifier of the most cynical sports business, for its local fans it is highly significant in terms of community and identity and emotional attachment. However, some fans from Salford in Manchester regard themselves as 'genuine' Manchester United fans, in opposition to those attracted to the projected image of the club as a successful transnational football club and business. (King, 2000: 439).

Football clubs allow the creation of a city or regional identity. King (2000: 423-424) argues that like Geertz's analysis of a Balinese cock fight, the story of Europe and how it is structured economically and socially is told through its football clubs. Dominance and marginality are expressed through European competitions such as the UEFA Champions League. In addition to establishing a relativisation of clubs and their host cities across Europe, European club competition becomes inter-city competition. Interests and identities then become increasingly connected to the city rather than the nation, creating a kind of post-national identity (King, 2000). I should note that regionalism or parochialism is not a new development within any nation-state. However some football fans clearly enunciate a preference for club over country, including Manchester United supporters who indicated a preference for their club to win and ambivalence over the importance of the national team. Citing the north-south divide in England, they claim national identity has been appropriated by the south, with their club and city as truer representations of their own identities (King, 2000: 429).

Maguire et al (2002:103) and Finn and Giulianotti (2000: 256-282) describe the importance of football clubs as the focus of communities and hence illustrative of localism rather than globalisation: they act as sources of identity, a focus for economic rejuvenation and the sharing of a common passion for the local team. As an example, FC Barcelona is owned, not by wealthy industrialists, but by its members. The club is also a focus for Catalan identity and resistance in Castilian-dominated Spain (Maguire et al, 2002:106). American journalist and (football fan) Franklin Foer documented his visit to Barcelona, commenting on the place of the club in Catalan society. It is, he writes, a cosmopolitan club that espouses the Catalan cause. Indeed, some of Barcelona's non-Catalan players such as the great Dutch placer, Johann Cruyff, and Hristo Stoichkov of Bulgaria expressed Catalan nationalist sentiments in a display of the trans-nationalisation of the highly-localised (Foer, 2004: 207-211). However, the clubs players are not required to be Catalans or Catalan nationalists, but highly-skilled professionals who are committed to the club and the region. Thus, even foreign imports are utilised to project Barcelona and Catalonia as modern, cosmopolitan and successful (Foer, 2004: 200). The FC Barcelona website builds upon this, imploring prospective members to join, the aim being to make Barcelona *"the biggest and best football club in the world."* (fcbarcelona.com, n.d.)

Barcelona's fierce rivals, Real Madrid, are the highly-successful team from the Spanish capital being multiple winners of the European Cup, the former premium competition for European football teams (realmadrid.com, n.d.). While representing Spanish centralism, they also employ a team of trans-national professionals that includes five Brazilians.[14] (realmadrid.com, n.d.) Thus Barcelona and Real Madrid are examples of the globalisation of localism, and the localisation of a global football labour force.

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[14] Ronaldo, Roberto Carlos, Julio Baptista, Cicinho and Robinho.

Finn and Giulianotti (2000:256-282) also argue that football clubs have historically allowed the display of social identity. Athletic Bilbao acts as a form of Basque identifier within Castilian-dominated Spain: unlike FC Barcelona, the players are Basques, or non-Basques who grew up in the Basque region (Maguire 2002:190-191; McAdam, 2004). The above discussion is highly relevant to the conceptualisation of a football club as a form of localised community and source of identity.

'Identity' is a somewhat nebulous term. Barnard and Spencer (1996: 292) define identity as having two facets: firstly, identity as self-identity and sense of self and uniqueness and secondly they describe identity as qualities of sameness in associating or identifying with those who share common characteristics such as 'ethnic identity'. They also discuss the way in which people assign and identify with roles. Examples of this could well be an identity as the supporter of a particular club or national football team and one's role being that of 'club supporter'. Cognitively, they argue, people classify themselves as 'types' and draw self-esteem from a sense of self and belonging.

Football fandom or active participation fulfils all these elements, providing a valuable support to the development and maintenance of identity. A Rangers-Celtic match makes one aspect of the construction of identity obvious. Identity can be defined by what one is opposed to, similar to a Levi-Straussian binary opposition. Yet, the same construction of identity as a supporter of one club and in opposition to the other would be weaker, if one of these clubs ceased to exist. While the politics of identity are played out on the football pitches of Glasgow, we see not only the construction of identity born out of opposition, but of complementarity between two seemingly opposed forces.

Community, Identity and Resistance

The purchase of the world's richest club, England's Manchester United Football Club, by American billionaire Malcolm Glazer (manchesterunited.com, n.d., Forbes.com, n.d.) shows how a professional football club may be first and foremost a business and only secondly a signifier of identity for fans. I would have to concede that the fans may posit the reverse. The purchase of a club supported by local and international fans, with a first team of transnational professionals and local recruits, ironically illustrates both global and local tendencies and is highly indicative of tendencies in football towards the globalisation of particularism, leading towards a kind of 'glocalisation' (Robertson, 1992: 173-174).

A significant number of Manchester United fans were highly displeased by the purchase of the club by Glazer. This is evidenced by the founding of a new club, FC United (Football Club United of Manchester), to represent new fans with a membership-owned club that cannot be sold, especially to an American 'carpet-bagger'. Interestingly FC United do not disparage commercialisation. The new club seeing this as a pragmatic way to fund a football club beyond membership donations (there is no set fee) but the club seeks sponsorship to defray its expenses of running a squad of players, hiring a football manager and paying its players a small amount. Supporters of the new club vary from the virulently anti-Glazer, to those who support both clubs, being unable to give up on Manchester United, (fcunited.co.uk, n.d) not as a brand but as their identity and as a kind of *marae* or place where they feel a sense of belonging. Thus the principles of commodification are not challenged, just the extent. However, the ownership of the symbol and source of community and identity is very

much the issue, once the club's supporters feel disenfranchised by the source of community and identity.

As vehicles for the construction of community and identity (MacClancy, 1996: 2) football clubs also create a sense of ownership by supporters. If that sense of ownership is challenged by a corporate takeover of the club, resistance to the club may result in a loss of support or lack of credibility for the club as a community organisation. This may also affect sponsor-club relations due to the negative publicity over the sale of the club and the reduction of local signification.

Chapter Seven

Brand it Like Beckham:
Football as Commodity

In Chapter 4, I showed how football was commodified within a few years of its inception as a codified sport. This commodification drove the expansion of the sport to become an element of global culture, with immense economic, social and cultural significance for the sport, its participants and those drawn into an economic relationship with football. In Chapter 5 I showed how football in New Zealand is also subject to commodification. This chapter investigates the commodification of football through the medium of television and the development of football's global labour market.

Commodification

Consumerism and commodification are hallmarks of industrial and post-industrial societies. Some societies such as those of Western Europe, the former colonies of North America, Australia, New Zealand and parts of Asia and South America produce enough of an economic surplus to be able to afford to commodify cultural activities that do not support the necessities of life. These include the arts, dance, crafts and sport. Ironically, some people even pay considerable amounts of money to attend gymnasia to keep fit, while eschewing manual occupations for

higher status sedentary occupations. Thus the displacement of manual work by commodified 'exercise' is a signifier of the social class who have disposable income for the consumption of non-essential goods and services.

'Commodification' is the act of production specifically for a market, especially if the product previously had no exchange value (for example amateur sport that becomes professionalised and commodified by way of charging a ground entry fee) (Featherstone, 1991: 16; Jary & Jary, 2000: 89). The spectacle of many sports has been commodified. These sports include baseball, tennis, golf, cricket, rugby union, rugby league, hurling, Gaelic football, association football, Australian Rules football, Canadian football, athletics, basketball, American football, boxing, *muay thai*, netball and ice hockey to name a few (Maguire et al., 2002; Smith and Westerbeek, 2003) . The commodification is not only through selling tickets to matches but through commercial sponsorship, advertising, merchandising, television rights and selling player contracts to other teams (Smith and Westerbeek, 2004).

Most of the participants of the above-named sports do not earn their living from these sports, but are amateurs. However even they participate in the political economy of their sport by buying commercially-produced sports gear such as golf clubs, running shoes, football boots, tennis rackets and consume the professional product either *in situ* or through the media of television, newspapers, magazines, the internet and radio.

The Commodification of Football

Football with its rules and clubs with managers, boards, shareholders, coaches and professional players, took on the form of a capitalist

enterprise in its formative years. The product was the spectacle of the football match, a commodity to be consumed as entertainment by football consumers. Professionalism also demanded the commercialisation of the game to maximise financial returns. Football is a prime example of a leisure activity that became professionalised by the paying of its players and commodified through the charging of an entry fee to watch the sporting spectacle.

