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Sport and National Identities

Globalisation and Conflict

Edited by
Paddy Dolan and John Connolly

Sport and National Identities

While globalisation has undoubtedly occurred in many social fields, in sport the importance of 'the nation' has remained. This book examines the continuing but contested relevance of national identities in sport within the context of globalising forces. Including case studies from around the world, it considers the significance of sport in divided societies, former global empires and aspirational nations within federal states.

Each chapter looks at sport not only as a reflection of national rivalries but also as a changing cultural tradition that facilitates the reimagining of borders, boundaries and identities. The book questions how these national, state and global identifications are invoked through sporting structures and practices, both in the past and the present. Truly international in perspective, it features case studies from across Europe, the UK, the USA and China and touches on the topics of race, religion, terrorism, separatism, nationalism and militarism.

Sport and National Identities: Globalisation and Conflict is fascinating reading for anyone with an interest in the sociology of sport or the relationship between sport, politics, geography and history.

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John Connolly is a senior lecturer at Dublin City University, Ireland. His research interests include the sociology of sport, organisational change and advertising. Along with Dr Paddy Dolan (Dublin Institute of Technology) he has published extensively on various aspects of Gaelic games and the Gaelic Athletic Association. His most recent work has examined the subject of doping in professional cycling. He is a member of the editorial board of the *European Journal for Sport and Society*. His work on the sociology of sport has been published in leading journals, such as *Sociology*, *Organization*, *Current Sociology*, *Sport in Society* and *Media, Culture & Society* in addition to many others.

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The idea for this book arose during the 2015 European Association for Sociology of Sport (EASS) Conference in Dublin, Ireland, which was jointly organised by us. Our aim in this edited book is to illustrate the continued relevance of national identities by placing them within interstate, intergroup and other sociocultural processes over time. We are very grateful to all of the contributors and we wish to acknowledge the time and commitment they gave to this project. In addition, we would like to thank the team at Routledge, in particular Cecily Davey and Faye Leerink, as well as our copy editor Andy McCulloch, and Mark Livermore and the team at FiSH Books.

Paddy Dolan
John Connolly

Contested and contingent national identifications in sport

Paddy Dolan and John Connolly

The relationship between sport and nation has long been a topic of interest to social scientists and social commentators alike. Indeed, the major sports events since the late nineteenth century, such as the Olympic Games and the football World Cup, have invoked the spirit and rivalry of international competition, ostensibly as an antidote to the more violent rivalries of interstate war and the legacies of empire-building. Of course such events have also been targets of national protest and international acrimony, and have occasionally exacerbated international tensions rather than assuage them into more moderate forms of competition based on models of gentlemanly conduct. In this book, the nuances and complexities of the connections between sporting practices and national identifications are explored by the many contributors in various ways. In this chapter we seek to examine these divergences and, in some respects, convergences, and also to relate them to broader debates on the question of nationhood and national identities.

The concept of nation is highly contested within the social sciences, and of course highly contested in the context of group and interstate relations. While the nation-state has become the dominant form of political organisation, there is no agreed definition of exactly which criteria could demarcate nations from other forms of cultural and social affiliation. Indeed the theoretical debates concerning the origins or even longevity of nations are often tied up with different definitions, whether implicit or explicit (Calhoun, 2007: 27). The notion of statehood is a little more secure, generally following Weber's famous definition of a political organisation exercising a monopoly of the means of violence over a given territory. This does not exhaust all historical instances of statehood, but even now we tend to oppose secure states with other forms of power structures that entail warlords or disparate groups competing for territory and control of others through the use of violence. The meaning of the state is similarly associated with the maintenance of law and order, and therefore legal jurisdiction over a claimed population. States historically have been autocratic, monarchic and democratic to a greater or lesser extent. The process of state formation is often seen as a precursor to national allegiance and a strong sense of

emotional belonging and duty of care towards others designated as part of the same nation (Elias, 2012; Tilly, 1990). For Elias, these processes are largely unintended, in that state territories grow and become more politically centralised due to a series of elimination contests among rival groups. Such groups must ally with others, or defeat them, in order to avoid becoming dominated and controlled. These intergroup conflicts, usually between noble households, subside as one household gains dominance and succeeds in pacifying, in relative terms, other noble groups, thereby exercising a monopoly of violence over the population of a larger territory, which becomes a state. Within-state pacification can occur within the context of emergent, continued and increasing interstate conflicts. In such conditions, noble rulers depend in the first instance on other members of the nobility as allies, but as conflicts grow other members of the broader subject population may be called into collective action. In other words, the extent and nature of social interdependencies shift in a particular direction, changing the power balances between the constituent groups of a state. Even without the threat of interstate conflict, middle- and lower-class groups attain more favourable positions in the power balance within states as commercialisation, industrialisation and urbanisation develop. This is not a 'natural' process, but is instead contingent on social organisation at various levels, and collective action encompassing demands for changes in the models of governance. There are many varieties leading to greater social interdependence within states, but the outcome tends to converge on a new form of government orientated towards the public ownership of the state apparatus. The state gradually loses its meaning as a crown possession, and becomes a way of organising social practices and processes in the interests of the people as a whole. In other words, the state becomes public, not in the ideological sense of socialist or communist, but simply in the democratic sense.

This necessarily brief schematic of course cannot attend to all the varieties of nation-state development. But it is precisely in these varieties that different forms and values of nationalism develop, which then shape the meaning and functions of sport in different regions and countries. As these are social processes, historically the convergence of state and nation has not always run smoothly. State expansion has also been a process of colonisation, itself a process of considerable variety and strategies amongst the colonising groups and indeed the colonised groups in their responses to the expansion of other states. Feelings of nationality depend upon the perspective within the coloniser-colonised relationship. For colonised groups, themselves often organised along deep class and ethnic divisions, formerly ruling elites have sought to incorporate outsider groups into 'national' struggles of liberation. For the ruling elites of coloniser groups, they may be less dependent on the dominated groups within their existing territories, or they may need them in conflicts with well-matched foes. In this sense the process of national development is relational within a fluid relationship of

domination and defiance. These varying perspectives produce different emotional tones to varieties of nationalism. Indeed, as Calhoun (2007) notes, when nationalism is depicted as a singular category it often acquires negative connotations of imagined social superiority. We have many historical instances to support such an interpretation. However, Calhoun reminds us that national identification is also about social solidarity. While nations are not 'natural' as such, dependence on others is. The need to emotionally connect with others is also partly natural (see Collins, 2004). As states became more complex and interdependent, elites sought to generate feelings of loyalty to the broader and dispersed group through education, but this emotional belonging at a higher level of integration was also shaped by the incorporation of formerly excluded strata into governance structures.

The varying trajectories of incorporation produce uneven strengths and cohesion around national identification. Some people refuse incorporation due to formerly established feelings of belonging at a regional level, or through their own dreams of nation-statehood. As mentioned above, this should not be seen as a national emergence in splendid isolation from the colonising ambitions of contiguous yet more powerful ruling elites. However, the relative success of nationalising missions is contingent on many historical processes, and the outcomes are thereby contested. So even though the idea of a nation-state corresponding to a geographic territory may be firmly accepted within international and supranational organisations, the actual emotional strength of identification towards a preferred nation among central rulers can vary significantly. This is especially so at the margins of historical state power: the boundaries and borders where national and social allegiances are contested and where cultural traditions survived state expansion processes, or indeed where 'traditions' developed in defiance of state claims of sole jurisdiction. Furthermore, national identities do not simply overwhelm and subsume all other forms of social identity. Rather, identity becomes multilayered, with some layers attaining greater emotional resonance within the habitus than others (Mennell, 2004). So even though people may not resist the national identifications imposed by central governments and state agencies, and may not seek the status of statehood for an alternative nation (historically, the project of nationalism), they may feel greater allegiance towards a subnational form of identity, or indeed a supranational form of identity, a cosmopolitan identity beyond the imagined confines of the nation-state.

Despite the regular obituaries for the nation published in the sociological press, it is through sport that we often recognise the persistent significance of national identification. This is not to suggest that the we-feelings (Elias, 2010) of nationality are somehow eternal or natural. They are of course social processes, but as such they may grow as well as recede. There are major sporting events that involve competition at the supranational level, at least in part. Interestingly, however, this is often rather one-sided. For

example, the British and Irish Lions rugby union team (an occasional team formed of players from multiple nations specifically for tours well beyond Britain or Ireland) play a particular nation-state. In this case the Lions team is also an outcome of 'internal' colonialism (Hechter, 1975), reflecting the historical union of England and Scotland, and then Britain and Ireland. Unlike other sports (which Moore discusses in his contribution to this book), the sports organisation responsible for rugby union did not split following the partition of Ireland in 1922, which occurred in the aftermath of the Irish War of Independence and the electorally expressed desire of most Irish people to secede from the union with Britain. Here the demand for national self-determination as against the continued membership of a unified state with diverse national and cultural traditions overlapped with religious divisions that led to a strongly sectarian tone to the contested meaning of Irish nationhood. Similar to rugby, the sport of golf also has a supranational competition of sorts (the Ryder Cup) between a collection of nations on one side, and a single nation-state on the other, namely the United States of America. Here too the competition was originally played between 'Great Britain' and the USA, and then 'Great Britain and Ireland' and the USA, and now simply Europe versus the USA. The competition had become too one-sided in terms of the supremacy of the American golfers. This encouraged the inclusion of golfers from Continental Europe in order to make the tournament more unpredictable and therefore exciting for fans of the sport. Aside from the international level, of course sport is more frequently played between clubs within the same nation-state, and also between clubs across national borders, such as the Champions League in Europe. For some fans club allegiance may be stronger than national allegiance, at least in the field of sports. There is no direct and unvarying correspondence between national allegiance in general and national allegiance in sporting terms. Indeed when a club releases players for international duty they become exposed to the risk of injury and fatigue that may have detrimental effects on availability and performance for club competitions. Despite this, from the perspective of players at least, international competition remains appealing, and the popularity of major events such as the World Cup and European Championship in football point to the continuing relevance of national identity for many spectators and fans.

Given that the meanings and emotions surrounding nationhood are often contested among sports players and fans, we should perhaps not be too surprised that within the exalted academic discourse on nations and nationalism there is also much dispute on both the longevity and relevance of the nation. Sociologists and historians of sport tend to mirror these debates, or at least implicitly choose sides due to the omission of alternative perspectives. On the one hand we have theorists, probably in the majority (Calhoun, 2007), who see the emergence of the nation-state following other processes often associated with 'modernity' or 'modernisation'. These

include industrialisation and commercialisation (favoured by Gellner (1983)) and Hobsbawm (Hobsbawm and Ranger, 1983), state formation (Tilly, 1990, 2000) or new means of communication enabling the connection of people over larger territories (Anderson, 1983). The minority view, of which Anthony Smith is perhaps the main exponent, sees a longer continuity between ethnicity and national identity (Smith, 1986). Smith accepts the transformative role of transportation, communication and industrialisation, insofar as these processes enable greater frequency and density of social connections, but he refutes the implication that nationalism was a rather abrupt development without antecedent continuity in the shape of ethnic affiliations, even though these too are subject to myths of origin and descent. Calhoun stresses the futility of these debates around timing, and in this he accords with the warning from Elias (2006: 249): 'Nothing is more fruitless, when dealing with long-term social processes, than to attempt to locate an absolute beginning'. Between the 'ancient' and 'modern' view there are intermediate positions of course.

For the purposes of examining the relevance of nations and nationalism for sport, it is perhaps more useful to conceive of the debate along slightly different lines – whether nationalism is 'invented' or to a large extent unplanned, even though elites may use nationalism as a rhetorical resource in political calculations against opponents or to secure support. This matters because theoretically it may imply that sport too was invented as a cultural tradition for purposes that may also pertain to the political value of ensuring people's compliance and conformity through symbolic rituals. To the extent that these are open to manipulation then indeed sport too could be positioned as an instrument of state power, wielded against the imagined powerless as a kind of false national consciousness. In this scenario both sport and nationalism can be viewed as tools of social control, a kind of religion for the masses. On a less conspiratorial note, this framework of invention may also allow for individuals to choose their nationality. Civic nationalism has been positioned as a matter of choice (Calhoun, 2007), whereas ethnic nationalism is seen more as a social and cultural inheritance from one generation to another that is more an accident of birth than a choice. Ethnic nationalism is more likely to be treated as a dangerous nationalism by social scientists and also political commentators, connoting as it does the histories of social exclusion and elimination based on lineage by blood. These fears are not misplaced, but as Calhoun notes, ethnic nationalism is less voluntaristic and offers scope for emotional and social solidarity. Clearly there are elements of choice in national identification, but children have little choice regarding the families and schools where allegiances and loyalties are stressed to a greater or lesser extent. And the degree of ethnic emphasis in school curricula also changes over time, as nation-states become more cosmopolitan in orientation, though often out of concerns for nation-state survival and success (Dolan, 2014). And in a

few cases, the school education experience includes national sports that also aid the inculcation of national identity and the formation of a national habitus. Even in learning global sports like soccer, children may be taught to play according to a national style, thereby upholding national traditions.

Against the 'invented' understanding of national identity, we can position our own preferred perspective, the figurational approach developed by Norbert Elias, which stresses the unplanned nature of social change. As nations and nationalities did develop over historical time, they are social processes subject to change. State formation is the outcome of elimination contests and the growth of survival units beyond small groups. No individual's plan could have met with perfect fruition, simply because there are innumerable individual plans, all largely formed both with the anticipated plans and actions of others, and formulated using the social and cultural resources of a particular community, a social inheritance beyond the invention or control of anybody in particular. In fact, Elias (2008) demonstrates the development of sport as part of a democratisation process from the seventeenth century in England. As the English nobility and gentry were less subject to the centralised control of monarchs, compared with their French counterparts, they had greater scope for cultural innovation (rather than invention) through interaction with the lower classes. Early folk games provided the raw material for the imposition of more standardised and controlled rules, thereby enabling competition across wider areas. The development of transportation, trade and communication networks that enhanced feelings of belongingness beyond the locality also enabled sports to develop on a national scale. For Elias then, sporting traditions change over time, but there are continuities of form, rivalries and power ratios between certain groups at particular times that were instrumental in the trajectory of particular sports, including splits (as in soccer and rugby). Sportisation processes also involve potential losses of local tradition, in that newly refined sports formed from hybrids across localities and standardised to enable greater participation as well as less violent outcomes (a civilising of games into sport) have often enough replaced local customs. Sometimes of course they can co-exist, though earlier extremes of physical aggression tend to moderate according to the development of a more civilised habitus.