The commodification of football has developed beyond merely selling tickets to spectators. Banks (2005) reports that Spanish club Real Madrid's revenue in the year ending 30 June 2005 was received in the following manner: match-day receipts, twenty-five percent (£48 million); television rights, twenty four percent (£45 million), pre-season tours, eight percent (£15 million), with the most significant proportion of the club's income coming from sponsorship and merchandising at forty-one percent (£78 million). Manchester United made handsome profits as a publicly listed company in the United Kingdom through the commodification of nearly everything to do with the club (matches, pay television channels, sponsorship, finance, player transfers, television rights, club tours outside of England, merchandising). The company proved so attractive to the business world that media tycoon Rupert Murdoch on behalf of BSKYB offered £1 billion for the purchase of the club. After Murdoch's bid was rejected by British regulatory agencies, Malcolm Glazer, owner of the Tampa Bay Buccaneers American football team in Florida bought the club as a private concern, delisting it from the stock exchange (Forbes.com, n.d; manchesterunited.com, n.d.; Sandvoss, 2003: 69).

It is not only football professional football clubs in wealthy core countries that benefit from partnerships with business as part of their commodification. The FIFA World Cup provides huge revenues for FIFA to redistribute to confederations and individual associations. Much of this

is from television with cumulative audiences totalling in the billions. The World Cup was staged in the USA in 1994, with a global television audience of over 1.7 billion watching the final between Brazil and Germany (FIFA.com, n.d; Lever, 1984 (1995): ix). Long-term partnerships have been established with Coca-Cola and Adidas, with MasterCard as the credit card 'partner' for the FIFA World Cup in Germany. To buy a ticket in the ballot (demand far exceeded supply), one had to pay with MasterCard, or take a chance later with left-over tickets and ticket touts (FIFA.com, n.d.).

Individual 'star' players can also be a commodity. David Beckham is perhaps not the first 'post-modern' footballer. However, with his looks and pop-star status, he is an example of a player more famous as a media and cultural icon than he is as a footballer. In the football industry, this has financial implications. Real Madrid calculated that they could make considerably more than the £25 million pounds outlay on the purchase of David Beckham from Manchester United, and predicted they could sell one hundred and forty million pounds worth of Beckham replica football shirts in his first season; such was his celebrity (realmadrid.com, n.d.). Skilful as he is, Beckham is financially more valuable to the club as a marketing tool than he is on the field of play.

Merchandising is now often more financially important to some clubs than are gate receipts (Forbes.com, 2004). Even in Auckland it is common to see people wearing Manchester United, Real Madrid, Juventus and Newcastle United replica shirts in a display of fashion and identity. Beckham then is a signifier of not only Real Madrid but of the marketing and commodification of the game and its players in a globalised marketplace. Beckham has become a global commodity himself, apparently of his own free will. As evidenced by Real Madrid's revenues, the representation of football through commercial television rights and

merchandising has become highly lucrative, showing that the facsimile or the sign is becoming more economically important than that which it signifies: the football match and the football club (Baudrillard, 2001; Debord, 1994).

This reinforces the analysis of professional football organisations as capitalist enterprises with 'clubs' owned by shareholders and corporations, labour provided by players and technical staff and audiences as consumers. This is true of privately-owned Manchester United, publicly-listed Tottenham Hotspur and Bayer Leverkusen (owned by pharmaceutical manufacturer Bayer AG). However, this is further complicated by ownership models such as that of Real Madrid, FC Barcelona, Bayern Munich and Schalke 04, where their members own the club and revenues are reinvested in the clubs without profit-taking (FCBarcelona.com, n.d; Forbes.com, n.d.; realmadrid.com; n.d.). In these cases the owners are also part of the audience.

Trans-missions

Industrial production is now challenged by the marketing and consumption of symbols (Lewellen, 2002). It follows that what is iconically local can also be bought in the global marketplace and what is thought to be globalised can be subverted to produce localised significance. Football clubs based in particular localities now project themselves beyond their territory in many ways, most often through media such as television, internet, magazines and newspapers.

Football is now a commodity to be consumed not only by an audience *in situ*, but by a global audience of parochial fans and consumers of generic football product. Football fans whether they are in New Zealand or New

Brunswick, Lagos or London, can consume the same or similar football products, or commune with 'their' club or football heroes that may be playing thousands of kilometres away in another country. Thus football in some instances facilitates the deterritorialisation of localism.

If televised football is the 'virtual' point of professional football, what are the implications for spectators at the stadium? Italian media mogul Silvio Berlusconi moved into football club ownership with AC Milan. Understanding the entertainment business, he transformed the club into a stylish and successful champion of Italy and Europe. Further reinforcing links between sport and politics he transformed his power-base at the club into leadership of *Forza Italia* (Go Italy) and the Prime Ministership of Italy (Foer, 2004: 172-192). Berlusconi (in Radnege, 2002) also recognised the role match spectators play in creating atmosphere at matches: "*One day television coverage of football will be so wide-ranging that we will have to let the fans into the stadia free of charge.*" The implication is, of course, that highly parochial spectators at matches constitute part of the spectacle for the consumption of the television viewer whether that takes place at home, in the local bar or in football clubrooms.

While football consumption via television can also be mediated through parochialism, it is football's projection through mass media that delivers distanced audiences to football businesses. This creates a category of spectatorship that could be described as 'post-fandom' (Redhead, 1997): football consumers who choose to watch high-quality matches whether they involve teams from Auckland, Manchester, Milan, Madrid, Rio de Janeiro or Capetown rather than follow a particular team.

Television has facilitated the globalisation of football, to the extent that it has permeated every region of the world. Kedong is a Masai village in southern Kenya. It has no running water and the nearest town is twenty-

five kilometres away. Half of the village's eighty inhabitants are football fans, and of those twenty follow Manchester United. *"We were sick of Manchester United fans dominating the village"* said Karatina Sangkok when asked to explain why he set up an Arsenal supporters club. Whichever team they support, football fans still have to trudge through the bush to the nearest bar where they pay a few cents to sit on the ground and watch games on the television. A letter has been sent to Arsenal Football Club requesting recognition of the new supporters club. To help improve Arsenal's patchy form, a magic ritual has been performed. *"With our hands we make a fist. It is meant to protect you from evil curses. We are trying to keep our team safe*", explained Sangkok who has managed to get most of the non-Manchester United fans to back Arsenal's newest fan club (Willis, 2006).

When a village in Kenya is divided over the allegiances of its men to English Premier League teams, we not only see how football may act as a form of cultural imperialism, but we can also reflect on the global significance of football to it followers via the medium of television. It is also apparent that the men of Kedong also utilise football fandom as a means of creating factions within the village, thus football also acts a vehicle for the construction and display of identity (MacClancy, 1996:2).

Most football fans experience the game on television. They could then be categorised as football consumers and/or deterritorialised supporters. The influence of television is pervasive. Singapore's national football league play their matches midweek to avoid 'clashing' with telecasts of Europe and English football matches. Asia Football Confederation President Mohammed Bin Hammam expressed his outrage at this *"foreign imperialism of Asian football"* (Hall, 2005: 32). Bin Hammam's plan is to create a number of sustainable leagues throughout Asia, including China, Korea, Australia (now in the AFC), India and the Middle East. Although

Hammam derides European cultural imperialism via televised football (Hall, 2005: 32), he would no doubt see that television rights and commercialisation will provide the necessary financial backing required for this project to succeed. To lure the world's best players to the proposed Asian leagues, will not only require substantial financial backing, but will if the plan succeeds, result in a kind of reverse imperialism as Asian football is beamed to global audiences including Europeans.

How 'real' is the experience of televised football? Some football fans argue that real fans no longer go to sanitised; family-friendly; football stadia where they are forbidden to stand, sing or chant. Instead the 'real' experience of football fandom is to be had in one's lounge with some friends, or in a bar watching with 'genuine' supporters rather than middle-class consumers at over-priced stadia (Sandvoss, 2003): Still other arguments were posited against the 'packaging' of televised games and over-regulated stadia as destroying the emotional power of football through over-sanitisation of the experience (Sandvoss, 2003: 137-165). Thus the assumed 'virtuality' of the televisual experience and the authenticity of attendance at matches in stadia are challenged. An extension of this is perhaps the idea of the privileging of the facsimile of televised football over the event as played in front of an audience at the stadium (Baudrillard, 2001) as televised experiences become the normalised way of interacting and experiencing events third-hand via technology.

The globalisation of football has been driven by television. Television rights have provided the world's most popular leagues with a lucrative income and the opportunities for marketing their football team as ambulatory billboards for commercial sponsors. The discussion on commodification showed how important this revenue stream is for football clubs. The more successful and popular the club, the more lucrative the

sponsorship. Russian-owned Chelsea FC of London is reported to have signed an £11 million deal with Korean electronics firm Samsung (Townsend, 2006: C18). Manchester United on the other hand has yet to acquire another sponsor as their £15 million a season deal with Vodafone is due to end at the close of the 2006 English Premier League. The constitution of Basque team Athletic Bilbao does not allow for the team jersey to carry sponsorship. However, I should note they are soon to carry the name of the Basque regional government on their shirt fronts. This has been ruled not to be commercial advertising by the club's board (athleticclub.com, n.d.).