However, there is no inevitability of greater emotional self-control and self-steering mechanisms in the habitus when it comes to sport (Elias and Dunning, 2008). Contested national identities, or oppositional national identities in the same space, can lead to increased conflict due to the combination of existing social divisions and the context of sporting excitement. As Bairner (2016) notes, sport can have a dividing as well as an integrating function, and in the case of Northern Ireland, where national identities and state territories are contested and complex, sporting practice both reflects and amplifies sectarian and ethnic divisions. Symbolic rituals like wearing replica jerseys of rival teams are common forms of identity displays. In

Northern Ireland the jerseys often relate to rival city teams in another country's league – Celtic and Rangers in Glasgow, Scotland. For the inhabitants of Northern Ireland, and not just there, it is entirely obvious that Rangers are the team associated with the Union, while Celtic relate to the historical connection with Catholic Ireland. Since the Good Friday Agreement of 1998 in Northern Ireland the executive (devolved government) has to be formed on a cross-community basis, which means that ethnic division is institutionalised within state structures of governance (Bairner, 2013). While major sports like soccer attract support across the ethnic divide, others like Gaelic football and hurling are associated almost exclusively with the nationalist community, while hockey and rugby attract support from the unionist community. At the 'national' representational level players from nationalist areas have represented the Northern Ireland soccer team (despite the fact that the nationalist community tend to follow the Republic of Ireland soccer team). These players manage to separate their national identification in general from a football identity, which is conditional and temporary (McGee and Bairner, 2011). In this book, Moore examines the politics of representation between the two Association football organisations that emerged in the aftermath of partition. Both organisations for several decades claimed 'jurisdiction' over the whole nation of Ireland, until FIFA as the supranational organisation coordinating football activities across national spaces demanded a resolution of representation to avoid confusion at the higher international level. Other sport organisations operate on an all-Ireland basis, but even here the specific meanings and emotions surrounding the nation differ depending on the national perspective of the groups involved in founding and building such organisations (see Connolly and Dolan, 2010; Dolan and Connolly, 2009). The Gaelic Athletic Association (GAA) was established to organise and promote national sports, but also to promote Irish culture, and indeed could be considered part of the national social movement against 'Anglicisation' and in favour of national self-determination. The activities of the GAA do not correspond with the border within Ireland. Likewise, the Irish Rugby Football Union organises rugby on an all-Ireland basis (there is only one Irish rugby team for the purposes of international matches), but historically the desire for unity in this sport reflects the less nationalist orientation of leading groups (less nationalist in the sense of demanding national self-determination and secession from the multinational state of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland as it was known until 1922).

Representational conflicts in sport are also evident in other territories where different interpretations of the nation prevailed. For example, the rise of one political ideology and its attachment to the nation-state developing in China by the mid-twentieth century led to the migration of other Chinese with a different vision of the ideal nation (Bairner and Dong-Jhy, 2011).

International political institutional processes were also shown to shape global sport governance. Once the People's Republic of China was admitted into the United Nations it paved the way for membership of the International Olympic Committee and the marginalisation of the Republic of China (Taiwan) whose sport organisational elite had claimed to represent all of China (see Bairner's chapter in this volume). The subject of partitioned nations and the subsequent politics of representation is also addressed by Lee and Maguire (2011), largely following the model of banal nationalism developed by Michael Billig. Drawing on Anderson's work on imagined communities, another theoretical resource widely used in this book, they claim that the media constructed images of common, unified identity in the representation of athletes from the nation of Korea, but from the other jurisdiction and political ideology. Lee and Maguire draw parallels between Billig's and Elias's examination of the use of personal pronouns in relation to social identities. However, Elias's model of the we-I balance is not limited to a present-orientated discursive approach, as he stresses the changing balance as a long-term social process. In other words, the emotional primacy of 'we' or 'I' (and indeed both can be highly meaningful at the same time) depends not simply on textual presentation, but on *changing* social interdependencies over generations.

The chapters in this book represent alternative approaches to understanding the connection between national identifications and sport, but there are certainly overlapping themes. The degree and explicit nature of theorisation also varies. Putzmann uses a systems theory approach, seeing a highly complex arrangement of decision-making units and subunits within the Spanish system of governance. Various actors at different levels constitute these units, and there are also actors outside the sporting system that nevertheless exert considerable influence on the direction of policy. It is political even to discuss Spanish 'national' policy precisely because certain groups have different conceptions of their nation compared with the preferred national model of the central state agents and politicians. This contested definition of the legitimacy of nations within the same governance system is further complicated by the exercise of different political ideologies within Spain. State funding of sport is orientated towards both sport-for-all activities and elite sport, the latter potentially serving a national symbolic function as Spanish athletes represent Spain on the international stage of competition. Sport policy aimed at the health and well-being of the population is also seen as a function of state responsibility. While this might lead to more unifying outcomes in that many may benefit from state intervention, and such benefits are not perceived along the contested contours of national representation, this is not the case with elite competition. Here, for example, Catalan or Basque athletes may represent Spain, but emotional identifications remain ambivalent or ambiguous in some cases, both on the part of athletes and the watching public (see also Rojo-Labaien's chapter in

this book). Following Bairner, we could speculate that athletes may be able to adopt a sporting habitus in relation to national representation, but this is perhaps more emotionally difficult for spectators whose national identification is opposed to the dominant nation of Spain, and unlike athletes cannot follow the principles of professionalism in their choices. Putzmann examines the compromises and conflict avoidance measures adopted in Spanish sports policy, in that often deliberate rule ambiguity and confusion occurs in relations between the national and regional level just to ensure that policies can be formulated and implemented. The Spanish case also raises interesting questions in relation to the processes of democratisation or parliamentarisation (Elias's term) discussed above. While democratisation involves incorporation of formerly outsider groups into political decision-making and also state services, thereby advancing feelings of collective belonging and mutual care, in the context of a recent history of felt 'national' or 'ethnic' oppression democratisation may allow the articulation of demands for cultural recognition. Repressive state practices of cultural standardisation are less likely to become part of 'national' habitus where other identifications have been active for longer, and experienced as intentionally marginalised by state policy. Under those conditions the preferred national habitus from the perspective of centralised state functionaries is less likely to be internalised or experienced as second nature. Therefore, abrupt democratisation provides an opportunity to demand cultural recognition, a request that becomes more difficult to repress under the principles of democracy.

Rojo-Labaien develops these themes in his chapter on Basque football. He analyses the case of the Basque nation in the context of the Spanish state. The phenomenon of stateless nations runs counter to how the idea of nationalism should function – the right of a people to decide their own fate, to govern themselves. In the absence of significant governmental capacity, sports teams fulfil the role of embodying the nation. Football stadiums in the Basque region of the Spanish state in particular became sites of resistance, cultural demands and protest against the central state of Spain, notwithstanding the recognition of regions with distinctive cultures in the wake of democracy following Franco's death. The political division between the Spanish and French Basque regions has also been affected by forms of integration at a higher level, namely the development of the European Union. As is increasingly obvious in recent years this development cannot be taken for granted, and social processes of integration require many compromises and identity challenges – they can of course go into reverse. Rojo-Labaien navigates deftly between the theoretical debates within nationalism studies, acknowledging the insights of Hobsbawm and Gellner regarding the transformative nature of nation-states compared with earlier social formations, but he concurs with Smith that, in the Basque case at least, there is a longer, though changing, ethnic dimension to the development of Basque

nationalism and national identification. Indeed, the sense of national belonging among the Basque people demonstrates the capacity for nations to persist in the absence of state structures specific to that region.

Kassimeris and Xinariis examine the contested national identities and political allegiances in Cyprus, but within the context of political and historical developments in Europe. Football has been highly politicised, or has at least been a social and cultural site of political and ideological struggle. Sport generally was often appropriated for nationalist and political propaganda. Within fascist regimes, football at the level of international competition was elevated above club rivalries. Within France however, where the state was formed, centralised and consolidated before the advent of codified and standardised sport across the national territory, the meaning and value of the nation was not attached to sport in the same way. Ideological struggles and division within Cyprus, informed by wider European developments, led to the formation of new football clubs with clear ideological affiliations, but also new structures of governance in place of the ideologically oppositional established structures. In this way, Cypriot football developed ideologically through relational dynamics, the moves of one political group shaping the moves of opposing groups. The authors rely on Judith Butler and her concept of performativity to examine the production of rival fan identities and subjectivities. The ethnically divided island of Cyprus produced oppositional ethnic affiliations among club supporters, though national identities were contested and varied in terms of social exclusivity.

Moore discusses a related dimension of contested national identities – territorial divisions that do not overlap with collective identification. The partition of Ireland in 1922 created much confusion and antagonism within sports organisations that had up until then claimed jurisdiction in their particular sports over the whole country. Conflicts occurred over which new organisation could claim to represent ‘Ireland’. Even where there was no split, as in the case of rugby, the use and display of symbols proved hugely controversial. Up until the 1950s many home internationals were played in Belfast, in Northern Ireland, and displays of the Irish national flag were prohibited. The team attracted support from nationalist (in the sense of feelings of belonging primarily towards Ireland) and unionist groups (belonging towards the United Kingdom), yet there was no unified and shared understanding of the rituals and symbols that might represent the ‘nation’ and also generate collective effervescence and social solidarity in the Durkheimian sense. Although nations can exist without strictly overlapping states in terms of territorial jurisdiction, it seems that without such convergence tensions heighten around both actual social control of sporting activities and the modes of representation. Struggles between rival sports organisations are also not merely confined to that relationship, or even the relationship between the nation-states that most closely resemble the

cultural and political allegiances of those organisations. As sports are usually played on the international level, as well as other levels, 'national' sports organisations are subject to direction and regulation from supranational organisations in their respective sporting domains. So representatives of other states at this supranational level can object to several organisations ostensibly representing the same nation, or different versions of the nation, from the same state or across states, or alternatively claiming to represent another nation within state boundaries. Indeed any alternative to the strict convergence of nation, state and sport organisation opens with the possibility of exceptions that could be invoked by other groups in other states. National representation becomes an international matter subject to global levels of sport governance.

The question of national representation is also addressed by several authors specifically in relation to the media. Here the work of Benedict Anderson is often invoked, though, as Calhoun argues, Anderson did see the nation as both imagined and real: 'Gellner is so anxious to show that nationalism masquerades under false pretences that he assimilates "invention" to "fabrication" and "falsity", rather than to "imagining" and "creation"' (Anderson cited in Calhoun, 2007: 46). Juncà and Inglés examine the representation of nations in sporting practices on Catalan television. They also highlight the relation between state repression of regional identities (or national identities from the perspective of the repressed) and ritual displays of social solidarity (conceived as national by the participants) in sports stadiums, such as Camp Nou in Barcelona. Indeed for FC Barcelona supporters, the team constitutes a national symbol, and in the Durkheimian sense the team becomes totemic as an object of mutual focus of attention during matches, heightening collective emotion and solidarity. There appears to be a circular dependence between state repression, collective rituals of solidarity and demands for symbolic representation, which in turn attracts further state repression. In the media landscape, Juncà and Inglés argue that even Catalan sports reporters must operate within the logic of a state system, so that two nations are represented – Spain and Catalonia. The state system is the basis of sporting competition, such that states or countries are the subjects winning and losing. According to the authors, the daily frequency and routine of naming states in sports reports represents a form of Billig's banal nationalism.

In his chapter on surfing in Ireland, Boyd also examines media treatment of sport, but in this instance he sees a postnational (postmodern) dimension to participation and representation. Surfing is contrasted to Gaelic games, which were explicitly codified, organised and promoted from the late-nineteenth century as national sporting practices. Surfing developed around the world to be both less competitive and more individual, without any particular national allegiance or symbolism, or use as a ritual in social solidarity beyond the surfing community itself. Its growing popularity and youth

association from the 1960s gave it a countercultural, apolitical image, appealing to outsider groups who eschewed the mainstream conformity of the establishment. Following Anderson, Boyd sees an important function of the media in enabling the imagination of postnational, global communities. Boyd is surely right to highlight the relation between globalising processes and the pluralisation of social identities, but globalisation has a longer history than perhaps most adherents of the postmodern perspective acknowledge. Though Boyd emphasises fluidity over dichotomy, the elevation of postmodernity inevitably suggests a historical break with modernity, itself associated with more stable, if mythic, national identities. Indeed Boyd does acknowledge the co-existence of national and postnational identities, and points to the imminent inclusion of surfing into the Olympic Games, thereby succumbing to the order of international competition and national representation.

The chapter by Mower, Bustad and Andrews also includes media representations in sporting contexts, but here the nature of national identities and displays of loyalty are highly contested. In the US some athletes have expressed solidarity with new social movements, such as Black Lives Matter, by refusing to stand to attention during the national anthem before games. Historically athletes were often depicted as national role models, and athletes were expected to observe rituals of social solidarity towards symbols of group belonging. In the Durkheimian sense, refusing to stand for one's national anthem, also holding the body in a particular circumscribed way, could be interpreted as an assault on the nation itself. This is perhaps all the more a source of social outrage at times of interstate conflict and military mobilisation, but the authors show that the meaning of any particular national identity is polysemic, and here the protesting athletes can claim that American identity also demands a critical and reflective perspective on the actions of the government and other ruling elites. These athletic acts of resistance relate to the legacy of slavery and subsequent racial inequality in the US. Such enduring divisions constitute the conditions for displays of Black pride and power; however, media functionaries often culturally appropriate acts of resistance for advertising purposes, and the 'ghetto authenticity' of athletes can be commodified through sponsorship and other commercial activities. According to the authors, this commercialisation process is also potentially a neutralisation process, sanitising the nature of protests, but the celebrity status attained through the media can be used as a platform for highlighting social injustice.

Sporting nationalisms are also of course related to tensions and power dynamics between states. These tensions also include military mobilisation and warfare, though as King (2016) identifies these conflicts of the twenty-first century are increasingly diffuse and less orientated towards clear targets, such as state governments, or clear goals, such as the national interest. Tchir examines the increasing challenge posed by the footballing prowess of other nations to the sense of English superiority. The English

Football Association (FA) had adopted a position of splendid isolation in relation to new global forms of football governance. The FA had represented a rather elite vision of football, based on an amateur ethos, which opposed the professionalisation of the sport. Such amateurism was a form of social distinction from the working classes, and the people of other nations were perceived as socially inferior. This was especially so with regard to the British colonies who had adopted many sporting practices from England. English football losses were attributed to the physical strength of colonial peoples, combined with a lack of regard for fair play and proper conduct so admired by the English sporting elites. Thus the racialisation of colonial peoples was invoked to protect the national pride of English football. This racialisation was also a form of justification for civilising missions in order to 'educate' imagined inferior peoples towards a classed and nationalised standard of sporting conduct assumed to be worthy of universalisation.

Penn, like King (2016), examines the representation of football in the context of military conflict. Whereas King compares artistic representations of war, Penn looks at the heightened national rituals at football matches themselves and the relative lack of media commentary on this rather new development. Therefore, nationalist displays become almost invisible, but are nonetheless ideological. Football fans have heightened their participation in rituals of nationalism at football matches, in contrast to the 1970s where countercultural trends mitigated against symbolic displays deemed to be favouring establishment positions. The recent renditions of national rituals become part of a collective unconscious, thereby contributing to their invisibility, but also their 'ideological routinisation'. The nation becomes reimagined through these ordinary displays in the media. Silk explores similar processes in the American context. There, nationalist displays and symbolic rituals have also intensified in the context of the war on terrorism in the wake of 9/11. Media representations contributed to a collective amnesia, enabling the selective use of a mythologised past to justify political and military action. This 'hot' nationalism is also conveyed through sport and its associated rituals, thereby marginalising and delegitimising alternative versions of nationalism. The stricter division of 'us' and 'them' in an international context is translated into an 'us' and 'them' within a national context in terms of adherence to the political rhetoric of the morality of war. Sport itself becomes a symbolic weapon deployed in stadiums and media platforms. The intensification of national rituals in sporting contexts obscures the long-standing divisions in American society, particularly around race, and puts forward an imagined unity.

Zhouxiang places the development of sporting practice in a long historical sweep of Chinese social developments and interstate relations, including religious and ideological elements. Religious principles infused martial arts in terms of body discipline, meditation and personal health, which in turn

came to be recognised as valuable aspects of military training. Such training became significant in processes of state formation and protection, with religion presented and used as a way to legitimise the state. During the twentieth century, with the rise of communism, state functionaries sought the oppression of religion, but from the 1970s acceptance and accommodation grew. The martial arts attached to religious institutions had gained in national symbolic significance with the cultural memory and circulation of their success in defending the state against foreign aggression. In recent decades these martial arts have gone beyond symbols of nationalism as they become subject to global diffusion through representation in popular culture and indeed the opening of China to tourism.