In terms of football's popularity, one has only to realise that around one-third of humanity watched the last few World Cups on television (Lanfranchi, 2004; Lever, 1984 [1995]:ix.). Television has given audiences the opportunity to experience both local and global television products, and therefore has proved to be this sport's greatest marketing tool.

Football in New Zealand lacks a quality product for television audiences and suffers in terms of exposure to audiences beyond attendance at matches. It therefore suffers from a lack of commodification rather than too much as has been argued by the creators of FC United and the detractors of the new 'sanitised' stadia (FCUnited, n.d.; Sandvoss).

Global Football Labour Markets

One of the best known sociological works on football is Julie Lever's (1983) 'Soccer Madness' a paean to and analysis of the cultural significance of football in Brazil. Written at a time when some of the best Brazilian footballers played in their own domestic league, Lever

documents the religious fervour attached to the game by players and supporters, arguing that football is a metaphor for Brazil, both beautiful and rotten at the same time. Tragically, Brazil's best players now flee the country overcome by the 'rottenness' of ineptly-managed football clubs and a corrupt national football administration. Brazil has become a feeder nation for the top European clubs, with clubs deliberately involved in the trade of players as an income stream; the players being the tradable commodity (Bellos, 2002; Lanfranchi and Taylor, 2001: 107-110).
The lure of a professional contract and the kudos of playing offshore was illustrated by Alex Bellos (2002) in the non-academic '*Futebol: the Brazilian way of Life'* who among other things illustrated the pride and desperation of Brazilians who play professionally in diverse countries from Spain to the bleak Faroe Islands in the North Sea.

The football labour market operates globally. Increasing numbers of South Americans, Africans and Eastern Europeans are being exported to the more lucrative leagues of Western Europe, with a few Africans playing in the Ukraine. Some New Zealanders and Australians currently play professionally in England and the USA, with Japanese, Chinese, Korean and North African players also playing in the leagues of Europe and England football (Lanfranchi and Taylor, 2001). However the labour commodity trade is developing to a large extent, as a Wallersteinian world system, with the players from the periphery being drawn to the core. With semi-peripheral countries (in football terms) such as Japan and the USA developing professional leagues, the flows are mainly but not all one way from periphery to core. While players from peripheral African and Asian countries provide relatively cheap labour until their reputations are established and their value rises, there is also considerable core to core trade in established players such as David Beckham whose contract was sold to Real Madrid for £25 million in 2003 (realmadrid.com, n.d.). This was discussed more extensively in the previous chapter. Even

established players are tradable commodities as with their reputations as players and known appeal to audiences, they are known quantities whose footballing and marketing potential is calculated before transfers are negotiated (Lanfranchi and Taylor, 2001).

Trade in players is facilitated in a number of ways. As previously mentioned, the World Cup operates as a market place for the display of football and numerous player transfers are conducted within months of the cessation of the tournament. Televised football also offers players a chance to impress a wide audience including football managers and agents. Player agents also offer footballers to the labour market, negotiating transfers from one club to another, transfer payments and player wages and conditions. Technology also aids the flow of players around the world with internet sites such as Soccer Mercato (soccermercato.com, n.d.), which acts as a recruiting website for clubs mainly in the USA, Western Europe, Australia and the Middle East. An African-specific website, africansoccerplayers.com, profiles African players seeking new contracts. Often they are seasoned internationals with European club experience, although some emerging players also list themselves on this site (African Soccer Players, n.d.).

Legalised labour trade restrictions have been reduced within the European Union. The Bosman ruling of 1995 by the European Court of Justice reinforced the right of freedom of movement within the EU for footballers, especially favouring those whose club contracts had expired. This forced clubs to release players whose contracts had ended to another club on a free transfer. It also encouraged commercially-minded clubs to further commodify their best players by signing them to long-term contracts, and then transferring them to another club before the contract ended to avoid the free transfer of the Bosman ruling. While this had some effect on the European labour market, it was of little consequence for international non-

EU transfers. The English Premier League football received an influx of foreign players before that date, with even more after the Bosman ruling. Meanwhile the Spanish Primera Liga continued to employ Spanish-speaking South Americans, with a flow of Brazilians heading towards employment in Italian Serie A since the 1982 World Cup.

The most recent flows of player have been out of Africa and Asia. These players are 'pulled' towards the European core by the attraction of regular salaries and the experience of playing in the world's best leagues. The clubs receive players at prices cheaper than those on offer within Europe, the added benefit being the resale price when the players from football's periphery and semi-periphery were established as a credible commodity (Lanfranchi and Taylor, 2001). Thus an examination of player transfers offer an insight into football's global division of labour and illustrates a marked relativisation of core, semi-periphery and periphery in the economics of football.

With the increasing growth of transnational football professionals operating within club teams in Britain, Western and Southern Europe, Japan, Australia and the USA, it is tempting to see all football teams as having no national significance. Of course the FIFA World Cup is still the sport's premier inter-national tournament. However professionals do not earn a living playing international football. Instead they are contracted to and paid by their clubs, some of whom resent having to release players for international duty under duress from FIFA.

With the increasing commodification and globalisation of the football labour market, it remains to be seen whether international football retains its cachet. The UEFA Champions League and World Club Championships are vehicles for promotion of clubs' rivalry with international football, which is currently privileged by FIFA.

Football has come a long way since 1863. It is now virtually everywhere, and is itself 'virtual' projected as it is through satellite television and the internet. However, football both as a sport and a symbol of highly-localised identity, exists side by side with its massified and commodified forms of consumer entertainment and product endorsement. Football is therefore representative of the older-style modernity represented by organised sports, and the post-modernity of the mass commodification and consumption of images and symbols of identity. It is also representative of communities of support and of their identities.

Chapter Eight

Synthesising the Global and the Local

This chapter forms a synthesis and analysis of the major themes that were developed in the previous chapters. It also shows how a study of a sport contributes to anthropological knowledge of human society and culture.

Localisation

If football is a 'global' sport, what, if anything, about it is 'local'? In discussions of literature and in my ethnographic study (McAdam, 2004) like MacClancy (1996:2), I emphasised the ability of football and other sports to create a sense of identity and a community of interest. I focused on two issues that relate to highly-localised aspects of football. These were the concepts of 'community' and 'identity' and were explored through secondary research and ethnography.

Football players, amateur and professional can and do identify with their pursuit or profession as do many of us. In doing so, they also share this identity with millions of others who follow the sport. Where this identity becomes more specific is in the service of or support of a particular group or club. Football is a social activity and necessarily creates bonds between team-mates and between club supporters. My ethnographic

study of Central United FC (McAdam 2004) showed how some of the Dalmatian members conceptualised of the club as a community. Can football clubs be thought of as communities? Certainly they bring people together in the pursuit of a common interest and many also draw on their locality for support. Like Cohen's discussion of community (in Barnard & Spencer, 1996: 115-116) the Dalmatian club members who I talked to at Central United seemed to feel that while they contributed to the club, while the club contributed to a feeling of 'belonging' and the sharing of values and symbols.

Globalisation

What does a study of football tell us about globalisation? Football grew out of Victorian capitalism, colonisation and the codification of games into 'sports.' Football was diffused around the world from its place of origin in Britain to become a cultural and economically dominant force (Wagg, 1995). While diffusionist theories of culture have long been out of favour in anthropology, association football is one activity that illustrates diffusionist tendencies: the spread of one cultural form from a place of origin to other parts the rest of the world (Rosman & Rubel, 2004). The discourse of globalisation sometimes masks cultural diffusion conceptualising this as cultural homogenisation, hybridisation and resistance (Rosman & Rubel, 2004). Appadurai (1996) also classifies the complex interplay of cultural dissemination and interaction as forms of 'global cultural flows', indicating that cultural diffusion is complex and interactive rather than reliant on the passive acceptance of dominant cultural forms.

As a global culture, football could therefore be said to be representative of 'globalisation.' However, the concept of globalisation itself is contestable.

Does it relate to purely economic interconnections stretching across the world? Is it more conceptual; a kind of consciousness of the world as one place and perhaps the 'compression' of the world due to economic and technological forces combined with relatively cheap air travel (Robertson,1992: 8)? Do the 'globalised' aspects of football such as labour migration and the projection of football through media such as television shed any light on these questions? Is there, as Wallerstein (1974) posits, an extractive 'world system?