Bairner also examines the changing place of China in global contexts and indeed global governance, of sport and politics. In this case the contested nature of national identification concerns relations between political elites in two states (the People's Republic of China and the Republic of China, also known as Taiwan) that have historically claimed sporting jurisdiction over the entire nation of 'China', which includes the people (or perhaps 'peoples' would be more appropriate, given the diversity of ethnic affiliations) in both states. This is a fascinating account of how political ideologies can intertwine with national identification, and indeed how alternative ideologies, as well as imagined challenges, symbolic or otherwise, from ethnic diversity can be deemed threatening to national unity. The interstate conflict over national representation drives sporting competition not only between athletes associated with each state, but also over plans to host international sporting competitions such as the Olympic Games. The chance to promote the nation on a global stage indicates the international interdependence of national recognition. This stage also produces anxieties over rival claims to national representation, so both Chinas have at various points sought the exclusion of the other, or at least the subordination of their representation in terms of national status. The larger China has proved dominant in these struggles, particularly once this state became centrally involved in processes of global governance such as the United Nations, even if such organisations are often politically weak in the face of powerful member states.

In conclusion, we have here attempted to locate the study of sporting nationalism in the context of older, and ongoing, theoretical debates on the trajectories of states and nations and their amalgamation into the near-universal political category of nation-state. While we find the figurational perspective of Norbert Elias a particularly convincing and compelling explanation of both nation-state and sporting developments, due to the emphasis on both long-term and unplanned change, there is a rich diversity of theoretical resources open to sports scholars in examining these questions. Despite ongoing debates and disagreements, a welcome process in the development and refinement of theories and historical explanations, it

would seem the idea and emotional significance of nations, and nation-states, have not disappeared. The contested and contingent nature of nations and state formations if anything heightens their social significance, and sport is not merely an outcome of such processes, but plays a part in interstate and international relations.

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Part I

Sporting politics, contested identities and organisational governance

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Sports policy between state intervention and sports autonomy

Consensus and conflicts in Spanish sports policy

Ninja Putzmann

Introduction

This chapter examines the relationship between sport and politics in Spain. I try to answer the general question under which circumstances either state intervention or sports autonomy is predominant. The focus will be on the consensus and conflicts of the Spanish sports policy since the 1980s, when Spain became a parliamentary democracy. It asks what kind of political decisions affect, regulate or even control the area of sport, and how governmental and non-governmental actors handle sport-related matters. For this purpose, three dimensions structure the analysis: firstly, a legal and institutional framework determines the competences of the different actors from politics and sport, and on different levels – national and regional. Secondly, political divides between ‘right’ (conservative parties) and ‘left’ (socialist parties) will be investigated. And, thirdly, different priorities of sport policies with regard to high-performance sport will be contrasted with sport-for-all activities. The analysis of these three dimensions follows an output-based approach and focuses on political decisions and sport programmes. The consideration of a longer period, from the 1980s until today, will help in identifying changes, tendencies, breaks or turning points in Spanish sports policy. To achieve the aforementioned aims, we need a clear idea and contextualisation of the different terms of sport and politics. Therefore, this chapter starts with an overview of connecting factors in the research area of sport policy and politics, followed by the presentation of the theoretical framework based on system theory in political science.

Sport policy, politics and characteristics

In the 1980s, studies about sport policy and politics were characterised by an exploration of the relationship between sport and politics, and by the contrast between sports autonomy and state intervention. It is no longer a question whether sport is political or non-political, or whether sport

follows a capitalist Western model, like the United States, or a socialist Eastern model, such as the former Soviet Union (Krockow, 1980; Güldenpfennig, 1996, 1992, 1981). Sport and politics influence each other. Heinemann (1996) notes that self-regulation of the sport sector depends highly on financial promotion through the state; however, we also need to consider governmental or public responsibility. A static description of the relationship between sport and political actors from the local to the international level can be found by Miège (1993). The role of governments and general concepts for analyses of sport policy and politics were inspired by theories from the political and social sciences (Houlihan, 1997, 1991).

This was followed by many case studies of national sports policy. Single investigations of countries worldwide mainly focused on comparable categories, such as centralised or decentralised governmental institutions and administrations; non-governmental actors, such as sport associations, federations and clubs; legal framework; historical background; financial principles; sport participation; and high-performance sport on the national, regional and local level.¹ Based on these categories, there are also country studies, especially in the European Union, which sought to compare the different aspects and classify the various sports policy systems along schematic, uniform diagrams of the relationship between sport and political institutions on the three levels (Tokarski et al., 2004; Tokarski et al., 2009). Within a broader project, the research group distinguished sport systems by determining four different configurations, namely bureaucratic, missionary, entrepreneurial and social (Camy et al., 2004). This approach was continued along a two-dimensional typology with the opposites of centralisation and decentralisation of the public sector on the vertical axis, and the opposites of continuity and innovation on the horizontal axis – a further development of the model of configurations by Camy and his research team (Henry and Ko, 2010).

Additionally, there are several editorial works, some encompassing more than 20 countries, that considered and aimed to compare national sport policies with special focuses on high-performance sport, concentrating on factors such as training facilities, talent development, coaching and financial support (e.g. Houlihan and Green, 2008; De Bosscher et al., 2008; Digel, 2006; Green and Houlihan, 2005); and on sport-for-all, which focused on broader aspects like governmental, non-governmental and commercial institutions as well as on the culture of sport and statistics to sport participation rates (e.g. Nicholson, 2011; Hylton and Bramham, 2008). Others addressed actor-orientated or organisational aspects, like running participation (Scheerder and Breedveld, 2015), sport clubs (Breuer et al., 2015), sport federations and the organisation of sport (Scheerder and Breedveld, 2015), sport participation (Hallmann and Petry, 2013), historical development of sport organisation and cultural specifics (Sobry,

2011) or political clientelism (Henry and the Institute of Sport and Leisure Policy, 2007).

In recent years, the scientific community addressing sport policy and politics has published excellent handbooks and journal articles that offer a broad range of conceptual approaches to explore international, national and local sport policies – based on political or sociological theories, including comparative methods, considering also dynamic aspects like changes of sport policies and priorities, political influences over time, mechanisms of regulations and general networks of relations between sport, politics and society. Within these works, we already find central characteristics and elements of the system theory that encourage one to analyse national sport policies from that perspective. Houlihan (1997: 11) notes that the systems approach,

is a valuable general framework for comparison, particularly in the emphasis it gives to the outputs of government and also to the conceptualisation of the policy process it suggests. The stress on inputs and outputs and their interrelationship is attractive because of the strong (and simple) subdivision of the policy process.

The focus on the output, as a kind of starting point, enables us to describe (what), analyse (how) and explain (why) the decision-making process. In current works, there has been an increasing interest in analysing sport systems – as single case studies or in a comparative way. They concentrated on the exploration of policy-makers, instruments and processes, governmental objectives and support for sport, state intervention, dependencies within the system, patterns and extent of political influence and policy outputs and outcomes (Houlihan, 2012; Bloyce and Smith, 2010; Tokarski and Petry, 2010; King, 2009; Houlihan, 2008; Bergsgard et al., 2007). Conceptually, Henry and the Institute of Sport and Leisure Policy (2007) and Henry et al. (2005) define different types for identifying similarities and differences across sport policies. Other studies are concerned with an input–output–transformation, especially for high-performance sport-policies, and attempt to find out whether convergence and increasing homogeneous developments are typical patterns in this field (De Bosscher et al., 2008; Houlihan and Green, 2008; Shibli and Bingham, 2007). More heterogeneous aspects and variations of stability and change can be found in Bergsgard et al. (2007) and Heinemann (2003) with regard to welfare-state orientated and sport-for-all policies. A ‘key problem’ for analysing sport policies systemically and holistically is the ‘black box’ problem’ (Henry and Ko, 2014: 6): to describe and explain decision-making processes that lead to political outputs is a challenging task because we need to know the actors involved, decode their interests (perhaps even in different times, considering their changeability) and identify single phases of the process as well as

flowing transitions that could be a complex structure. The following section will take up the aforementioned characteristics of sport policy and politics, and work out a system-theoretical framework for the analysis of Spanish sports policy.

System theory, political systems and sport systems

Sport polity, sport politics and sport policy

As a first step, it is helpful to find a common understanding of the terms sport policy and politics – the most usual terms in English-speaking areas. Using the term politics always implies the process of making decisions, for example, in the area of sport. Policy is the general term for a content area or special field for politics like sport. The German linguistic usage (and also the Spanish one) allows a differentiation in the general term ‘Sportpolitik’ (or ‘política deportiva’) in ‘sportpolity, sportpolitics and sportpolicy’. This three-dimensional division derives from political science, but primarily from the German-speaking area because Anglo-Saxon literature normally uses only politics and policy (Rohe, 1994; Lösche, 2002, 2010; Tokarski and Petry, 2010). Each term is to an extent a ‘neologism’ that comprises a specific meaning and further terms. Talking about ‘sportpolitics’ means focusing on decision-making processes – within the policy area of sport – that include: interest articulation; interest aggregation; implementation; procedures of coordination and voting (power, consensus, compromise, cooperation, majorities, conflicts, etc.); mechanisms of conflict management; negotiation and debates (formal, official, informal); and functions and strategies. ‘Sportpolicy’ contains contents and objectives of sportpolitics. The main areas of sportpolicies relate to high-performance sport, sport-for-all, topics of health, inclusion, integration, etc. Typical forms are laws, regulations or programmes, distribution of resources and agenda-setting. The term ‘sportpolity’ can be used for institutions and actors that act within sportpolicies, or for the legal and formal frame as the basis for sportpolitics. It comprises constitutions, Sports Acts, statutes, rules, norms, organisational structures or roles. In short, sportpolity is the foundation for sportpolitics to realise sportpolicies. This distinction can help to demarcate the general research area of sport policy and politics (including sport policy).²

Easton’s and Almond’s system theory

Czerwick (2011: 90) states that the basic flow model of political systems and its variables is highly suitable for dissecting political processes. The basic idea, illustrated by Easton (1965: 108–117) in a simplified model of a political system includes the system, and its environment as the two main

units of analysis, and inputs and feedback as the two main mechanisms or patterns of communication between the two units. The system contains roles of actors and institutions that are responsible for decision-making; the environment is its complement. The environment directs inputs in the form of demands or support towards the system. Within internal processes the system handles the inputs (called the 'black box' because it is often unclear how the processes take place). In answer to the inputs, the system produces outputs in the form of actions or decisions ('non-decisions' are also an option). This feedback or response goes to the environment that then reacts to the outputs and formulates new or modified inputs. Thus, a schematic, but dynamic, circle with a permanent flow or exchange between the political system and the environment is constructed. Much later, Easton (1990) tried to specify the black box by focusing more on structures and mechanisms within the systems. Structures can be seen as the result of interactions, relations or arrangements between the actors and institutions, which result in stable, formal or informal patterns. These function as restrictions within (parts of) the system, and between the system and its environment.

Almond (2008: 28–38) adopted the flow model of Easton, and specified the political system by naming concrete institutions and agencies; governments are responsible for policy-making, and are capable of acting by working with parliaments, bureaucracies or specialised agencies like interest groups. Due to this functional support of non-political actors, Almond did not stress the strict distinction between the system and the environment. Instead, through his functional perspective, he created a more permeable or even penetrating system. He introduced three types of function that might help to analyse political systems. System functions like socialisation, recruitment and communication are located in the domestic environment, and enter into the system. The former black box receives process functions that comprise different, successive phases like interest articulation, interest aggregation, policy-making and policy implementation. Policy functions like regulation, distribution and extraction are connected with the outputs. Besides Easton and Almond, we find numerous studies concentrating on the analysis of a political system that offer a broad range of variables and focuses. While this section selected some fundamental characteristics, the following idea of a 'sport-political system' is based on a variety of approaches and perspectives of system theory.

The idea of a 'sport-political system'

The idea of a 'sport-political system' derives from the objective of finding characteristics that are unique and special for this combined system. For that purpose, a sport system as well as a political system can be seen as social subsystems.³ Each system has its own peculiarity – for the political

system it is the focus on decision-making processes; the sport system has its rule-based core in (competitive) sports, sport activities or just movement – and can function as the environment for the other system. If both systems or parts of both systems are involved in the decision-making process with the aim of producing an output that affects the area of sport, then we will use the terms ‘sport-political’ decisions, outputs, actors or sport polity, sport politics and sport policy. This determination remains general because it directs us more to an exploratory approach than to hypothesis testing.

The sport-political system works on a judicial framework like the national constitution, Sports Acts, statutes, etc. Controlled or uncontrolled changes, breaks, turning points or continuity lead to a permanent development of the system that contains, on the one hand, political actors or institutions like the government, parliament, administration and affiliated agencies, and on the other hand, sport associations, federations, clubs and further sport-related entities (for the national level). Inputs can be devised within the subsystems or in the environment. Additionally, the model for the analysis of a sport-political system comprises a variable part for actors that are not part of the sport-political system but involved in decision-making processes (e.g. enterprises, mass media, etc.). Ideally, the actors produce outputs that in turn evoke a reaction or an outcome and initiate a feedback loop. The arrows indicate the flow of inputs and outputs, and symbolise the exchange and interactions between the political and the sport system. This model helps in describing the relations and dependencies of the actors as well as sport politics with regard to sport policies, and in explaining sport-political structures. Figure 2.1 illustrates the model for the analysis of sport-political systems.

Analytical aspects for consensus and conflicts of national sports policies

Differences in levels of competences, priorities of sport policies and party political positions

National sports policies can be explored by different emphases and from various perspectives. Based on the aforementioned aspects about sport, politics and systems, this analysis concentrates on three dimensions that enable us to find sport-political characteristics by contrasting consensus and conflict within national sport policy. The first dimension of the levels of competences refers to sport polity, and considers the legal and institutional framework along differences of the national (central) versus the regional (decentralised) level. Secondly, we will distinguish party political positions between ‘right’ (conservative parties) and ‘left’ (socialist parties). Outputs like party programmes and governmental decisions with regard to sport –

Figure 2.1 Model for the analysis of sport-political systems

Source: Author's own representation (modified according to Easton, 1965 and Almond, 2008)

or more specifically high-performance sport versus sport-for-all, federalism versus centralism, autonomy versus intervention and commercial versus non-commercial⁴ – will be evaluated. The third dimension reveals the priorities of sport policies for high-performance sport versus sport-for-all. For this purpose, programmatic focuses and financial distributions will be analysed. Table 2.1 provides an overview about the three dimensions, the contrasts and categories.

Changes

Differences become clearer when we also take a closer look at changes, historical embedding and social and political backgrounds. Changes can be

Table 2.1 Dimensions for contrasting consensus and conflicts

<i>Dimensions</i>	<i>Contrasts: Consensus and conflicts</i>	<i>Categories</i>
I Levels of competences (>> sport polity)	National (central) versus regional (decentralised)	– Legal framework – Institutional framework
II Party political positions (>> sport policy)	‘Right’ (conservative parties) versus ‘left’ (socialist parties)	– Party programmes – Governmental decisions
III Priorities of sport policies (>> sport policy)	High-performance sport versus sport-for-all	– Programmatic focuses – Financial distributions

Source: Author's own representation

marked by breaks, turning points or key events (Houlihan, 1997, 2008). For a better understanding of the developments of sport policies, Houlihan and Lindsey (2013: 22) formulated a range of dimensions which include changes in government motives for involvement in sport, changes in the range of instruments used to effect the implementation of sport policy, shifts in the pattern of power relations between policy actors, changes in the organisational landscape and the implications for the configuration of networks and the balance between policymaking and policy taking.

These change-based dimensions will also structure the following analysis of consensus and conflict of Spanish sports policy. To have a consistent frame for the present analysis along the dimensions, the relevant time period will be divided into a period from the end of the 1970s to the beginning of the 1990s and into a second period from the end of the 1990s to the present. In short, the first period comprises democratisation and constitutional processes, considerable infrastructural actions and the adoption of the Sports Act in 1990 that is still valid today. After this, many national sport policies, programmes and regulations were passed to promote sports and sport activities. We also find turning points like the economic crisis in 2008 and key events like the 1992 Olympic Games in Barcelona (Puig, 1994; Puig et al., 2003; Tapiador, 2008; Puig et al., 2010).

Consensus and conflicts of Spanish sports policy

1. Levels of competences

Legal framework

The analysis of consensus and conflicts considers the legal framework, the

Sports Act, institutional information, sport promotion programmes, financial distributions, party programmes and further governmental decisions, such as decrees, regulations or conventions. Therefore, the databases comprise especially primary and original data. The focus on outputs facilitates an overview of the status quo, a first step and a precondition to continue with analysing policy-making processes.

The first dimension of levels of competences involves analyses of consensus and conflict between the national and regional level by means of the legal and the institutional framework. Starting with the legal basis for Spanish sports policy, the constitution from 1978 and the Sports Act from 1990 are central to the formal organisation of the relationship between sport and politics. The general constitutional process was characterised by negotiations and the principle of consensus (Barrios, 2009: 714–716). During the dictatorship of Franco from 1939 until 1975, neither high-performance sport nor sport-for-all was supported. Therefore, it was agreed by political parties and demanded by the Spanish population that sport be included in the constitution but it was unclear with which accentuation. In a cooperative way, the parliament, interest groups and representatives from society decided to emphasise sport-for-all as an important part of a collective welfare state (Puig, 1996: 118–122). However, it was connected with a certain openness with regard to the exact interpretation whether the state has (only) the opportunity or (even) the duty to promote sport: everyone has the ‘right to health protection’ (section 43.1), and ‘public authorities shall foster health education, physical education and sports’ (section 43.3). That was the final formulation. The second conflictual area contained the question about national and regional responsibilities for sport. Historically, dissension was always present and expected, but a consensual agreement for the constitution was essential (Bernecker and Collado, 1993: 8–16). This meant both uncertainty and, again, an openness: ‘The Self-governing Communities may assume competences over the following matters: ... The promotion of sports and proper use of leisure’ (Section 148.1.19). Although the understanding of sports and the distribution of competences remain imprecise and indefinite, it can be stated that sport was recognised as a part of social life and the welfare state. Now, there was legitimacy for state intervention and a national responsibility for access to sport. This phenomenon of indeterminacy is not unique to sport but is obvious for many social aspects in the constitution. For at that time in 1978, the turning point from the dictatorship to democracy, the only solution was to formulate a consensual constitution (Bernecker and Collado, 1993: 16). This was achieved, and greater certainty for the sport sector followed, with the first Sports Act in 1980, revised by the Sports Act of 1990, which remains valid today.

While the preamble of the Sports Act 1990 implies a broad understanding of sport, the central sport policies within the Act relate primarily to

high-performance sport (e.g. sport federations, competitions, research, anti-doping). The Sports Act tries to define tasks, responsibilities and competences for the political, administrative and sport actors. Thus, the relationship between political actors and sport organisations as well as the decision-making processes should be structured. However, the state does not determine exactly the extent of intervention. Instead, it searches for a balance, and keeps all options open (preamble, section 5):

The fundamental goal of the new Act is to regulate the legal framework in which it is necessary to carry on the playing of sport under the auspices of the State. This involves rejecting, on the one hand, the easy temptation to assume an excessively public role, and, on the other hand, the propensity to abdicate all responsibility in the arrangement and rationalisation of any sector of collective life.

While the responsibilities and tasks for sport and administrative-political actors are listed in detail, the clarification of national and regional competences remains unclear intentionally. Conflicts should be avoided. Rather, 'there are several coordinated activities of cooperation between the State Authority and that of the Autonomous Communities for those concurrent competences which will doubtless lead to a more dynamic sports policy, with multiplying effects' (preamble, section 6). Obviously, the national level has the power to coordinate Spanish sport policies of high-performance sport as well as sport-for-all across the different levels.

The constitution's sport-related article 43 and the Sports Act 1990 exist unchanged up to the present time. Formally, the state retains the twin-track strategy of elite and mass sport, and pursues a cooperative federalism under national leadership. Meanwhile, all regions have passed their own sports laws with competences for coordinating regional sport organisations, physical education and school sport, sport promotion programmes and financing of sport-for-all and high-performance sport, in consultation with the Higher Council for Sport (Consejo Superior de Deportes (CSD)). The open and overlapping formulation of the competences does not lead necessarily to conflicts, but to confusion between the actors, to less control by the CSD and to the beginning of parallel structures (Camps, 2006: 72–78). Therefore, and because of further obsolete regulations, Rivero et al. (2008: 103–104) demand a further revision of the Sports Act that clarifies state competences in contrast to those of the regions. It also should define a general legal framework for professional sports, regulate the concept of subvention and sponsoring of sport organisations, protect sport in general (and not only the federated), develop a standard for sport infrastructure and coordinate in the area of sport in schools and physical education.

Institutional framework

The Sports Act 1990 defines competences for both the governmental-public and sport actors. For the sport sector, it classifies several entities that are private-autonomous, mainly sport federations, sport clubs (for mass and professional sport) and sport promotion associations. They could be 'recognised as being of public utility' if they are non-profit, promote sport and 'assist the State' (preamble, section 14). The CSD is the central administrative, autonomous organ and affiliated with the Ministry of Education, Culture and Sport. The president is a state secretary and is nominated by each government. The CSD has broad competences for financing, infrastructure, anti-doping, competitive sport, high-performance sport, sport promotion, research, training of coaches and overseeing Spanish sport entities (Sports Act 1990: Article 8). Besides the president and his or her cabinet, the general directorate comprises subdirectorates that are currently responsible for high-performance sport, sport-for-all, legal affairs and women and sport. Previously, the CSD had for many years a subdirectorate for infrastructure because of the pent-up demand after Franco. Now, the focus has shifted to sport promotion and women (CSD, 2015a). Furthermore, there were and are a lot of advisory organs. Amongst others, the executive committee (*comisión directiva*) and the general assembly (*asamblea general*) are two organs, recognised by the Sports Act, which were established with the intention of ensuring participation of sport organisations in the decision-making processes of the political system. The general assembly is the advisory organ for the president of the CSD, meeting at least annually, and consists of 12 representatives from the state administration, one representative from each region and from each Spanish sports federation, and further members from local entities and sport organisations. Although this organ was intended to be a participatory, democratic and communicative institution, it has not met in recent years (CSD, 2014). However, the executive committee meets at least once per trimester to discuss sport-related formalities. It decides on the registrations and statutes of the Spanish sport federations, associations and professional leagues, and it controls and approves their budgets. Since 2015, the committee consists of the president of the CSD, its vice-president and representatives from the CSD (three), the autonomous regions (one), local entities (one), Spanish sport federations (two) and special persons from the sport sector (three). Previously, it consisted of 22 representatives but in the meetings it was recognised that a smaller number would facilitate decision procedures (Real Decreto, 460/2015). Formally, the composition is balanced in every respect through regular changes and different sports federations, regions, etc. Besides these formal arrangements, we can observe further institutionalised collaborations between the national and the regional level within the scope of several programmes for

high-performance policies and sport-for-all policies. This brief outline demonstrates that the institutional framework gives the autonomous regions the opportunity to exchange with governmental actors. By this, the state aims to avoid conflicts by providing participation in decision-making processes. However, at this point it remains unclear in what way the regions use these channels, and how they assess them to assert their interests. While the distribution of competences as well as the legal and institutional framework with regard to the regions are kept relatively open, the relationship from the governmental-public actors towards the Spanish sport federations and associations can be characterised by clearly formulated areas and possibilities for state regulation and control.

II. Party political positions

Party programmes

The dimension of party political positions focuses on political outputs: besides conflicts and consensus, governmental (binding) decisions and (non-binding) party programmes also reveal a divide between the two established parties of the socialist, more left-orientated Partido Socialista Obrero Español (PSOE) and the conservative, more right-orientated Partido Popular (PP). After the democratisation process, the political landscape was dominated by the PSOE from 1982 until 1996, and then interrupted until 2004 by the PP. Two legislature periods by PSOE followed, before the PP again attained office in 2011. Since December 2015, the traditional two-party system is challenged by the necessity to form coalitions.

On a general note, party programmes in the early decades are very similar. Both parties mentioned sport ('deporte') in its programmes in separate sections (PP, PSOE, 1982, 1986, 1989, 1993). The main topics were sport-for-all, a national Sports Act, diverse regulations, as well as infrastructure and sports facilities. The consensus around the importance of sport-for-all ('deporte para todos') persists. The objective of seeking to increase sport activities also appeared in non-sport specific areas, like education, health and social life. One reason for this could be that the Spanish Constitution in 1978 already determined competences and responsibilities in that area. We also find a similar attitude to high-performance sport. On the occasion of the 1992 Olympic Games in Barcelona, a nationwide promotion and infrastructure programme was implemented. Both PSOE and PP strived to further host international sport events, combined with a clear support for high-performance sport (PP, PSOE, 1996, 2000, 2004, 2008, 2011, 2015). While PSOE maintains an interventionist line that comprises state regulations in the area of sport, PP initiated a turning point in 1996: private and individual responsibility and the autonomy of sport should be strengthened; state, public and

administrative competences should be limited. Furthermore, PP has argued for greater commercial exploitation of private sponsorship especially for competitive sports, athletes and sport events (2008, 2015). There is no comparable information from PSOE. In conclusion, although the basic party programmes do not reveal direct conflicts, the mentioned positions indicate differences or even a divide between the political parties during the last two decades.

Governmental decisions

There are a lot of governmental decisions in each legislative period. While the number of passed sport-related Acts are in the single digits, the number of decrees had its lowest level in 1991 and 2005 with less than ten, and its highest level in 1993 and 2000 with more than 30 (CSD, 2009a, 2007–1999). A closer look at the legislative periods shows no clear correlation between the number of decisions and the governing party; the socialist government was replaced by the PP in 1996 (until 2004), and again from 2011 to 2015. We also cannot state that any single topics are specific for one party because the spectrum of issues is recurring and ranges from social security, sports betting, doping, broadcasting of sport events, commercial companies to sport-for-all, high-performance sport, sport associations and federations, national statistics and surveys. The early decades were governed by PSOE until 1996. This period was characterised by a young democracy with weak organisational structures and an ineffectual infrastructure for leisure activities, sport-for-all and high-performance sport (Burriel and Puig, 1999). The constitution, including the passages about sport and physical activity, as well as the Sports Acts of 1980 and 1990, were passed in a consensual way (preambles). The promotion programme for elite sport Asociación Deportes Olímpicos (ADO) started in 1988, based on private sponsoring of national and international companies, and exists almost unchanged. Due to the low sport participation rate and the insufficient sport facilities, there was also a consensus to formulate decrees and programmes that regulated and improved these areas. Furthermore, in the 1990s, the majority of the autonomous regions developed their own regional Sports Acts that can be interpreted as an amicable agreement with regard to the distribution of competences. However, since the middle of the 1990s an official overview by the Spanish administrative body CSD about the most important decrees and laws allows observations of political positions, profiles, divisions and slight differences between the two established Spanish parties (CSD, 2016a).

Most political decisions were made during the PSOE government from 2004 until 2008. The first law in this period was the ‘Ley Orgánica 2006 de protección de la salud y lucha contra el dopaje en el deporte’, which defined the scope for state actions against doping with regard to high-

performance sport as well as to general sport activities in society. It updated binding and transparent rules in the form of prevention, controls and sanctions. This output complied with regulation as policy function within the sport-political system, combined with the legitimization of control and obligatory supervision because the citizen's right of access to healthy sport is part of the constitution. Similar motivations and functions can be seen in the 'Ley 2007 contra violencia, el racismo, la xenofobia y la intolerancia en el deporte' that intends to maintain citizens' security during sport (mega) events by formulating possible preventions and sanctions. Three further political decisions intervene in the area of sport. One decree aims for more regulation, influence and a nationwide standard for sport and physical education in schools (Real Decreto, 1363/2007). A second decree lays down a general definition of high-performance sport and elite athletes that accompanies endeavours towards greater state regulation and influence (Real Decreto, 971/2007). To check and control Spanish sport associations, the CSD approves the procedures of electoral processes (Orden, 3567/2007). Further listed decrees and regulations are supplements or specifications of existing decisions (CSD, 2016a). To sum up, this legislature period supports the conclusion that a socialist party tends to formulate a lot of outputs to achieve more regulation and intervention. Furthermore, the content and the national range of the decisions indicate centralism, also ideal-typical for this party, because PSOE intends to influence physical education although school issues and education are clearly part of each region's competences. The government legitimises its intervention by referencing its responsibility for high-performance sport; this attitude is contrary to the ideal-typical sport-for-all emphasis.

In contrast to these observations, we cannot find a similar party profile for the PP but indirectly it is obvious that only a few decisions were made during the legislative period from 1996 until 2004, and from 2011 until 2015. This implies less effort at regulation, and more autonomy for the area of sport. This could also be interpreted as recognition of the fact that sport and physical activity are areas of competence for the regions. Furthermore, it is notable that the only relevant law passed in 2013 – concerning health and doping, a revision of the law in 2006 – demonstrated a retraction of state intervention: the national anti-doping agency has to be independent from the state. Therefore, the former 'Agencia Estatal Antidopaje' became the autonomous, public organ 'Agencia Española de Protección de la Salud en el Deporte'. It can be summarised that sport is not a typical policy to detect political divisions or even cleavages. However in recent times, and in a more indirect way, we can identify different accentuations with regard to high-performance sport versus sport-for-all (for both PSOE and PP), commercial (slightly for PP) versus non-profit sport, centralism (slightly for PSOE) versus decentralisation and intervention (for PSOE) versus autonomy (slightly for PP).