The complexity of football, coupled with the discourse of globalisation, suggest no clear-cut answer to the above questions. Instead one must turn to empirical evidence. I showed that football developed in Britain and was exported to the rest of the world. In anthropological terms this is a clear case of cultural diffusion achieved through trade colonialism and education (Lanfranchi et al., 2004).

Although football as a team sport is communal, its control over time and space (see Chapter One) in the 'production' of football has echoes of capitalist organisation. The migration of football players to centres of football economic power, quality leagues and transnational club teams, suggests a Wallersteinian (1974) reading; that football at the professional level can be interpreted as some sort of extractive world system. Where high-quality players from the periphery tend to be cheaper than those of Europe, there is a 'pull' towards the core, but perhaps also a push from clubs who reap the rewards of a transfer fee to buy out the players' contracts. Where players themselves desire to play in the best leagues of England and Europe, there is a 'push', but also an inexorable pull of the prestige and money of a professional football career overseas. However these players are also, by FIFA regulation to be made available by their clubs to be released for national duty on behalf of their home national football association when required for international tournaments. Taking a

commodity position, a number of European and English clubs resent this and indeed sometimes obstruct players from playing internationals. The player then is a valuable commodity owned by the club for the duration of his/her contract (women players are also professionals). As no payment is received for the release of the player, the club feels aggrieved at not only paying the players while on international duty, they lose players' services for the duration and in some cases players return to the club exhausted or injured.

The Bosman ruling (Lanfranchi and Taylor, 2001: 8-9; 213-229) also supports the commodity position. Clubs now ensure that top players are signed to long-term contracts so that they can sold while still on contract thereby reaping a substantial transfer fee for buying out the players' contract. Thus, a 'player-as-commodity' argument can be put forward to support a conceptualisation of football as world system theory (Wallerstein, 1974).

World system theory envisages a world of industrial commodities and labour, but not the new commodities of the entertainment spectacle (Lewellen, 2002). While transnational football migrants often provide labour, as evidenced by Real Madrid's coterie of Brazilians and other internationals, and Glasgow Rangers' and the New Zealand Knights' lack of domestically-born players, the product they create is no longer entirely consumed in three-dimensions, requiring an in-the flesh experience. Increasingly football is deterritorialised and commodified by its packaging and marketing as a televisual spectacle, where the facsimile or image is more valuable than the in-the-flesh experience of physical attendance at games as spectator (Baudrillard, 2001; Debord, 1994). The football 'product' of competitive matches by teams of transnational professionals in national (for example the Spanish Primera Liga), regional (for example the European Champions League) and inter-national competitions (for

example the World Club Championship) is produced locally for the consumption of both domestic and international audiences. What this does show is that the periphery and semi-periphery is increasingly exporting itself to the centre in the form of football labour. Meanwhile the product produced by that labour is now envisaged as a global product for both domestic and international audiences. Viewers in South America and Africa must tune into European club matches if they want to watch the best of their players, while New Zealanders who just want to watch good football or follow their favourite overseas club will do the same. The migration of professional footballers, not just to the core of Western Europe, produces global cultural flows (Appadurai, 1996) as does the projection of football through television. Thus the complexity embodied by a professionalised and commodified sport was not envisaged by Wallerstein (1974).

For Appadurai (1996) globalisation is characterised by uneven cultural flows. Where players from the periphery start to influence those at the core in style of play is but one example of this unevenness. This is compounded by occasions when players are drawn from football's core in England and Europe such as the professional leagues developed in Colombia in the 1950s, Australia in the 1960s and again at the present time, Japan from the 1980s, the USA in the 1970s and again from the 1990s, New Zealand in the 1970s and to a lesser extent, at the present time (Lanfranchi, 2004; Hilton, 1991). Football's financial flows are not determined by geography. The cases of Russian oil billionaire Roman Abramovich buying England's Chelsea Football Club, American Malcolm Glazer buying Manchester United and Thailand's Prime Minister Thaksin Shinawartra attempting to buy a large stake in Liverpool Football club also undercut the arguments of a one-way flow from centre to periphery indicated by a history of the diffusion of football.

Like transnational corporations, football clubs are seeking new markets in Asia and Africa for the expansion of their football business. The concept of one way flows of world system theory are challenged by empirical evidence that suggests the dominance of the core, the export of the periphery to the core and the growing influence of the semi-peripheral and peripheral regions on the practice and governance of world football as African and Asian players and nations increasingly come to the fore at World Cups, in transnational club teams and in the business of football. Thus the certainties of an organised world system are undercut, again stressing the nature of a football world and the world at large as being in a state of flux.

Football creates even more complexity when trying to classify the nature of its bureaucratisation. The organisation of football into local, national, regional and international federations and competitions negates the view that football is only global. If football is globalised it is at the inter-national level of FIFA and its competitions such as the FIFA World Cup, as well as at the level of the televisual projection of the sport from a number of major football powers (Italy, Germany, England, Spain and to a lesser extent product offered from South America). The World Cup involves teams from most countries of the world in regional qualification tournaments. Football and its governing body FIFA could be representative of the idea of a network of nation-states. The IFAB representing FIFA plus the British and Irish football associations adds another layer in its powers to administer the sport's rules. The British countries are no longer dominant powers in world football; the 'new world order' of FIFA being dominated by the votes of Third World countries is a more accurate representation of the 'football world'. This represents the complexity of the political and economic division of the world into local governments, state governments, regional blocs such the European Community, bilateral trade agreements between

states, the World Trade Organisation, the United Nations, as well as large INGOs such as the Red Cross/Crescent, Amnesty International, and FIFA.

Is globalisation just another way of reinterpreting phenomena that are actually inter-national? The form of globalisation that FIFA and its World Cup represent relies on the continued existence of nation-states. This includes regional confederations made up of national football associations and FIFA, the world governing body itself. Histories of football (Lanfranchi et al., 2004; Murray, 1998; Wagg, 1995) show how quickly national football associations were started after the introduction of football within many countries. Where globalisation is said to undercut the nation-state, the organisation of football along statist/intra-national and inter-national lines suggests that in the football world at least, states are not only important to the organisation of football, football is also important to states.

For newly-established states, an internationalised sport such as football is one way of proclaiming one's new status by joining FIFA and like Croatia at the 1998 World Cup finals an opportunity to perform extremely well on the world stage. That there are more nations represented in FIFA (205) than there are member states of the United Nations (191) (FIFA.com, n.d., UN.org, n.d.) shows that the projection of nationhood upon the world stage is a national priority, and that football as worldwide or global sport is important in the representation of nationhood and statehood. For some former colonies, such as Cameroon, Nigeria and Senegal football is a priority in terms of nation-building (Stuart, 1996). The national football team is one area of focus for diverse ethnic groups within former colonies seeking to integrate diverse peoples into the state. Where these former colonies can, like Senegal in the form of their national team, beat their former colonial power at the game introduced to them by the colonists shows the symbolic power of football to represent something more than the teams on the field.

My ethnography (McAdam, 2004) showed that Central United, although highly localised, was also enmeshed in the globalisation of football. The examples I gave showed that they were involved in sport that had diffused from Britain to most of the world, were involved in the political economy of the sport through the purchase of branded football boots such as Puma, designed in Germany and now made in China, and in the commodification of football as an industry (ticket sales, merchandising, and sponsorship), in addition to which they had links overseas through the importation and export of players. Unlike large European and British clubs such as Manchester United, Barcelona and Real Madrid, Central United do not operate in the global marketplace, and are instead the projection of the club is largely limited to New Zealand. However for Central United commerce is a means to an end, not an end in itself. However an ambitious football club like Central will on occasion recruit players not only from outside the club, but outside of the country. Thus in a small way they draw away from being a purely local club, and by competing at the OFC round of the World Club Championships in 1999 (losing in the semi-finals) they made an attempt to project themselves on the world stage. Thus even a club mostly operant at a local level, is connected with elements of the sport at regional and dare I say it, global levels.

Global/Local

If football at state and international levels is complex, club football is even more so. In Chapter 3, I showed how at the top professional levels, clubs play in national competitions, regional competitions such as the European Champions League and the world club championships. Many of these professional clubs are made up of a transnational squad. Yet teams such as Barcelona, Rangers and Celtic are very important in the representation

of the identity of their supporters. Where Rangers once fielded a team of Scots Protestants, they no longer do so. Yet their transnational squad has not altered the symbolism of the club in its oppositional stance to Irish Catholic nationalism embodied by Celtic (Sandvoss, 2003: 128-129). That this symbolism has been taken on by non-Scots players shows how players are expected to take on the political stance of their employers and sometimes do so. Further complicating the oppositional stance of clubs is the symbiotic nature of competitive sport. Sport is oppositional and competitive. Competitors need competition, and thus Rangers and Celtic are known as 'the Old Firm', which as I pointed out in the previous chapter is a symbiotic relationship formed out of ethnic and religious rivalry, the marketing of which to supporters enriches both clubs (Rangers, n.d., Kuper, 1994: 205-219) and provides a basis for their supporters' identities as Celtic or Rangers fans.