III. Priorities of sport policies

Programmatic focuses

In the 1980s and 1990s, programmes to improve and expand sport infrastructure were predominant. It was agreed by the political parties, the CSD and the sport organisations that both high-performance sport and leisure sport needed an adequate infrastructure. While in 1975 the number of sports facilities was estimated at about 18,000, in 1997 this had risen to about 66,000. The last census counted around 80,000 (CSD, 2007a: 29–34, 74–77, 87–90). The increase can be explained by the implementation of the programme ‘Plan Escolar’ that was initiated in 1988 by the Ministry for Education and Science, the CSD as well as the majority of the regions. It was mix-funded by the national and regional administrations, and to a lesser extent by the local institutions, and focused on building sports facilities, primarily for schools and physical education but also indirectly for a broad range of users. At the beginning of this project, there was no clear time schedule, so that the infrastructure measures ran until the 2000s. Although not all planned sport facilities were realised, the CSD declared the plan a success. The total expenditure from 1988 until 2003 can be estimated at around 430 million euro (CSD, 2007b: 9–14, 28–29). Besides the bad condition of much of the sport infrastructure, the International Athletic Committee decision in 1986 to award the hosting of the 1992 Olympic Games to Barcelona was a significant incentive for the Spanish government to invest in sports facilities. The CSD coordinated the construction not only for school sport and sport-for-all but also for high-performance training centres (CSD, 2007b: 26–28; CSD, 2016b). Additionally, in 1988, the CSD, the National Olympic Committee and Spanish television founded the ADO and arranged a promotion programme of the same name. It was based on private funding from commercial companies and is still operating. For Spanish sport development, it was the first time that sponsors and private capital supported a public sport policy (Puig et al., 2010: 387). ADO was joined by the special ‘Programa 2000 de Perfeccionamiento Deportivo’ for young and successful athletes that still runs today under the new name of ‘Programa Nacional de Tecnificación Deportiva’ (PNTD). There was no similar promotion programme (with regard to scope, duration and acceptance) for sport-for-all. It is notable that it was the socialist government PSOE (1982–1996) that supported commercially funded high-performance sport. However, during the last three legislative periods there were some sport promotion programmes that corresponded to the typical characteristics for socialist and conservative parties.

After the high investment in sport infrastructure, it became obvious that the management of the facilities was uncoordinated and not sustainable. The sport federations especially – mainly stakeholders for high-

performance sport – demanded that the infrastructure be controlled and revised with regard to safety, accessibility, use, modernisation, quality and risk management. Therefore, in 2006, the CSD, the regions, the local institutions, the sport organisations and representatives from the building sector agreed to the plan ‘Mejora y Armonización de las Instalaciones Deportivas en España’ (MAID). This programme aimed at improvement and harmonisation in two respects. On the one hand, different norms of the facilities should be standardised. On the other hand, consensual solutions for a better and more efficient management between the different actors, and especially between the various levels, should be determined. Officially, the plan ended in 2008 but the collaborations and standardisations are supposed to continue permanently (Instalaciones deportivas XXI, 2008: 2–6; Alcántara and Ramiro, 2006: 29). This project did not need any funding, and was directed to more private management and more decentralised structures that indicate typical conservative attitudes of the PP government.

The following legislative period of PSOE was dominated by a lot of new political outputs. Special mention should be made of the ‘Plan Integral para la Actividad Física y el Deporte’ (Plan A+D) because it is an expression of the central aims of the socialist government: to increase sport participation rates, and to improve access to sport especially for marginalised groups such as the elderly, disabled people and women (CSD, 2009b: 31–39). Plan A+D was implemented in 2008 as a joint project, coordinated by the CSD in collaboration with national, regional and local administrations, and sport and education institutions. Important inputs came from European studies that showed only small increases in the level of Spanish sport participation rates (García and Llopis-Goig, 2011: 40–43). Similar to the PP programme MAID, this project was also intended to support networking between the different levels as well as between sport and political institutions without additional costs. However, neither programme was continued by the following government. Instead, the political parties, through the president of the CSD, created several new plans with different emphases that reveal increasing political differences. As a general trend, it can also be stated that both PSOE and PP governments tend to stress networks and collaborations – on all levels and with non-profit sport organisations as well as for-profit companies.

Financial distributions

Focusing on financial budgets, we find different sources that generate and distribute money. Camps (2011: 237) stated that ‘[i]n the past, the public sport budget was totally conditioned by the revenue received from sport betting. Nowadays, the situation has changed and the public sport budget only depends on the grant allocations annually defined by the Parliament’.

In 2015, the Spanish state and the CSD distributed the total sum of about 164 million euro, that is the same as in 2006 (Gobierno de España, 2015). During this period, the amount varied mainly because of the economic crisis. The majority, about 41 million euro, were transferred to the Spanish sport federations for their daily work, participation in international sport organisation, special athletes or projects for women and sport. Around 35 million euro were distributed to local institutions, generated by sport betting and gambling. They can decide upon their own allocation, whether for sport-for-all or for high-performance sport. Just over four million euro were granted for financing the construction and modernisation of sports facilities, especially high-performance training centres. Moreover, the budget listed 300,000 euro for the National Olympic Committee, 150,000 euro for the Paralympic Committee and a further four and a half million euro for non-profit sport organisations (Camps, 2011: 235–237; Gobierno de España, 2015). High-performance sport also received money through ADO, whose funding comes from private companies. In 2015, the total sum of nine million euro was transferred mainly to sport federations, who forwarded it to athletes in the form of scholarships (CSD, 2015b). Although the data of the national public budget for sport are available and transparent, it is difficult to derive an evaluation of the importance of sport-for-all in contrast to high-performance sport. It needs to be related to regional and local budgets because all levels have competences to finance and regulate both sport policies.

Conclusion

The Spanish sport policy changed from high governmental intervention and welfare attitude to service-orientated sport coordination with allocative functions. We find diversified structures of the public and private sector with regard to institutions, competences and functions, and a strengthened network between public and private sport institutions. Although the national level proclaims a broad range of competences for the governmental administration, we can identify a change to more decentralised structures on all levels. The communication and decision-making processes between the sport and the political system can be characterised mainly as consensual. While the sport policy of sport-for-all is anchored in the constitution, and is always emphasised in the party programmes of both the PSOE and the PP, the sport policy of high-performance sport is predominant. The financial support by the state towards infrastructure, high-performance sport centres, sport federations and competitive sport is immense in contrast to sport-for-all-activities. However, we can observe an overlapping of competences on the national, regional and local levels. Therefore, general evaluations about the relevance for each political or public institution are difficult. Furthermore, the economic sector has an increasing interest in

sponsoring sport, and the state expects sport federations to acquire more money autonomously. The 1980s and 1990s were shaped by consensual, cooperative and participatory politics. The party programmes showed hardly any differences; the improvement of sport infrastructure for general sport activities as well as for elite sport was an important topic for all actors on all levels. After a PSOE-governed legislative period (2004–2011) with a lot of decisions, programmes and regulations, there has been less intervention and a stronger market orientation under PP (2011–2015). In recent years, the presidents of the state administration have stopped the promotion programmes (in their role as state secretaries) of previous governments. Instead, new programmes are preferred that stress networking and collaborations between sport and political actors on different levels, without additional costs. This also affects the relationship between the political and the sport systems. For example, sport organisations need to acquire revenues increasingly on their own; sport federations or associations sympathise more with the PP or the PSOE, depending on each sport's policy. Due to an unclear distribution of competences, because of the new challenges within professionalised sports and because of increasing political divisions, the structure and frame for national sports policy and politics in Spain became more and more complex.

Notes

- 1 See country profiles in the *International Journal of Sport Policy and Politics*, e.g. Clarke/Sunday, 2016 (Cameroon); Nassif/Amara, 2015 (Lebanon); Zheng, 2015 (Hong Kong); Marinho, 2014 (Brazil); Tinaz et al., 2014 (Turkey); Dousti et al., 2013 (Iran); Waardenburg/Bottenburg, 2013; Skille/Säfvenbom, 2011 (Norway); López de D'Amico, 2011 (Venezuela); Puig et al., 2010 (Spain); Chappelet, 2010 (Switzerland); Hoye/Nicholson, 2009 (Australia); Tan et al., 2009 (Taiwan); Tokarski et al., 2004 and Tokarski/Steinbach, 2001 (European countries).
- 2 The composed words of sportpolitics, sportpolicy and sportpolity are a German approach to distinguish between different meanings of 'Sportpolitik'. To have consistent terminology I will use the typical English terms of sport policy, sport politics and sport polity.
- 3 This chapter does not aim to construct a political as well as a sport system in a strict logical way. Rather, this model should serve as an innovative idea that offers an opportunity to characterise the relationship between sport and politics from a new perspective, and is open for further improvement and comments.
- 4 These sport-related divisions were developed in another study about political cleavages and sports policy in Germany, Spain and the United Kingdom.

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Sport as a pillar of representation of current Basque identity

Ekain Rojo-Labaien

The Basques are considered a stateless nation (Watson, 1996: 18) at the foot of the Pyrenees mountains and open to the Atlantic Ocean. Two autonomous regions are found in Spain, Euskadi and Navarre, and there is another part in France that shares a political institution with Béarn, namely, the department of Atlantic Pyrenees, within the region named Nouvelle Aquitaine. In spite of the absence of its own state in the modern era, the long-standing collective identity of the Basque people endures. At this point, foreign collective sports have risen notably as a modern instrument for preserving symbolically the ancient particularity of the Basques. In fact, due to the centralising force of the state construction in Spain and France over the course of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, the Basque language, the oldest living European language, was threatened with extinction (Friend, 2012: 112; Ahedo Gurrutxaga, 2005: 76). Similarly, the French Revolution on the one hand, and the Spanish Carlists wars of the nineteenth century on the other, suppressed the existence of the Basque *fueros*, which were special legislative privileges of the Basque territories coming from the Middle Ages, and which had allowed the preservation of its identity (Watson, 1996: 18–19). Last but not least, the social changes brought about by the Industrial Revolution totally transformed the foundations of the Basque community. A predominantly rural and religious society grew into a great industrial hub in the Spanish part at the turn of the nineteenth century, and heralded the arrival of hundreds of thousands of immigrants from Spain (Ben-Ami, 1991: 494). At this juncture, in 1894, Basque nationalism emerged to the defence of its cultural identity (Hobsbawm, 1992: 107).

The Basque nationalist party – PNV – was born in the city of Bilbao, which rose not only as the crucial industrial centre of the Basque Country, but also as the main flourishing economic hub in Northern Spain. In the same manner, not coincidentally, the fast-developing industrial region became a pioneer for the arrival of British collective sports, which was related to the dynamics of industrialisation (Walton, 1999: 261). All in all, industrial progress, and the resulting rise of the nationalist movement, together with the emergence of team sports, shaped both the national

identity and the representation of the Basques in the modern era. Furthermore, this strengthens further in the wake of globalisation processes in the twenty-first century.

Thus, this chapter will seek to capture in depth the historical importance of sport in the contemporary Basque Country as a patriotic vector in the context of an absence of a Basque state. It will also refer to the plurality of national allegiances reflected in sport, within the territory divided into France and Spain. The analysis notably links the previous era of modernity, with the recent time of uncertainty concerning nation building and political organisation. Football and rugby, the foreign sports that were initially perceived with suspicion by Basque nationalism, became a pillar of differentiation within Spain and France, respectively (Rojo-Labaien, 2017: 69). In this regard, this chapter will stress the fact that the representation of the Basque community was formed, especially from the mid-twentieth century onwards, through the exceptional autochthonous composition of the most important football teams, namely, Athletic Bilbao and Real Sociedad. National teams are perceived as reflections of different conceptions of citizenship on the playing fields (Lanfranchi, 2002: 18); however, given the fact that the Basque national team has not been validated by FIFA to play in official international matches, which is due especially to the lack of an independent state, Basque clubs have emerged as the embodiment of the nation. Thus, this analysis aims also at providing a more in-depth picture of the autochthonous composition of the Basque teams. Indeed, many studies have examined in depth the emblematic case of Athletic Bilbao (Vaczi, 2014; Nili, 2009; MacClancy, 1996), but they have to some extent failed to effectively address the distinguishing mark of Basque sport as a whole.

This chapter is split into three main sections. In the first section, a theoretical framework is presented on the concept of nation and nation-state and the embodiment of national identity by means of sport. In so doing, it seeks to contest the stereotypical approaches in a subject of study that is still a controversial issue within the social sciences. Above all, superficial statements about Basque political articulation are called into question. The second section addresses the political evolution of the Basque nation since the contemporary emergence of the nationalist movement and the relationship with foreign collective sports. This connection is addressed to illustrate their importance for the construction of the Basque identity. The third, and last, section deals with current empirical cases about Basque representation through sport teams. In this regard, the text addresses the two main opposing sports policies of the Basques. On the one hand, football clubs and cycling will be analysed. On this point, the overall orientation to prioritise sports men from Basque society, namely, the all-Basque sport policy, will be stressed. Their distinctiveness lies in the fact that they run counter to the tendency towards globalisation and the recruitment of foreigners, while being part of a high-level sport competition (García, 2012: 117). Hence

apart from football culture, in the same sense, the text brings up the case of the Euskaltel Euskadi cycling team, and the new project launched in 2015 with similar features of the former named Euskadi Basque Country Murias.

On the other hand, the study addresses the reality and significance of other successful sport modalities that do not follow the same Basque autochthonous policy. At this point, the case of top rugby clubs in the French Basque Country will be emphasised. Moreover, the paper will consider the recent rapprochement of the Basque northern rugby clubs to the Spanish side, in the form of French league and European competition matches being hosted in the Anoeta stadium of Donostia-San Sebastián, the home of Real Sociedad football team. This tendency runs in harmony with the deepening of cross-border relations in the context of globalisation. In this vein, on the whole, the study of Basque sport enables one to see multiple aspects and layers of the current Basque community (Ball, 2010: 183–184, MacAlevy, 2001: 90). First it illustrates the desire to preserve ancestral identity through modern sports, and importantly by the fielding of an overwhelming majority of native players to represent the town and the community. Secondly, the study reveals the way in which Basques face globalisation, how they adapt to it and even gain advantages by it. As Jarvie argues (2006: 73), new forms of politics can be analysed in the sport framework, such as the relevance of stateless nations, further beyond the sole focus on states (Friend, 2012: 3).

A theoretical framework on nations and nationalisms beyond a stereotypical view

Nation-states were conceived in the eighteenth century as fantasised homogenising organisations to order similarities (Goldberg, 2002: 140).¹ In such a context, the 1789 French Revolution and the Spanish Constitution of 1812, established, by virtue of the will of the elites, the pillars of the respective nation-states and started a process of unification of very diverse regions. In order to respond to this overall centralising threat, new nationalist movements without states emerged in Europe at the turn of the nineteenth century – Basque nationalism being one of them. As nation-states, they were all imagined, but not imaginary (Jenkins, 2014: 12), given the fact that they gave a modern individual a needed sense of identity and identification. Most of these new movements stressed the linguistic or ethnic element (Hobsbawm, 1992: 106), based on Johan Herder's doctrine, namely, on German Romanticism. In this respect, in the literature on nationalism there has been a widespread approach that political expressions can be classified in terms of ethnic and civic nationalism. The main embodiment of the former would be Herder's German nationalism; the latter is linked with the French nationalism associated with Ernest Renan. Renan's thesis on civic nationalism can be summarised in the idea that nation-states are the result of the desire to live jointly in society, beyond the ethnic

characteristics on which they might be based (Renan, 1882). Nevertheless, this chapter is in line with the thesis of Anthony Smith, who argued that in all nationalisms, both ethnic and civic characteristics are perceived in varying degrees and forms (Smith, 1991: 13). For that reason, this characterisation of nations is not scientifically accurate, and furthermore it usually leads to stereotypical approaches.

Basque nationalism has often been pejoratively labelled by its detractors as an ethnic narrowminded form of nationalism, whereas the surrounding state nationalisms are positively associated with the civic and liberal form of nation. In this regard, one of the most eminent Basque anthropologists, Joxe Azurmendi, highlights the lack of scientific rigour in this dichotomy on the definition of the nation and deplores attempts to negatively criticise the Basque movement (Azurmendi, 2014). Hence, bearing this point in mind, it is a mistake to take this as the starting point for attempting to explain the specific policy of Basque sport. As Shmuel Nili observes (2009: 267), it is as if Basque nationalism were centred on the adoption of an anti-modern and exclusionary ethnic type of core value centring on race. However, in reality, although there has been a long-standing tradition of autochthonous rural sports in the region, such as Basque pelota, wood chopping, stone lifting and tug-of-war, among others (García, 2012: 117), football, rugby and cycling, in this order, have become the main vehicles of national identity. This contradicts, to a large extent, the particular assessment of restrictions on the Basque nationalist movement. Indeed, as British sports expanded throughout the world with the onset of industrialisation and urbanisation, initially they were faced with some local resistance. That was the case of the Basque Country (MacAlevy, 2001: 112). The success of football was largely related to the fact that it conveniently transmitted the supposed values of strength, power and masculinity of Basque identity (Walton, 2011: 456). In this vein, nationalism grew stronger, and at the same time, British sports, football above all, became a crucial social vehicle at the end of World War I. It is precisely in these circumstances, in 1919, that the Basque autochthonous composition of the Athletic Club was established. As Ramon Llopis Goig argues, this has great political relevance (2008: 60). One of the remarkable aspects of this is that this policy would remain largely unchanged and would become an accepted hallmark of Basque sport.

Concerning the definition of nation, there is another predominant theoretical distinction, which is pertinent to the analysis of the Basque political project. Did the nationalist movement engender nations, and consequently the nation-states, as the main modernist school on nationalism argues? Or indeed, was the opposing path prioritised: did nations precede the political expression of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries? Following Eric Hobsbawm (1992: 10), nations do not make states and nationalisms but the other way round. From this standpoint, the birth of

nations would fall within the framework of industrial capitalism and urbanisation of the last three centuries. Further, as Ernest Gellner asserts (2009: 55), nationalisms do not only awaken a previously existing cultural identity, but they also make an arbitrary historical invention among the cultural diversity proceeding from history. Faced with this theoretical approach, Anthony Smith emphasises (2009: 20–21), on the contrary, that an ethnic core of the nation existed before the modern articulation of nationalism and that, in the long term, ethnic and cultural aspects are needed in order to preserve a community based on union. The Basque nationalist movement claims the long existence of the Basques on the basis of, amongst other characteristics, its ancestral language and culture, and the existence of Basque legislative privileges in the Middle Ages. Thus, following the line of reasoning of the Canadian philosopher Charles Taylor (2005: 42), Basques emphasised the idea that their community existed before it had been given a political articulation. In fact, Taylor states that the causes of modern nationalism are very deep and are linked to the erosion of earlier communities and identifications. As a result, the Basque political movement projected itself as a defence mechanism under modernity first (Ben-Ami, 1991: 494), and later in the face of challenges provoked by globalisation. It is at this point that the reality of team sports in the making of nations takes on its importance for Basques and, consequently, its particularity within sport representation.

In this regard, the fact needs to be stressed that the birth of nation-states is the result of power struggles throughout modern history. Given this, nations cannot be classified based only on objective factors related to cultural or ethnic characteristics, nor can they be explained merely by the collective will of the people, that is to say, by the subjective or civic elements of nations, which are usually referred to. As Grant Jarvie states (2006: 113–114), many nations themselves are essentially constructions, many states are not nations and indeed many nations are not states. As a result, modern states and stateless nations have all required an explicit sense of loyalty and identification that has been mobilised through use of certain symbols (Smith, 1991: 16–17). These attributes were provided for the benefit of nation-states by the emergence of modern sports (Maguire, 2000: 365), notably since the aftermath of World War I. On the contrary, the collapse of the former big multinational empires went hand in hand with the demand of stateless nations for greater self-determination (Taylor, 2005: 43). These claims were supported by the principles put forward to ensure the peace by the president of the United States Woodrow Wilson, which contained the idea of self-determination of peoples along lines of nationality (Lynch, 2002: 421). Nonetheless, self-determination would not be applied based on an objective framework of nation, in terms of homologous characteristics, but arbitrarily depending on the interests at stake.

The Soviet multinational empire was also being forged toward the end of the war. The Soviet Union stands out as a sign of the complexity and historical arbitrariness in nation making and the creation of nation-states. In fact, during the 74 years of its existence, the Soviet Union was unable, even though it had at its disposal all the resources of the powerful state, to create a new national Soviet identity (Castells, 2003: 61). After the dissolution of the Soviet Union, 15 new nation-states were born out of the former Soviet republics, yet deep-rooted 'nations', such as the Tatars, with perhaps a deeper sense of 'independent' history than some of these new independent states, were unable to form their own independent state.

Sport as a Basque anchor of identity from the modern era to twenty-first century globalisation

While in the Basque Country football culture rose as an essential area in representation of the Basque people inside Spain, rugby established itself as its counterpart in the Basque territories in France. This distinction derived from historical circumstances and the different relevance of Basque nationalism in society (Rojo-Labaien, 2017: 69–70). In southern France, with negligible industrialisation, Basque nationalism did not acquire the influence that it obtained in the Spanish side. As Ahedo Gurrutxaga explains, French state construction since the beginning of the twentieth century had produced a deep crisis in Basque identity (Ahedo Gurrutxaga, 2005: 77). It can also be explained by the non-existence of an established or rising elite who might have led a significant part of the population to give political form to Basque cultural elements (*ibid.*, 77–78). And it can be also reasonably argued that the lack of industrialisation compared with the Spanish Basque Country prevented it from taking a conscious political statement. To a large extent, football, Basque nationalism and the industrial movement ran in parallel (Rojo-Labaien, 2017: 70). All in all, the French state proved more successful at cultural homogenisation than the Spanish state (Nili, 2009: 250). In addition to this, the opposite social spread of rugby in the French part and of football in the Spanish side widened the cultural gap between the Basques on both sides of the border.

Under these circumstances, Basque nationalists understood that modern sport should become a tool for attracting citizens to their political project. Importantly, the majority of the teams taking part in the first edition of the Spanish league competition in 1928 were Basque. However, the fact that both Athletic Bilbao and Real Sociedad of Donostia-San Sebastián, the main Basque football clubs from early on, claimed to be the genuine expression of the Basque nation, created difficulties for the Basque union in football (Walton, 2011: 458). Even so, this reality did not stop football from being a patriotic symbol during the Spanish Civil War between 1936 and 1939. In fact, the newly established Basque autonomous government

sent the national team on a tour of matches around Europe and Latin America in order to publicise the difficulties experienced by the Basque nation within Spain, and obtain money for the war refugees. Nonetheless, following the victory of General Franco's side in the war, his Spanish nationalist dictatorship, which lasted in Spain until 1975, gave sport a central place among the homogenising principles of the regime (Dietschy, 2010: 367). Faced with this initiative, from the 1960s onwards, stadiums became a tool of nationalist resistance in the Basque Country as well as in Catalonia, where the use of their languages in public and the use of their flags were prohibited (Györi Szabó, 2013: 533; Nili, 2009: 256; Shaw, 1987: 183). On the other hand, in the meantime, with regard to the three Basque territories located in France, a regionalist movement had not been articulated until 1936, and it was necessary to wait until the 1950s before the initial emergence of modern Basque nationalism can be discerned in the French territory (Ahedo Gurrutxaga, 2005: 76–77).

With the death of Franco and with the transition to the democratic system in Spain in the late 1970s, social and national conflicts resurfaced with renewed vigour. It must be pointed out that in 1976 the Atotxa stadium of Donostia-San Sebastián bore witness, after nearly 40 years of dictatorship and prohibition, to a display of the Basque flag, the Ikurriña, by the Basque player from Real Sociedad, Iñaxio Kortabarria, and the Spanish international goalkeeper from Athletic Bilbao, José Ángel Iribar (Györi Szabó, 2013: 536). The Spanish Constitution, promulgated in 1978, established a parliamentary monarchy and recognised the existence of nationalities and regions. It guaranteed their right to self-government, albeit based on the common and indivisible homeland of all Spaniards. The Statute of Autonomy of the Basque Country was approved in 1979 and included three of the four Basque territories in Spain. In the case of Navarre, the other historical territory that Basque nationalists claim to be the cradle of their nation, related to the Kingdom of Navarre of the Middle Ages, it was granted a self-autonomous community. The regionalists that advocated the distinct identity of the province together with the Spanish identity, headed the government. It was at this juncture that as well as the return of a Basque autonomous government after the dictatorship, the national team was reborn. It was set up in the form of international friendly games, and in the context of a campaign to raise funds to revitalise the Basque language. A demand for the officialisation of the national team was first articulated by the PNV, the Basque nationalist party, in its related journal *Euzkadi* in 1982 (Zákravský, 2016: 17). Despite all this, the conflict remaining from the nineteenth century, between that of national unity as backed by the Spanish state and that of separatism has not been solved. Added to all this was the escalating political violence generated by the armed group ETA that emerged during the dictatorship in order to claim self-determination for the Basque people. Besides that, violence carried out

by the apparatus of the Spanish state against ETA was also prevalent during the transitional period, and during the first decade of democracy in the 1980s (Friend, 2012: 118). All this political instability along the road to democracy led Spain to the failed attempted coup d'état commanded by Colonel Tejero in 1981.

In this climate of violence and political instability, the stands of the football stadiums emerged as one of the pre-eminent venues for political and social demands (Nili, 2009: 257), particularly in the Basque Country, as they had been at the time before the Francoist regime (De la Madrid, 2013: 149). Similarly, in terms of sports results, Basque clubs from Spain remarkably recovered the leadership they held prior to the dictatorship. Real Sociedad and Athletic Bilbao won two Spanish leagues, respectively: four consecutive titles for Basque teams from 1981 to 1984. As a result, symbolically, the Spanish national team of that period was to a large extent composed of Basque footballers. This made the Spanish national team a contentious area since their commitment to the Spanish cause by participating in the national team was called into question. Significantly, in the context of the 1982 World Cup, hosted in Spain, press controversy arose over the fact that the goalkeeper of Real Sociedad, Luís Miguel Arconada, refused to play wearing the socks of the Spanish team. These socks included the colours of the Spanish flag and many interpreted this gesture as a sign of opposition to Spain by the Basque goalkeeper (Rojo-Labaien, 2017: 72). In 1990, the Basque regional parliament approved, by a majority of votes, a resolution in favour of the exercise of the right to self-determination. Parallel to this political statement, in the context of football, in 1993 the Basque team began the tradition of using the Christmas break in the Spanish league competition to play a friendly international match. This was when a social movement began to take shape demanding the right of the Basque national team to participate in official competitions (Zákravský, 2016: 17).

Furthermore, in addition to finding its place in Spain's contemporary reality as a quasi-federal state, Basque people needed to preserve their particularity in the global era. Collective sports also epitomise the challenges that face the Basques as a stateless nation in the global framework. The Bosman verdict of 1995 made by the European Court of Justice prohibited the previous existing quotas on foreign players as it considered that it was against the freedom of movement contained in the foundation treaty. This court decision opened up the frontiers in Europe for all players from EU countries, and for many who proceeded from countries with links to the EU. This hastened the global mobility of football players on a large scale, albeit conditioned by the inequality among world regions (Jarvie, 2006: 96). Eventually, this trend contributed to a situation in which many football clubs began to reduce the number of players drawn directly from their community. This trend contributed to teams ceasing to be a direct representation of their original community (Bromberger, 1998: 88–89). Given

these circumstances, even at the cost of facing a loss of competitiveness, Basque clubs reinforced their particular policy, upholding the original ties of players who are native to their community. Neither Real Sociedad nor Athletic Bilbao were able to repeat their success of the 1980s. Hence, despite the fact that Real Sociedad decided to employ its first foreign player in recent times in 1989 (the Republic of Ireland striker John Aldridge) and thus putting an end to the all-Basque sport policy, the club has always maintained the prevalence of Basque players in its team composition. Regarding Athletic Bilbao, given that the club preserved the Basque autochthonous sport policy, it became the most paradigmatic symbol of the identity of the Basques embodied in the sport field.

All this notwithstanding, it should be mentioned that increasing global forces were bringing at the same time new opportunities for the stateless nations. Particularly worthy of mention here is the intensification of relations between the Basque territories at the France–Spain border in the overall context of the amplification of the European integration process (Vélasco-Graciet, 2005: 2). In fact, since the sixteenth century the Basque territories have been formally split between the nascent political entities of Spain and France (Watson, 1996: 18), and at this point the open borders between EU countries contributed at least to the strengthening of a symbolic vision of a unified Basque Country, beyond the natural frontiers of the Pyrenees (Stoica and Marcut, 2011: 163). Numerous projects have materialised, mainly the Agreement for the Creation of the Eurorégion Aquitaine–Euskadi in 2009 and the ensuing projects. According to Zoe Bray (2006: 540), there are no clear signs yet of this emerging cross-frontier reality contributing to the creation of a trans-frontier Basque public sphere, since the frontier continues to be a mental or symbolic boundary in civil society. Nevertheless, it is in this context of increasing cross-border relations that Basque French rugby teams, together with thousands of their supporters, cross the state border to play as the home team at the football stadium of Real Sociedad in Donostia-San Sebastián. Similarly, within this time frame, Biarritz Olympique included the denomination Pays Basque – Basque Country in French – in its official name. In addition, a steady increase in electoral support for Basque nationalists has taken place in recent years on both sides of the border, coinciding with the cessation of armed activity by ETA in 2011 (Zabalo and Saratxo, 2015: 376–377). The recent intensification of globalisation has also been paralleled by an awakening of nationalism that confronts the already structured nation-states (Castells, 2003: 50; Guibernau, 1999: 16).

That being so, this does not imply necessarily the debility and the crisis of the nation-state as the political form of modernity. Demonstrations of nationalist pride related to football in the past two decades, as was the case on the occasion of the 1998 World Cup held and won by France, and in Spain following the victories of the national team from 2008 to 2012, would

indicate symbolically that the processes of globalisation did not entail the coming end of the nation-state (Quiroga, 2013: 189; Sonntag, 2008: 103). In this regard, Juan Carlos de la Madrid argues that football success provided a new sense of unity in Spain, whilst the traditional symbols of the democracy era after the dictatorship, such as the constitutional monarchy and the unity of the Spanish nation, have been called into question during the recent economic and political crisis (De la Madrid, 2013: 207). In this respect, what ought to be stressed is that the rise of Spanish nationalism by means of football did not bring about the weakening of the plurinational character of the state (Quiroga, 2013: 122). On the contrary, at the same time as a symbolic regeneration of the Spanish nation was taking place by means of unprecedented celebrations related to football, popular demonstrations occurred in the same field connected to the cause of stateless nations. Football culture remains the mirror of the contemporary growth of different typologies of nationalism coinciding with increasing globalisation. On the occasion of the Spanish King's Cup finals played successively between Athletic Bilbao and Barcelona in 2009, 2012 and 2015, the majority of the Basque and Catalan supporters jointly booed two symbols of the Spanish nation-state: the king and the national anthem traditionally played in his honour prior to the match (Rojo-Labaien, 2017: 72).