Barcelona too is a club that is highly localised in its Catalan identity yet employs transnational professionals who are expected to espouse the Catalan cause in opposition to the 'government' club of the capital, Real Madrid (Foer, 2004: 193-219). That these clubs export this seemingly highly-localised symbolism through television, overseas supporters clubs and merchandising questions the global/local divide and shows the symbiotic nature of this apparently binary opposition. It is clear that global and local are enmeshed and separate classification of one or other is a form of relativisation of one to the other. Football clubs illustrate this by the global projection of hybridisation combined with intense localism of support.

One aspect of this hybridisation is the deterritorialisation of localism. Where one can in New Zealand describe oneself as a Central United fan or more likely a Liverpool (and by extension, hating Everton) or Real Madrid (and by extension hating Barcelona) fan, shows how powerful the

need is for identity and how the media projection of football clubs enable fans in different parts of the world to create identities based on their support. It is this deterritorialisation that gives football such a hold over much of the world's population.

'Being there' is important, but so too is having a Manchester United club shirt to parade in Auckland and the knowledge of the team composition and latest scores. Robertson uses the term 'glocalisation' to describe local adaptation to global forms (Robertson, 1992: 173-174). However I use it to describe hybrid forms, where things are neither completely global nor local, but a synthesis of both. Thus through the medium of football we can describe and analyse how the global/local divide is bridged, and even question whether there is such a neat divide at all.

Football: Real or 'Virtual' Commodity?

In Chapter Five I showed how football developed during a time of industrial capitalism, colonisation and the codification of games into regulated competitive sports. As such it is characteristic of modernity. I showed how football as a regulated sport represented the organisational ethic of industrial capitalism and modernity, in the measurement of time and space (of the game's duration and of the playing field) and the control of the labour component. That football was diffused to nearly all parts of the world could be seen as the spread of 'modernity' and indeed there is evidence to suggest that some of those who imported or took up football perceived it as part as form of modernity (Lanfranchi et al., 2004). The vectors of the spread of football were trade, migration, colonisation and education. In professionalizing football from the 1880s onwards, at this level football matches rapidly became commodities as club owners sought to recover their costs (Lanfranchi et. al, 2004).

The commodification of football, like any other activity has had unintended consequences. Only relatively recently has it occurred to football authorities that the sport is now primarily a spectacle for television. Of the audiences who watch the FIFA World Cup in Germany this year, projecting figures from the last few World Cups, approximately two billion people will watch the FIFA World Cup Final, and most of them will do so from the comfort of their own home as partisans for one team or other, but mostly as consumers of this televised football spectacular.

The facsimile of televised games has become privileged over attending games in person and thus the sign has become privileged over that which is signified (Baudrillard, 2001). It is the projection of football through television and now through the internet that has given it the mass spectator appeal and truly global markets. For many football fans, such as those deterritorialised by migration, by New Zealanders who support English and European teams and for those who want to watch their own football exports on the stages of the football core, the commodified and distanced spectacle of the two-dimensional television screen is often the only way in which they experience football. However, spectators who object to sanitised family-friendly all-seater stadiums and bans on chanting and 'loutish' behaviour will often prefer to watch football at a friend's house or public bar and regard this as I showed, as the action of 'real' fans. In this way, 'real virtuality' has overtaken 'virtual reality' as televised football has come to be seen as more 'authentic' than 'being there' (Yoshimoto, 1996: 107-118). Thus the codified, professionalised, commodified, transnational professional-dominated sport of football blends both modernity and post-modernism.

How does this compare to the economic and social world encapsulated within the discourse of 'globalisation'? I previously linked the formation of

football as an extension and reflection of capitalism. However of these, whereas territorial colonisation, trade and migration were important to the spread of football, only trade and migration are important to globalisation. In globalisation, unlike industrial capitalism, it is informational products such as computer software, entertainments such as video games, feature films, cartoon and television programmes that form some of the most valuable commodities of the 'global economy'. Many Western nations are becoming deindustrialised either due to competition from cheaper labour markets in Eastern Europe and Asia or through the development of new and valuable technologies and informational commodities (Synott, 2004). Sport with its massive appeal and geographical spread through popular participation and media projection, is also now part of the commodified entertainment industry of television, the internet, magazines, books, fan clubs, merchandising and attendance at live matches.

Football, involving the competition between teams necessarily requires complex levels of organisation which I have previously described. The bureaucracy of football is multi-layered and entwined with commercialisation, thus New Zealand Soccer is partnered with Nike and McDonalds, FIFA with Adidas and Coca-Cola (among others), Central United with Adidas and Placemakers and Manchester United with Nike and Vodafone (Lanfranchi et al., 2004; nzsoccer.co.nz, n.d.). As professional football seems to now be a marketing tool of capitalism, football has also turned itself into a brand, requiring pop stars and politicians to declare their loyalties for one club or another and like Helen Clark at an All Blacks' matches, be seen at games. The power of popular culture should not be underestimated. Privileged as the televisual image is over the actual event, televised football has given the game immense credibility with brand-conscious consumers. Football clubs such as Manchester United and Real Madrid realise this with their own pay-per-view television channels and tours to emerging markets of Asia,

conversely also recognizing the value of 'being there' to the balance sheet.

Lanfranchi et al (2004:200) showed how active participation in football was still immensely popular. However they also discussed the possibility that the growing individualism of a number of societies would see the replacement of a team sport with individual activities. While I have also thought along these lines, I can also see how the game will remain for a considerable time to be a part of the popular culture of most countries of the world. Humans are social animals and the greatest power of football or any communal activity is their ability to create a sense of community and identity that most human beings seek and indeed require (MacClancy, 1996:2).

Perhaps as male amateur player numbers wane in England and Europe, female participation will increase as will the participation of men and women in China and India. The case of football in the United States where female participation is higher than that of males tends, in part, to support this (Lever, 1983 (1995); Lanfranchi et al., 2004). By linking the rise of football to capitalism and colonisation, I also signalled the possible demise of football, should it rise and fall with these vectors. With the demise of colonisation, we have seen a marked increase in the popularity of football, with football now being seen as relatively benign form of cultural imperialism and/or globalisation. If as Jameson (1991) writes capitalism is in its late evolutionary stage (late capitalism) then will football survive the demise of the capitalist system (Jameson, 1991; Wallerstein, 2004)? Quite possibly it will but in way that perhaps brings football back to it communitarian roots, with greater player participation and less consumption of the televised facsimile.

I commenced this thesis by asking the reader to imagine an activity that actively engaged one twenty-fifth of the world's population (Lanfranchi et al, 2004: 200.) I also showed how many times this number engage with football, not as players but as spectators. That football has swept the world as the most popular sporting activity for participation and spectatorship speaks not only of its popularity but also of the globalising strategy by football's world governing body FIFA to turn football into a truly global sport. This deliberate strategy speaks not only of the power of sport, but also of the relationship between sport and capitalism. Without the backing of companies such as Adidas and Coca-Cola, football would not have had the money to expand into the markets of Africa and Asia. However, is the success of football entirely due to financial backing of transnational corporations? I argue it is not and provide explanations in the body of this thesis and in the conclusions that follow.

What does my analysis of football say about globalisation and also anthropology? With around one thousand Africans playing in Europe, and five thousand Brazilians playing outside their home country clearly there is a labour market for talented players. That, mainly English and European teams have stocked their teams with players from many European, South American and African countries with smaller participation from Asia and the Oceania (including Australia, New Zealand and the Pacific) indicates the economic pull of the core. Where the best players from Africa, Brazil, Argentina and New Zealand are lost to their domestic competitions not to be replaced by equally skilled-imports indicates a one-way flow, supporting analysis of professional football as indicative of a an extractive world system (Wallerstein, 1974). These domestic leagues suffer from a player drain, to the detriment of quality, perception that the leagues are no longer worth watching and that to watch the top African or South American players in action, one must pay for the privilege of televised games from

the English Premier League and the Italian, Spanish and German leagues on satellite television.

The political economy of world football apparently sees a drawing of talent and audiences to the core of England and Western Europe. However, as with global economic trends, football is also seeing a growth of the sport in Asia through the development of football leagues in Japan, Korea and China. Major League Soccer in the United States has recently taken off to become an established middle-class pursuit as a spectator sport with considerable interest from the large Latino Audience. With the Mexican team Chivas featuring almost exclusively Mexican players the club has deliberately targeted an audience of Mexicans resident in America. While most American teams feature a multi-national squad that may include Brazilians, Japanese, English, Koreans, white Americans and a small number of New Zealanders, they have been markedly poor at attracting African-American audiences and players, who prefer basketball, American football and baseball (Major League Soccer, n.d.).