The contemporary impact of team sports in a small territory: two sport policies

As Sanjay Jeram argues (2013: 1772–1773), despite the fact that Basque nationalism is often presented as the paradigmatic case of an ethnic nation, and accordingly in the same way the autochthonous sport policy carried out by the main teams, the Basques would be, on the contrary, illustrative of an opposite tendency. That is to say, the current policy of the Basque autonomous government stands as an example of a larger trend where stateless nations are advocating inclusive citizenship into their national project, in the framework of transformations associated with globalisation, in order to gain social support and maintain distinctiveness from the state identity (*ibid.*). Sport teams, as will be illustrated below, reflect this inclusive evolution of the nation, through their representative composition. Along the same lines, this analysis stands with the approach of Sholomo Ben-Ami (1991: 514), when he argues that current Basque identity displays a blend of millenarian heritage and modernity, taking into account that its political articulation has roots in the changes brought by industrialisation. In this respect, collective sports, insofar as they are the result of a British globalisation process in the modern era, reflect the multilayered diversity within current Basque collective identity. In other words, these cultural innovations resulting from industrialisation have been entrenched in Basque society to keep the ancient particular identity. All in all, Basque nationalism is thus in

line with Anthony Smith's approach on nation and nationalism (2009: 20–21), with both the ethnic core and elite leadership converging within the articulation of a Basque political discourse. Therefore, how sport is instrumentalised by the Basque people reflects a complexity that cannot be considered on the basis of a stereotypical approach to nations and sport identity. Basque identity is embodied through its autochthonous composition mainly in football and in professional cycling, whilst in other popular sports in the community, such as rugby and basketball, this policy is not applied.

In terms of football, Basque clubs, significantly Athletic Bilbao, had already altered, in the 1960s, its policy of only fielding players born in the Basque Country. This was very much a reaction to the second flow of immigration from Spain during Franco's dictatorship. From that juncture on, players who had emigrated to the Basque Country at a young age would also be able to form part of the club (MacClancy, 1996: 184). Furthermore, recently, as is the case in official national teams, it is possible to perceive signs of openness in both Athletic Bilbao and Real Sociedad concerning the condition of belonging to the community. Amongst the players who were most often fielded by Athletic Bilbao in recent years has been the French defender Aymeric Laporte. This player, who was born in Agen, lived from an early age in the French Basque city of Bayonne, from where he was recruited by Athletic. Similarly, the team was interested in signing the French forward Antoine Griezmann (Eitb, 2012a), who grew up through the youth ranks of Real Sociedad. In fact, as assessed by the anthropologist Mariann Vaczi, the present philosophy of Athletic involves two complementary notions of what it means to be Basque: blood relations through birth, or enculturation through residence (Vaczi, 2014: 30). This policy includes the entire population of all historical provinces of the Basque Country, without any form of distinction, as demonstrated by the case of forward Iñaki Williams, who was born in Bilbao, to a Ghanaian father and a Liberian mother (Borden, 2015). In the words of the current manager of the Basque national team and sports director of Athletic Bilbao, José Mari Amorrortu, the Basque philosophy on sport 'creates identity and it is a source of pride and identification' (Rojo-Labaien, 2017: 75).

This being so, it does not imply that Basque clubs rose up solely as bastions of Basque nationalism. Indeed they have become one of the main meeting points for citizens who share opposing political views, to the extent that they represent a very pluralistic society as far as national allegiances are concerned. Furthermore, each of the clubs of the Basque Country represents an ancient Basque territory² (Györi Szabó, 2013: 538). Franco's dictatorship had promoted identification with the province and covered over the clubs' Basque character, resulting in strained relations between them. However, a union took place following the new upsurge of Basque nationalism in the 1970s. Facing this situation, the best-selling newspapers in the Spanish

Basque Country, which belong to the pro-Spanish Vocento media conglomerate, have stressed provincial identities via football (Quiroga, 2013: 169–170). In such a context of provincial rivalry, a hostile environment was fostered between Athletic and Real Sociedad in the mid-1990s, when Athletic decided to court other Basque teams' players by raising its salary offers (Nili, 2009: 263). This provincialist ideology is frequently connected to the opposition to Basque nationalism.

The case of the Navarre autonomous football team that played three international friendly games during the Christmas break of the Spanish League between 2003 and 2005 is worth mentioning too. It was politically promoted with support from the pro-Spanish and provincialist autonomous government of Navarre to oppose the Basque Country's national team, which included players from all the historical Basque territories (Gómez, 2007: 164). Nonetheless, as in the case of other Spanish regional teams that proliferated in that period, it did not gain enough social support in terms of presence of spectators and its evolution was stopped. On the contrary, the Basque team continued to hold international friendly games with the exception of the years 2008 and 2009, when the players refused to play arguing that there was insufficient involvement in the efforts to enable the team to compete in international competitions.

In such circumstances, Basques who are born in Spain are required by law to participate in the Spanish national team (De la Madrid, 2013: 39), despite the fact that their allegiance is frequently questioned in the Spanish media. This apparent contradiction falls within the context of national conflict derived from the diversity of Spain. It mirrors too the controversy that arose when the manager of Eibar, Gaizka Garitano, left a post-match press conference in the Spanish southern city of Almeria in April of 2015, disappointed by the opposition he encountered for answering questions in the Basque language (Lowe, 2015). Garitano, who had successfully guided Eibar to promotion from the third division to the first, representing a city with fewer than 30,000 inhabitants, had expressed his support for the Basque Country's independence (McTear, 2015).

The national representation channelled through football culture and framed in international events, is equivalent, *de facto*, to forming an independent state. That is to say, national independence on the field of football is the same as political self-determination or independence. In 2004, the Basque parliament supported the political project promoted by the autonomous government headed by Juan José Ibarretxe, which included the right to decide the Basque Country's own future. The proposal contained the demand for recognition for the international participation of Basque national sports teams. Predictably, in 2005, the project was rejected by the Spanish parliament. Similarly, the sports law adopted previously by the Basque parliament in 1998, which conferred international representative status on Basque sports federations, was revoked in 2012 by the Spanish

Constitutional Court. Following the Court's decision, the Basque autonomous region was solely given the opportunity to have international sport representation in sport modalities where no Spanish federation exists, and without prejudice to the right of the Spanish state to international representation (EFE, 2012). It should be obvious to conclude that football, given its international influence, appears as the most-contested sport modality for the international promotion of stateless nations, such as the Basques. Gibraltar is a paradigmatic case since the Spanish government sought to prevent the British colony joining FIFA and UEFA and consequently being allowed to play international events. Spain attempted unsuccessfully to prevent Gibraltar, a territory situated at the southernmost tip of the Iberian peninsula, from appearing as an independent territory by way of football. Eventually, in May 2016, FIFA accepted the entry of Gibraltar together with Kosovo, which separated from Serbia through a unilateral declaration of independence in 2008, owing to the support of Western powers and validated by the International Court of Justice in 2010. All in all, the global scope of the football event reflects that, as well as the political articulation in the form of nation-states, the representation by the way of national teams depends upon the arbitrariness of decision-making in the international arena. At this point, the Basque collective expression embodied by the clubs and their special policy takes on special importance.

By the same token, the Euskaltel Euskadi professional cycling team was formed in the mid-1990s in the Spanish part of the Basque Country, with a view to becoming an instrument for the representation of the Basque Country. Following the same policy as the main soccer teams, all of the team's riders had to be born in the Basque Country, including all the provinces in Spain and in France, or had grown up there (García, 2012: 121). The latter was the case of the top Spanish cyclist Samuel Sánchez. As a result, it was widely seen as an all-Basque national team competing internationally, before disappearing, at the end of 2013, due to the economic crisis. The project was initially promoted by the Euskadi foundation – named after the denomination for the Basque Country created by the nationalist cause – and since 1998 it was commercially sponsored by the Basque telecommunications operator Euskaltel and also partly publicly funded by the Basque autonomous government and the provincial governments. Over the years, and due to the good performances of the team in the Tour de France, the Pyrenees' stages of the most prestigious cycling race became the site of a massive gathering of Basque people, and as a result, the representative landmark of Basques through sport. However, it is also worth highlighting the controversy that erupted over the change in the policy of the team, in the last year of its existence, which eventually weakened the team's social and media support.

Forced by the new sport regulations introduced by the International Cycling Union (UCI) Euskaltel Euskadi opted in 2012 to recruit foreign

cyclists for the team. In fact, the UCI essentially imposed this on Euskaltel Euskadi by default. To be able to remain in the UCI pro tour competition (the elite tier of professional cycling), which permits participation in the most prestigious cycling event, teams have to attain a certain number of ranking points, which are awarded on the basis of cyclists' previous results. Given these circumstances, the Basque team decided to transform its original autochthonous policy, and hire foreign riders who would ensure the accumulation of ranking points and consequently their place in the pro tour. In this situation, seven former riders of Euskaltel Euskadi submitted a letter to the media expressing their opposition regarding the change of policy at the team (Eitb, 2012b). Nonetheless, in 2013, together with the best Basque riders, such as Mikel Nieve, Mikel Landa, Gorka Izagirre and Mikel Astarloza, the team was formed with nine foreign cyclists, including Tarif Chaoufi from Morocco, Juan José Lobato from Spain, Alexander Serebryakov from Russia and Ioannis Tamouridis from Greece. Thus, the last event for the autochthonous Basque team, after 20 years of competing, was the Tour of Beijing of 2013. This illustrates the pressures from the increased globalising trend in the sport, and the challenges facing the Basques within globalisation processes. In any case, it should be highlighted that, with the exception of football culture, discussion on the autochthonous policy did not arise in connection with the other most followed sport modalities in the Spanish Basque Country. This is particularly the case of basketball and the three Basque top teams playing in the first Spanish league. In fact, in the team rosters of Baskonia, Bilbao Basket and Gipuzkoa Basket, the Basque players are exceptions. Furthermore, in 2016, the Murias cycling team received support from the Basque government to lay the foundations for representing the Basque Country again in first-tier competitions in the short term. In the words of the team manager Jon Odriozola, 'the Basque national team', from then on called Euskadi Basque Country Murias, aimed to come back to the Tour de France by 2018 (cf. Ortuzar, 2015).

Rugby, and the most prominent teams of the French Basque Country, are the clearest exponents of the alternative sport policy of Basques, similar to basketball in the Spanish Basque Country. The Biarritz Olympique Pays Basque team managed to win the Top 14 French league trophy in 2002, 2005 and 2006, and were runners up of the European Heineken Cup of 2006 and 2010 with a team largely composed of players coming from different regions in France and foreign rugby players. Aviron Bayonnais, the other major team in France, follows the same policy. This does not involve a loss of representativeness for rugby clubs, as it parallels the level of social support regarding football clubs in Spain. In any case, whereas the latter are frequently considered as an instrument for the Basque nationalist ideology, the significance of the former is better framed in the Basque regionalist identifications within the French nation-state. Thus, it can be argued that the

weaker momentum of the nationalist movement in France is one fundamental reason why the autochthonous sport policy is not established in the same manner as in the Spanish Basque Country. In this vein, the rivalry between Aviron of Bayonne and Biarritz Olympique Pays Basque, representing neighbouring cities framed in the urban agglomeration called BAB, has historically been even more remarkable than the one existing among the Basque football teams from across the border. One clear sign of this concern is the social controversy that emerged in 2015 in the context of the negotiations undertaken by the governing boards of Biarritz Olympique Pays Basque and Aviron Bayonnais to link the two clubs together. Movements in order to create a single high-ranked Basque team were initiated due to financial problems and the relegation of Biarritz Olympique into the second tier in 2014, and the relegation of Aviron in 2015. Nonetheless, the social pressure exerted by the supporters against the unification, without underestimating other the factors of the teams' management, ultimately led to the collapse of negotiations (Cavarec, 2015).

Furthermore, the economic crisis and the subsequent relegation of the Basque clubs was to a large extent responsible for ending the trend of cross-border matches being played by Biarritz Olympique and Aviron Bayonnais at the Anoeta stadium of Donostia-San Sebastián. Both teams had crossed the state border to play 13 official home matches in total in the French Top 14 League and the European Cup, which meant that thousands of fans in France had to frequently travel to the Spanish Basque Country. In this vein, at the very least, they enhanced the cross-border mutual awareness, which was in line with the intensification of relations in the political arena. At a French Top 14 League match played in Donostia-San Sebastián in September 2009, the editorial of the Biarritz Olympique official magazine written by Jean Louis Berho stressed the common roots of the Basques on both sides of the border (Berho, 2009). In the same manner, in 2014, the Basque Rugby Federation based in the Spanish part, and Aviron Bayonnais, signed an agreement that sought to promote, among other aspects, the common identity of the Basque Country as well as its internationalisation (Urraburu, 2014).

It is important to point out that whereas Basque national identity is thought to be transmitted by the knowledge of the Basque language in the perception of citizens within the French Basque Country, in the Spanish side Basque identity has the lack of official political recognition as a nation as its main rallying point (Bray, 2006: 549). In this respect, it can be argued that this differentiation regarding the type of allegiance to the national community also shapes the way sport conveys the Basque community on both sides of the border. Thus, the more the political factors prevail, the more Basque identity is transmitted, represented or reflected through the indigenous policy of the teams in the sports field. In addition, in the Spanish part, sports that are considered as the most symbolic embodiment of the Basque identity, given their success and their evolution on national

representativeness, namely football culture and cycling, reflect this all-Basque policy, unlike other sport modalities.

Conclusion

As well as the nationalism that emerged in the form of defence mechanisms to protect the ancient collective identity of Basques, global collective sports have risen up as a main expression and identification instrument for Basque people both in the modern era and in the recent wake of globalisation. The analysis concludes that, despite the existing trend towards defining Basque nationalism as exclusionary and reluctant to bow to external influences, on the contrary it has maximised the tools that were provided in the course of modernity to maintain its enduring identity, especially sport events with high representative value. Thus, the autochthonous policy promoted by Basque football and cycling teams links together the ancient cultural heritage with the modern articulation of the Basque community, which is rooted in the changes of the nineteenth century. In the absence of its own state, global sports have become a fundamental vehicle for preserving the Basque singularity that is split up in the framework of the existing nation-states of Spain and France. In this vein, the sports with the major symbolic dimension in the Basque Country stress the cultural heritage of the community, upholding the original ties of players who are native to their community.

On the other hand, sport events reflect the limits of what Basque political articulation can accomplish in an internationally established framework, which continued to be guided by the nation-states in the rise of globalisation. The core centralising initiative of Spain and France in the modern era posed a serious threat to the maintenance of the Basque identity, given the fact that they almost suppressed the traits that had historically identified the Basque community. Subsequently, sport events became a contemporary instrument of the Basque political movement to defend the long-standing cultural identity. The pioneering role of the Basque teams, including many global sport modalities, and their sports' relevance, are a clear expression of the emphasis placed on them in the Basque Country, which counts only three million inhabitants. However, the homogenising nation-state system brought about in the modern era and its symbolic embodiment by way of state national teams have currently prevented the Basques from fully asserting their separate collective identity, given its status of stateless-nation. Further, this reality increases the internal contradictions related to national allegiances in the Basque Country, which are also reflected in the sphere of sport. In this juncture, the wake of globalisation can present Basques with new challenges but also with innovative opportunities to forge its ancient identity beyond the state limits. The increasing cross-border relations in the form of rugby games provide a paradigmatic example of that.

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Notes

- 1 In this respect, despite the fact that the analysis points to the inherent national diversity within the states, it is nonetheless appropriate to employ the concept of nation-state given the attempt of nationalist movements in power since the eighteenth century for equating the nation with the state.
- 2 In the 2016–2017 season of the Spanish Liga top division five clubs from the four Basque Spanish historical territories were present. Aside from Athletic Bilbao (Bizkaia) and Real Sociedad (Gipuzkoa), Deportivo Alavés (Araba), Osasuna (Navarre) and Eibar (Gipuzkoa) were included among the best 20 Spanish teams of that season. The latter three teams are more provincial than Basque nationals in nature, and, in this vein, they do not endorse the Basque autochthonous policy as do Athletic and Real Sociedad.