What does this mean for playing styles? Clearly a multi-national squad, often with a foreign coach is going to play a different style of football than, say, thirty years ago in the English league when most of the players were English or Celtic. Even then, there was a divergence between English and Scots styles of play that had to be blended into the professional English game. Thus Manchester United, Liverpool, Arsenal long-dominated by Scots and Irish professionals including managers, adopted the Scots passing game. Other teams such as Wolverhampton Wanderers and Fulham were staffed by mainly English players and managers who favoured a much more physical game characterised by long passes and physical aggression. The Liverpool team that won the 2005 Champions league Final in Istanbul against AC Milan featured a Spanish coach and a veritable United Nations of players, including

English, French, German, Spanish and Senegalese. They were blended into a team that reflected a number of styles but also utilised the Scottish-style passing game (Wagg, 1995; liverpoolfc.com, n.d.).

When Japan and Korea hosted the World Cup in 2002, this showed FIFA's recognition of the global implications reach of the game. It also showed the marketing potential of Japan, one of the world's economic superpowers and South Korea a wealthy newly-industrialised country with a growing economy and a population of avid football fans.

So, is FIFA acting in the interests of the game or simply cashing-in on the convergence of marketing, finance, audience appeal and the growing talents of Japanese and Korean players? The answer is probably a bit of both. However, this can be seen as a deliberate continuation of the globalisation project begun by former FIFA President Jao Havelange of Brazil. In rotating the World Cup around the major confederations of UEFA (Europe), CONMEBOL (South America), CONCACAF (North and Central America plus Caribbean nations) Asia and in 2010 (CAF) Africa, FIFA has deliberately used this as a marketing tool to achieve penetration for the sport (Lanfranchi, 2004). Economically, the interesting commercial tie-ups that FIFA have with their partners often have no geographical association with the host country. Thus FIFA's World Cup organisers will be driving Korean Hyundai cars in Germany, intending patrons had to buy tickets with American-based MasterCard. This shows that although the wealthy football clubs of the core are 'mining' the talent of the periphery and the semi-periphery, the scenario as Appadurai (1996) indicates is not so clear cut as to be purely one-way traffic.

The mixing of styles with French, Spanish and Portuguese coaches in England Premier league who work with British, Irish, French, Spanish, Brazilian, Argentine, Senegalese, Cameroonian, Nigerian, Australian and

the occasional New Zealander, means that professional clubs are now representative of cultural hybridisation. Playing styles are no longer the English 'blood and thunder' style of total commitment to hard tackling, long passes and headed goals. Instead there has been a blending of English commitment with African, Spanish, Italian and South American flair and intricate passing. The Scottish influence of the short-passing game has in the long-run prevailed among most nations, more so than the English style. However this can still be seen in the Uruguayan and Chilean national teams and also in the style of play adopted by the Basque team, Athletic Bilbao.

Does professional football now have something to say about feelings of locality and localism? Yes, most definitely it does. Glasgow Rangers no longer field a team of Protestant players, and indeed the playing eleven hardly features a Scot at all, as I saw when I attended one of their home matches a few years ago. However the club is still representative of British unionism and the Protestant dominance over the national culture and rivalry with Irish nationalist Glasgow Celtic. This is perhaps due to the adoption of players by the crowd. Players become their representative and in doing so, are adopted as Glaswegians of the appropriate politico-religious creed. Sometimes players take this on board themselves, such as Englishmen Paul Gascoigne who when playing for Rangers mimicked the playing of a fife incensing the Celtic supporters who recognised the symbolism of the fife player in the ultra-Protestant Orange Lodge Band of Belfast. Their former captain (and highly unlikely to be a Presbyterian) the Italian, Lorenzo Amoruso gesticulated at the Rangers crowd to increase their jeering of the Celtic supporters. Thus players may either take onboard the ideology and symbolism of their club or at least play a role in their conformity to and projection of that symbolism.

What we see at football then is both a collision and blending of global economic and cultural forms with that which is ostensibly purely local. Thus, while representing Catalan nationalism and being anti-capitalist with their member-owned club, FC Barcelona see no contradiction in either having a multi-national playing squad or a website (fcbarcelona.com, n.d.) that exhorts (in English) prospective members to join and "help make the club the biggest and best in the world". In securing the best player in the world in Ronaldinho, Barca showed what matters to Catalans is the projection of success and the adoption of successful players as citizens of their cosmopolitan city. Thus, while ostensibly highly-localised in their self-representation, they also adopt a modernist and indeed almost post-modern position of being at the periphery of the Spanish state, yet being integrated much more fully with Europe and the world than with the rest of the Spanish nation.

Real Madrid on the other hand were the favourite team of former dictator Franco, and being the Castilian capital of Spain are not only highly-integrated into the Spanish state but are also the arch-enemies of FC Barcelona (Foer, 2002: 193-216). However even Real Madrid are global in outlook as evidenced by their marketing of the *galacticos* and their pre-season Asian tours. Such symbolism is rife in football. The global and the local, collide, clash and form a dialectic between the two, with clubs using the appeal of the world's best players (often non-locals) to attract paying audiences, and generate 'authenticity' through retaining and marketing their highly localized symbolism whether it be Barca's Catalan identity, or Tottenham Hotspurs' putative Jewishness (Kuper, 1994).

Examples of the highly-localised are Athletic Bilbao in northern Spain the Basque team which by their constitution must be made up of players from the Basque region. In rejecting players from the rest of Spain and the world, Bilbao embodies the desire for an independent Basque nation,

projecting a separate Basque identity through Spain and Europe (athletic-club.net, n.d.). This creates a disjuncture with the conceptualisation of football as inherently globalist. What is clear then, is that football benefits both from its global dominance and appeal, and yet is able to market itself as highly representative of the local.

In my ethnography of Central United FC, I noted the Dalmatian underpinnings of the club, yet also noted their desire to be the best ensures that they recruit the best players they can. In this and in their club ownership policy they are similar to FC Barcelona, although of course on a much smaller scale, and very dissimilar to the ethnic localism of Athletic Bilbao or the rampant commercialism of Manchester United FC.

Whereas other clubs and the media have sometimes conceived of Central United as a 'Croatian' football club, the reality is somewhat more complex. The club's historical origins indicate a diasporic foundation, yet their ambitions to be become the best football club in New Zealand, combined with an openness towards all football loving peoples, have meant that Central have become much more cosmopolitan in composition of their membership and playing roster. The very cosmopolitan junior team I coached is evidence of this. Yet in contradiction, like Glasgow Rangers' Protestant identity, there is still an underlying appeal to Dalmatian-ness (evident in advertising hoardings and the composition of the club's committee). The cultural implications of football even in a club in New Zealand are therefore complex and single interpretations of cultural significance offer only a shallow analysis. Central's desire for projection on a wider stage has been thwarted by New Zealand Soccer's disbandment of the club-based national league in favour of franchise teams in a seeming anti-club McDonaldisation of the game here.

That Central United not only successfully bid for the Auckland City franchise and then won the inaugural competition speaks much of the club's playing resources, administrative and fund-raising abilities. That the franchise system is borrowed from an American sports model also used nowhere else except in Australia, means that Soccer New Zealand is out of step with most of the world's leagues which are club-based. Yet the desire of the sport's administrators has been to raise the playing standards of the game and its profile. In both of these it has had qualified success. Crowds and media coverage have improved from the old national league, as have playing standards. However, a major drawback has been the export of this country's best players both to overseas clubs and to take sports scholarships at American universities. Whereas Brazilian clubs export players to make money, New Zealand Soccer has sent the best players overseas to improve their skills and professional prospects. While perhaps enriching the experiences of players, the potential audiences of the game here have been robbed of the chance to see their top quality players, many of whom are languishing in the lower echelons of English league and non-league football.

Although able to draw some a few players from overseas to play in the national league or the disastrous NZ Knights Football Club, currently bottom of the Australian A-League. In exporting its best talent, New Zealand proves that it is part of the football periphery. In playing its last 'home' international in London, New Zealand reinforced this perception, hoping to showcase its talents on a more central stage, and have its best players available from British, American and European clubs without the long flight home. This 'Trans-Tasman' clash with Australia also showed how our neighbour had also lost its best players to Europe in a kind of 'periphery comes to the core' clash of relative minnows and further sign of the deterritorialisation of football.

While ethnography tends towards the synchronic, an historical perspective adds much to ethnographic research, showing the wider context in events has happened, and the background to the lives of people in specific places. However, increasing economic and cultural interconnections that have been conceptualised as globalisation require anthropology to remove itself from the purely particular of highly-localised studies to a much more inclusive and dialectical approach required in making connections between the global and the local. That football is nearly a ubiquitous human activity indicates that a study of this cultural activity adds to the documentation of the human experience. However, one must raise one's eyes from the ethnographic site, to make connections between one's research topic and participants to draw out links to the wider world

This research shows that ethnography is a useful methodology for understanding complex global issues. However, the research must be conceptualised within a wider framework than the purely particular and instead must also have the ability to make connections to the wider world. Anthropologists and other social scientists must be mindful of their role in documenting society and culture and the impacts that the spread of cultural activities such as football have on the world's people. We must also not be taken in by grand euphemisms such as globalisation, without first interrogating this for its implications and any hidden agendas including the spread of market capitalism across the globe.

Where anthropology has its strength is in its attention to the particularism of ethnography. Unfortunately it has often concentrated on the 'periphery' and forgotten to study the power centres of the 'core'. An analysis of a hugely popular cultural activity such as football provides a vehicle for the synthesis of the particular and the general and 'bifocal' gaze (Peters, 1997). With football's popularity resting on both its global dominance and highly localised symbolism, it is one activity that could be said to reach a

resolution within its dialectic. While the tensions between the global and local remain, the resolution shown in Clubs such as FC Barcelona, strongly suggest a conceptualisation of 'glocalisation' (Robertson, 1992: 173-174). Central United, a largely amateur club, is indicative of a localised core, being a drawcard for top domestic-based talent, yet also remains on the periphery through its location in New Zealand. Thus, the political economy of world football militates against smaller clubs from peripheral countries and advantages those from the core through the availability of huge television and merchandising revenues. These clubs can, with astute financial management and playing success project themselves both domestically and internationally as successful brands. In doing so, football transforms itself from the amateur sport model of the original Football Association, to become a sport-business where the clubs' products and players are commodities to be bought and sold, and in the case of Manchester United the club itself is a commodity to be sold.

The commodification of the game has not yet occurred to a great extent in New Zealand. The so-called New Zealand Knights with only seven Kiwi players in the professional squad are an unsuccessful example of an attempt to form a professional football organisation in New Zealand. However, New Zealand clubs will continue to haemorrhage players if they can see lucrative contracts on offer overseas. This is no different from the clash between the amateur values of the FA and the Football League in England in the late 1800s. This shows that the demand for commercialisation may not be driven totally by organisational imperatives to make money out of the commodification of the game, but may well be the result of player demands for recompense and in some instances pop-star like payments and lifestyles, for their performances.

My ethnography shows that in the case of Central United, money is not at the heart of the player's desire to play for the club or to perform well. As

club president, Ivan Vuksich remarked, first team players only receive the equivalent of petrol money (Ivan Vuksich, Personal Interview, 14 August 2003). While a number of their players have played overseas, Central United is a prestigious club to play for, with very strong support. The convergence then between money and football is not a significant motivation for players at this club, unlike those who pursue football as a profession. For other club members, the significance of the club may vary. However, of those interviewed the club members' passion for the game was the attraction as was the community atmosphere of the clubhouse and attendances at first team games. These highly-localised representations of the club should not obscure the fact that Central is also enmeshed in the global political economy of the sport. In adopting a commercial model of sponsorship and advertising, Central is a hybrid of the purely amateur volunteer club and the commercialism of Barcelona and Real Madrid rather than the purely business model of Manchester United.

Football as a World System

In drawing players from poorer peripheral regions such as Africa and South America to club football in the core of England and Europe, football confirms a Wallersteinian (1974) analysis. Professional club football in the wealthy nations of England, France, Italy and Spain draw the best talent to their leagues. Following this analysis, if the football world was totally synchronous with economic and military status, then the United States would of course be a football superpower. It is not, even though the United States have hosted a World Cup. However international football and the World Cup in particular challenges the hegemony of the world's economic superpowers: the football world's inter-national superpower is

Brazil. Ignoring Brazil's lowly per capita GDP and economic ranking, this subverts a purely economic analysis of the standing of nations.

Particularism shows that an analysis based on the capitalist nature of professional sport does not entirely present an accurate analysis. Manchester United could also be known as Mammon United, with its pursuit of profit. However it does have genuine local fans who conceive of themselves not as consumers but protectors of a great history. Meanwhile FC Barcelona is not owned by a capitalist entity, but is owned by its members (fcbarcelona.com, n.d.). Yet the club pursues growth and success, differing from capitalist clubs by reinvesting its revenues in the club rather than dispersing these to profit-takers. The ethnography of Central United Football club showed that sport has many meanings, including that of community – the ability to bring people together in a shared activity to form a shared identity. Football in New Zealand is not culturally-dominant and has to accept its low status in this country's society. A discussion of an 'Old Firm' match, Glasgow Rangers versus Celtic, showed that even though football has globalising tendencies, the highly localised is not only symbolically important, there is money to be made in marketing localism, identity and semiotics. Thus not only the spectacle can be commodified, so too can symbols and identity.

Football is more than a sport to be commodified for the profit of capitalists. It is representative of tensions between community and commodity that are manifested in the very public arena of the football stadium. That most football is not conducted in the coliseum-like atmosphere of large professional stadia, but is instead played out on small neighbourhood parks militates against a totally econocentric analysis of the football's role in society. A discussion of Soviet football showed a perspective of sport other than that of capitalist sports-business, where football was organised along state socialist lines. Thus the team, the club and country were

supposedly organised for the betterment of the population and for the glory of the nation, not for economic profit. Football is after all a team sport and lends itself better to social democratic ideology than it does to utilitarian ideology. In having democratic elections, FC Barcelona, like Central United and other community-based clubs show that football is not necessarily capitalist in ethic, but instead in blending the community aspirations with commercial sponsorship, could be typified as social-democratic in spirit, albeit in a Blairite 'third-way' blending of socialism and capitalism, with a bias towards the latter.

Football then is so complex that it could aptly be described as a 'field', one that is not amenable to narrow, methodologically-pure studies. Anthropology has a diverse range of tools appropriate to the investigation of this socially and culturally important activity.

Chapter Nine

Full-time: Conclusions

English you created soccer but we teach how to play it
(Brazilian fans' sign) (Lanfranchi et al., 2004: 152).

The popularity of football is rooted in its mass appeal to peoples both near to and far away from the site of football's codification. That Brazilians and other peoples have indigenised football as their own speaks of the symbolic power of sport to represent the nation and national characteristics (Bellos, 2002; Wagg, 1995). But sport is more than a pastime and symbol. For some it is recreation, for some it is work, while for others it is a business. The increasing commodification of football and the projection of televised sport have turned audiences into consumers of a virtual product: the televised spectacle. Football is now primarily a product for televisual consumers. Television delivers audiences to advertisers, so too does televised football.

The symbiotic relationship between television and capitalism was explored. Football has entered a stage of commodified mass culture as represented by merchandising , marketing , television, the internet, the World Cup, the Champions league, transnational professionals, pop culture spin-offs such as the film, 'Bend it like Beckham', clubs such as Real Madrid and Manchester United, the football celebrity culture and links between politics and football.

I showed how the rules of football mirrored the structure of capitalist production in the organisation of time, space and labour and how football organisations such as clubs mirrored that of the capitalist relations of production. That football came to be a commodified mass sport was much to the chagrin of football's bureaucracy such as the FA and FIFA (Lanfranchi et al., 2004). Of course both of these organisations now reap huge financial rewards as the commodification of this mass sport. However the projection of football images through television is not unmediated. Consumers vary from 'authentic' fans in pubs following their team to consumers at home viewing a game as entertainment. The semiotic codes of football are varied and cannot be seen as purely deterministic and a 'consumer' of televised football would still, I surmise, classify themselves as a 'football' fan whether they follow one particular team or not.

My ethnography of Central United Football Club (McAdam, 2004) explores one local club on the periphery of world football and from the point of view of a club that largely operates in the amateur tradition. The club is successful on many fronts. Its senior men's team has been New Zealand champions on a number of occasions and it now backs the successful franchise, Auckland City. For some members of the club, the most important element is that of the club as a signifier of their identity and a facilitator of social solidarity (Lever, 1983 [1995]:2). Central United is not only highly-localised in its symbolism, but is a product of the hybridisation of immigrant cultures, both Dalmatian and the Anglo-Celtic rule-makers of New Zealand football. Even so, I showed how Central was also enmeshed in many of the globalising aspects of football such as sports sponsorship, advertising and player recruitment (McAdam, 2004). Global/local connections can be seen in this ethnography and Central too can be conceptualised as embodying not only the habitus of their

members (Bourdieu, 1984) but the hybridisation of global/local that could be recategorised as 'glocalisation' (Robertson, 1992: 173-174).

Globalisation is said to endanger indigenous cultures and indeed football has become part of the mass culture of many countries including colonies. Football was sometimes introduced as part of the colonisation of countries such as Nigeria, New Zealand, Canada, Ireland and Malaya (Wagg, 1995). However, in the case of Ireland at least, there was resistance in the form of Gaelic sports. The uptake of football as part of the colonial experience was for some a form not only of imitation but of resistance. Football allowed for the creation of mass social organisation at times when indigenous political organisations were banned in some African countries (Stuart, 1996). The playing of football also gave the colonised an opportunity to beat the colonisers at their own game and they occasionally did (Lanfranchi et al., 2004). A reading of the diffusion of football cannot only be read as one of passive acceptance. I discussed how some socialists conflated football with capitalism and therefore rejected it. However the Dynamo and other state-sponsored club teams of the Warsaw Pact are evidence of the popularity and politicised nature of sport and its symbolism (Duke, 1995: 88-105; Lanfranchi, 2004).

Football connects to anthropology in many ways. Anthropology documents and analyses what it is to be human. What the discipline tells us is that humans are social animals, who are drawn to activities that facilitate social solidarity. Humans are also individuals and seek a sense of not only belonging, both as part of a group and as an individual. Football clubs provide a vehicle for the construction of identity and community (MacClancy,1996:2) and this is extended through television so that both community and identity become deterritorialised. Football and other sports are also social, where the sociability may be oppositional or supportive: foe, team-mate; or supporter. What is it about football that

latches onto our need for belonging and identity? What is it about this sport that makes it so popular widespread? What is discernibly global or local about this sport? Why have I argued that the phenomena entailed by football of participation, support and consumption are simultaneously global and local?

I conclude by answering these questions.

Football, as I described it is a simple game. As a codified form of competition between two teams, it becomes categorised as 'sport' (Coakley, 1998: 19). The category of sport is something that has been packaged as a product suitable for the commodification by the owners of sports clubs, advertisers, television channels and the players at the highest level often demand financial reward for their skills and services and the production of 'entertainment' for the public. The commodification of football commenced very early in its history very simply by charging spectators and entry fee to view matches between teams (Lanfranchi, 2004). Other forms of commodification in the form of advertising, and football pools followed. Transfer fees for players turned them into a marketable commodity whose contract could be sold to another team. However, it was the advent of television that really commodified the sport to the level at which it is now. I, like many other sports fans am now so used to watching sport on television that I sometimes caught myself at Central's home ground expecting an action replay when I missed a shot on goal. That large sports grounds now display the match on big screen displays confuses the genres of 'reality' and 'virtual reality', confirming the importance of the facsimile in the social life of even the sports cognoscenti.

Theoretical Musings

I offer no grand theoretical explanation for football's popularity, symbolic importance and commodification. Football along with the human condition, is too complex to be explained by one social theory alone. I analysed football in terms of its diffusion, its commodification and its symbolism as signifier of community and identity. In doing so I offer a synthesis of diffusionist, political-economy and interpretive approaches. The complexity of this topic entails this eclectic approach. Gupta and Ferguson, (1997) refer to this approach as 'critical anthropology.' The concepts of the 'global' and the 'local' and the processes and conceptualisation of globalisation were also analysed for their unique and synthetic qualities. A study of a massified and commodified sport with a global spread such as football also showed the highly localised significance of this sport.

A critical examination of football shows that in a more globalised world, society is becoming less structured and more fluid. This is also changing the ways in which organisations such as football clubs are acting in a globalised economy, but are still a vehicle for the construction of community and identity (MacClancy, 1996: 2). From an anthropological perspective, it is apparent that society and social institutions are not only becoming more diverse, but culture is becoming much more important as a way for people to relativise relations between one another.

Strengths and Weaknesses

In evaluating this thesis I consider my original goals. I have shown how football synthesises both global and local. The examination of this through the use of 'critical anthropology' grounded in a knowledge of the diffusionist history of football, secondary research and ethnography provided a sound basis for the examination of these points. Further localised fieldwork would provide an anthropological examination of football in this country, complementary to documented studies from overseas. I have in the main taken the spectator perspective, but more attention to player perspectives would have provided more information from those who actively participate in the production of the football spectacle or who play small-scale amateur football. Female participation in football is under-documented and more attention needs to be paid to this aspect when discussing globalisation. A phallocentric perspective on football as well as globalisation dismisses the experiences of over fifty percent of the world's population.

Options for further Study

I do not consider this thesis to be a definitive study of any of the themes contained within. Nor was it meant to be. The intention was explore the links between the global and local as manifested through the sport of football. Areas for further investigation are legion. Literature does not serve women's football well. African and Asian football unlike that of Europe is also poorly researched. The role of sports in New Zealand society requires further investigation, including the hegemonic role of rugby union in our society. Football not only has a low media profile but is under-researched by academics in this country. Unlike rugby union there

is no ethnographic study of any of our national football teams (for example McConnell, [1999]). In their centennial history of FIFA (Lanfranchi et al, 2004:200) suggested that football may be displaced by individual sports. The relationship between social structure and ideology in the production and uptake of sport may be overstated. Chinese men and women excel in individual sports such as table tennis, badminton, gymnastics and diving. One would expect the opposite for a so-called group-oriented society. Paradoxically, apart from golf, American sports fans are in thrall to team sports such as basketball, American football and baseball. The lack of congruence between social stereotyping, ideology and reality is exposed for further study.

Ironically it is women who have taken up football in large numbers and who give the sport a profile in the USA. However, worldwide only around nine percent of active participants are women (Lanfranchi, 2004:200). The reasons for this would make a fascinating exposition of not only sexism in sport but also of the apparently separate worlds of men and women as evidenced by the deliberate separation on the public stage of the sexes of football participation to the extent of having a male (and unmarked) World Cup and a Women's World Cup.

The world is getting smaller in that interconnections of people through air travel, telecommunications and the supply of consumer products are fast reliable and relatively cheap. These are supposedly the consequences of globalisation. Activities such as football are not unproblematic. Is the spread of football a form of cultural imperialism, a force for peace through sporting cooperation, a simple form of leisure, the opiate of the masses or a big business? It is, I strongly suspect, all of these. However its production is innately social, it is a team sport after all and therefore communal, yet has become so popular that its commodification grows exponentially, and with around one third of the world's population tuned in

to the World Cup final its mass appeal is assured for now. However football is struggling for recognition rather than for player numbers in New Zealand. This shows how the hegemony of other cultural forms acts against the status of an activity within society. Football has large numbers of players here but a low media profile and low levels of spectator attendance at matches.

Football is a global sport. The sport in New Zealand is peripheralised both nationally and internationally. The challenge for New Zealand Soccer is to create a product that has cultural significance for the majority of the population, men, women and children. To have children and adults here playing for and supporting local clubs, rather than Manchester United, Arsenal and Real Madrid and to compete with televised sports such as Super 14 Rugby union, NBA basketball and Playstation and shopping, football here needs to become part of the popular culture of this country. Models from Europe, Asia and Britain show that the only way for this to happen is through increasing the sports professionalisation, commodification and projection through mass media and the internet.

Football relies on both globality of spread and highly localised significance for its continuing domination of both the world sport scene and local playing fields. An articulation of global and local significance was discussed. When applying these two concepts to football, these were found not to be binary oppositions, but were resolved in the form of dialectic, the resolution of which is best described as some form of hybrid: a kind of 'glocalisation' (Robertson, 1992: 173-174) showing that global and local are enmeshed. Football is at once intensely localised and yet is projected globally by marketing and media technology.

The particularism of anthropology is suitable for small-scale studies and if applied in a critical way to place the study in the wider context (i.e.

local/global) will result in a discipline that will as Peters (1997) put it see 'bifocally'. However, while I incorporated a single ethnographic study into this thesis, multi-site ethnographies will provide comparative examples of real life experiences of global-local interconnections.

Football may not always be the most popular sporting activity within a globalised world, but its current state of dominance is due to the projection of the football spectacle through commodified media. Resistance to forms of the global cultural hegemony of Euro-American culture may challenge its place in the hearts of the world's people especially as China and India come to positions of economic prominence. Ironically Chinese men and women seem to be taking up football in large numbers.

Thirty years ago FIFA President, Jao Havelange, embarked on a global strategy for football to take it to all parts of the world. However, a study of history shows that change is inevitable, and that what rises must also wane. Anthropology shows us that humans are not only social, but also require significance. While football provides that significance for substantial parts of the world's population it will remain immensely popular both as a participant sport and as a spectacle. When its significance as a contemporary sport is replaced by other activities at local and global then it will fade into memory just as folk football has largely done. It will no longer be part of the massified popular culture transmitted by technology and will instead be a relic of a bygone era. As a football fan I hope this will not come to pass. As an anthropologist, I will continue investigating this cultural phenomenon, through the bifocal lenses of the global and the local (Peters, 1999).

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