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Politics and identity in European football

Cyprus in comparative context

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Introduction

Political polarisation in Cyprus occurred, predominantly, during the times of the civil war in Greece (1946–49). The impact of the Greek civil war on Cyprus was so severe that it sparked the separation of Cypriot football on political grounds, between ‘left-’ and ‘right-’ wing clubs and carried on throughout most of the past century. APOEL FC, for instance, featured members that had an active role in the nationalist, anti-colonial campaign of EOKA (*Ethniki Organosi Kyprion Agoniston*, National Organisation of Cypriot Fighters) against the British rule and favoured union with Greece (1955–59). Omonoia FC fans, on the other hand, have long supported the independence of Cyprus, expressing a leftist and Cypriot-centred ideology.

In this context, the politicisation of football is directly connected to the development and formation of identity, both national and fan identity. In Cypriot football, this is exemplified in the history of the establishment of some of the major clubs on the island as well as the ways in which fandom works to performatively construct the identities it purports to express. This is particularly true of the two most popular football clubs in the country’s capital, Nicosia, namely APOEL FC (of right-wing affiliation) and Omonoia FC (of leftist affiliation). We would like to put forward the argument that, being a form of discourse, and a very powerful one at that, football fandom, especially as it is expressed through the clubs’ political identifications and propagations of either right- or left-wing politics, interpellates the subject – to borrow terminology from Althusser (1971) – and brings into being the identity of the football fan, no longer as a football fanatic but rather as a political subject and the subject of politics. In the case of the majority of fans supporting either of these two Nicosia teams there are clear identifications with either of the two major political parties expressing right-wing ideology (which varies from the mild to the extreme), or left-wing ideology (which ranges from the political centre to communist ideology). To this end, the present chapter explores the connection between football and politics in a wider European context in order to demonstrate the apparent interrelationship between the popular game and the formation

of identity, as expressed through nationalism, and then attempts a closer examination of the case of Cypriot football within the context of performativity as used by Judith Butler (1990) in order to discuss gender identity, in what nowadays is a popular tool that is applied in a variety of contexts when assessing identity formation. We aim to show that, following the logic of Butler's (1990) argument about identity being a social process, provisional and fluid, a moment that remains ambiguous and unstable against all efforts to present it as fixed, stable and unambiguous, identities that are formed on the basis of fandom through an affiliation with football clubs are (a) performative in their nature; (b) fluid and ambiguous.

Football and identity

Sport has the capacity to reinforce national identity, and football, in particular, 'has provided the most important setting within popular culture in which symbols and discourses of national identity may be displayed and mediated through mass communication' (Finn and Giulianotti, 2000: 257). The history of football shows that when Britain introduced the game to mainland Europe, the process of nation-building was already on course throughout the continent and, as games between national teams were dominated by national anthems and flags, football helped produce a distinct sense of national identity and solidarity. During the first half of the twentieth century, football parted with entertainment and, instead, came to promote an assumed identity. For example, the majority of Europe's national football associations decided almost chauvinistically to translate 'football' into their language after the Great War, France and Russia exempted, opting for either a phonetic translation, as in Spain (*Fútbol*) and Portugal (*Futebol*), or a literal translation, as in Germany (*Fußball*), Croatia (*Nogomet*), Hungary (*Labdarugas*) and Greece (ποδόσφαιρο), to name a few (Eisenberg et al., 2004: 172–3). In addition, the fascist regimes of Germany, Italy and Spain in Western Europe and the more concentrated approach of the communist countries that ensued after the Second World War in Eastern Europe, transformed football into a propaganda symbol and adapted the popular game to the party machine with the intention to propel extreme forms of nationalism. Reinforcing national sentiments, however, was certainly not football's only dimension. Football also emphasised the essence of communities, provincialism too, as clubs often represented a particular urban or rural area, a distinct section of the population and even the much narrower dimension of a city or, at least, parts of cities.

Football and fascism

While Catholicism and socialism failed to capitalise on the popularity of football in Italy (Martin, 2005: 16–22), nationalism proved far more

successful. Evidently, the national football team of Italy fielded its starting eleven in all blue (*azzurro* in Italian) on January 1911 in an attempt to honour the official colours of the royal family (Agnew, 2006: 55). Earlier, the Italian authorities had attempted to nationalise football by banning in 1908 the participation in domestic competitions of those clubs that featured foreign football players and also relegated, in a sense, those football clubs that refused to comply with the reformed regulations to a separate league (Foot, 2006: 17). The following year, all such restrictions were removed since the more prominent clubs of the country decided to withdraw from the national (or rather, nationalised) league and continued to employ foreign players (Foot, 2006: 18). Yet nationalism persisted and in 1909 the name of the game was changed to the more Italian (Florentine to be precise) *calcio*, just as the name of the national football association (*Federazione Italiana Football*) was changed to *Federazione Italiana del Giuoco del Calcio* (Eisenberg et al., 2004: 172). The much-desired Italianisation of football was completed when Italy's dictator Benito Mussolini imposed a name change on many football clubs: Associazione Calcio Milan became Milano and FC Inter Milan, also known as Internazionale, renamed to Ambrosiana, after the patron Saint of Milan, as the club's original name was, apparently, related to the communist '*Internationale*' (Connolly and MacWilliam, 2005: 49). For the record, *Internazionale* was formed by the very same football players of AC Milan that had previously opposed the Italianisation of their own club and decided to set up a new football club that would be international enough to be open to foreigners, thus the name *Internazionale*. Unfortunately, at the expense of the game's development in Italy, in 1928 the participation of foreign players in national football competitions was prohibited (Martin, 2005: 63). Later in 1938 the banning of football players of Jewish descent took place, mirroring similar developments in Nazi Germany and occupied Austria (Agnew, 2006: 58).

The epitome of Italian nationalism, if not xenophobia, was better reflected in the decision of the dictatorial regime to translate all football-related terminology from English to Italian and local rivalries between football clubs were discouraged in order to strengthen the sense of national identity. For the record, Palestra Gimnastica Libertas and Club Sportivo di Firenze were two fierce rivals, both based in Florence, until the promotion of the former to the top division when the two merged to create Associazione Calcio Fiorentina. Associazione Sportiva Roma, founded in 1926 by a local fascist named Italo Foschi, shares a similar history as three Rome-based clubs (L'Alba, La Fortitudo and La Roman) were merged, with Società Sportiva Lazio deciding against the merger (Martin, 2005: 144–5). Impressive stadiums were built in Bologna (Stadio Littoriale), Florence (Stadio Giovanni Berta), Torino (Stadio Mussolini) and Rome (Stadio Olimpiko), suitable for the propaganda machine of the regime (Martin, 2005: 148–58). Needless to say, those stadiums hosted the country's more-

prolific football clubs, ones that were favoured by the regime, clubs winning major trophies, clubs promoting fascism across the country with Mussolini himself arguably an SS Lazio fan (Foot, 2006: 113). Bologna FC 1909, for instance, won the *Coppa d'Europa* in 1932 and 1934, before claiming the Paris Exhibition trophy in 1937, while domestically the club won five league titles between 1929 and 1941. Ultimately, the regime's influence on the game was further highlighted when the players were asked to give the Roman salute, a fascist gesture, before kick-off, while fascist symbols decorated the shirt of Italy's national football team (Foot, 2006: 355).

The manipulation of football in Francisco Franco's Spain differed little to the game's early development in Mussolini's Italy. Evidently, the degree of militarisation in Spanish society affected football as well, given that football players were asked to give a fascist salute before kick-off, sing the fascist anthem that was the *Cara al Sol* and chant '*Arriba España! Viva Franco*' (Duke and Crolley, 1996: 30). At the request of the Home Office Department for Press and Propaganda (*Delegacion Nacional de Prensa y Propaganda*) the names of all football clubs were Hispanicised by 1941 (i.e. FC Barcelona became Club de Fútbol de Barcelona, Athletic Bilbao changed to Atlético Bilbao and Sporting Gijón was renamed Deportivo Gijón (to name a few) (Duke and Crolley, 1996: 33), just as the name of the domestic cup competition was changed in 1943 from *Copa del Rey*, the King's Cup, to *Copa del Generalísimo*, the General's Cup, to emphasise Franco's status in Spain (Ball, 2003: 25). Nevertheless, people defending Catalan and Basque nationalism resisted Franco's oppressive measures and continued to sing their own national anthems and wave their national flags, all the while refusing to give the fascist salute (Duke and Crolley, 1996: 33).

Given the kind of political instability that characterised Spain domestically, Franco exploited football's popularity to promote a distinct sense of national identity, ultimately employing the success story that was Real Madrid Club de Fútbol. Given Spain's international isolation, particularly in the second half of the 1950s, the dominant role of Real Madrid CF in Spanish and European football ascribed the club near ambassadorial status abroad. Interestingly, presiding over the club, at the time, was Santiago Bernabeu, who maintained close relations with the Spanish dictator. Unlike his exiled predecessor, Bernabeu shared a similar vision with Franco in concentrating all power, football and political, in the capital city of Spain, Madrid (Connolly and MacWilliam, 2005: 76). Likewise, football in Nazi Germany became a valuable component of the regime's propaganda machine. It is noteworthy that FC Bayern München resisted the ideals of the Nazi regime, much because of the, then, Jewish president of the club, thus rendering TSV 1860 München the club that the Nazi regime would favour instead. Besides the persecution witnessed by football players of Jewish origin, the remaining footballers were asked to declare their Aryan descent, while the younger members were requested to join the Hitler

Youth (Hesse-Lichtenberger, 2003: 62). As in the case of Italy, new football clubs emerged, occasionally after the merging of already existing clubs such as the case of VfL Bochum 1848, in order to reflect the ideals of the new political leadership, as well as the new status quo across the country. Given Nazi Germany's diplomatic isolation from the international community, particularly after its withdrawal from the League of Nations in 1938, its presence in international sporting tournaments was imperative for it served its propaganda objectives. It is worthy of note that Nazi Germany was only once defeated in football, 4–2 against Sweden in Stockholm in 1941 (Hesse-Lichtenberger, 2003: 91). Also significant is the 1938 football match in Berlin against England, where the English football players gave the fascist salute.

In occupied Austria, football was exploited in much the same way (Marschik, 1999) – persecution of Jewish players, nationalisation of the game, renaming of football clubs (Fußballklub Austria Wien, better known for its relationship to the local Jewish community, was renamed to the more Austrian Fußballklub Österreich), fascist salutes before and after football matches, stadia decorated with swastikas and the merging of clubs (for the record, Hakoah Wien was dismantled due to its Jewish origins). As a general rule, the politicisation of football in Western Europe during the first half of the previous century had the rise of fascism as its point of departure. Evidently, football's popularity was deemed a valuable tool for the propaganda machine of the fascist regimes mentioned above and served the personal ambitions of the fascist leaders of the time. Renaming football clubs, giving fascist salutes and nationalising the popular game became common practice where fascism had been imposed.

Football and communism

The division of Europe into two ideologically rival camps in the aftermath of the Second World War was disastrous for the development of football in the east. Football, as an organised sport, was placed under the control of the government apparatus in each and every country of the communist bloc and was associated with workers' movements and organisations for the sole purpose of highlighting the supremacy of communism in European, and international, tournaments. The degree of political intervention in football was a usual phenomenon to the extent that even the composition of national football teams was a political decision. For instance, when the then famous Dynamo Kiev won the European Cup Winners' Cup in 1975, its football players were called to represent the Soviet Union for two successive years (Duke, 1995: 99).

Success in football was paramount to the communist regimes to the extent that when the predecessor of CSKA Moscow, CDSA, was twice defeated in a three-match tournament in Czechoslovakia in 1947, the club

was banned from playing matches against foreign football clubs for two years. When the Soviet Union attempted to restore its sporting greatness in the 1952 Olympic Games, with its national football team including exclusively players of CDSA, a 3–1 defeat to Josip Tito's non-aligned Yugoslavia resulted in CDSA vanishing from the football map (Wilson, 2006: 266–7). On the whole, football was expected to reflect communism's ideals, such as team spirit and cooperation. Individual heroes were non-existent; the team was above all, as was the case of the national football team of Hungary. The legendary Ferenc Puskas once stated that 'We were the forerunners for "Total Football." When we attacked, we all attacked and when we defended it was the same', though the national football coach, Guzstav Sebes, preferred to call it 'socialist football' (Connolly and MacWilliam, 2005: 228). Overall, eastern European countries reached the FIFA World Cup finals on four occasions (two each for Czechoslovakia and Hungary), the UEFA European National Championship on five occasions (twice crowned European champions – first, the Soviet Union in 1960 and, then, Czechoslovakia in 1976) and also won gold and silver medals, seven and six times, respectively, in Olympic Games (Duke, 1995: 99).

The most successful football teams were supported by the army (CSKA Moscow, Dukla Prague, Steaua Bucharest, CSKA Sofia and Red Star Belgrade). The army provided those clubs with an endless flow of young, talented football players who had been enrolled for military service. The number of trophies claimed by those clubs echoes the army's support with CSKA Sofia claiming the national championship a record 27 times, Red Star Belgrade 16 times, Steaua Bucharest 14, Honved Budapest 12 and Dukla Prague 11 times. Ever since the collapse of the Soviet Union, only Steaua Bucharest, Red Star Belgrade and CSKA Sofia remain competitive (and popular among fans) today. Other clubs were sponsored by the regimes' secret services. Such were the Dynamo, or Dinamo, clubs in Bucharest, Dresden, Kiev, Moscow, Prague, Sofia, Tbilisi, Tirana and Zagreb, all claiming similar success in football with the club in Tirana winning 14 national leagues, Bucharest 13, Kiev 12, Moscow 11 and Dresden eight (Duke and Crolley, 1996: 92). Interestingly, Dynamo Kiev had the support of Volodymyr Scherbytskyi, leader of the Ukrainian Communist Party, and soon became a national symbol because it was a club capable of defeating their great opponents from Moscow (Wilson, 2006: 10). As in fascist Europe, renaming football clubs in the communist bloc was common practice too. In Bulgaria, Levski Sofia, named after a Bulgarian hero who fought the Turks, became Dynamo Sofia from 1949 to 1956, in Czechoslovakia, Bohemians Prague became Spartak Stalingrad (1951–1961), Slavia Prague changed to Dynamo Prague (1953–1965) and Sparta Prague was renamed Spartak Sokolovo (1953–1965). The clubs in Czechoslovakia reverted to their original names after the 1965 'Prague spring', just as the Hungarian clubs' names changed in 1956 with the October uprising (Duke, 1995: 93).

Football and nationalism

The 1969 *Futbol War* between El Salvador and Honduras was followed some 20 years later by the ‘football war’ that kicked off during the football match between Red Star Belgrade (of Serbian origins) and hosts Dinamo Zagreb (of Croatian origins) on May 13, 1990, with the paramilitary group known as Tigers, led by Željko Ražnatovi (also known as Arkan), commencing the hostilities that followed between the two nations. Today, a statue of soldiers outside the football ground of Dinamo Zagreb, or rather Croatia Zagreb to keep up with the changes, stands as a constant reminder of the hostilities that divided the people of former Yugoslavia, with an inscription that reads ‘To the fans of this club, who started the war with Serbia at this ground on May 13, 1990’ (Kuper, 1996: 228). The termination of hostilities in Bosnia signalled the division of national leagues in Bosnia, Serbia and Croatia until 1998 when the national football championship of Bosnia was set up to include Bosnian and Croatian clubs, with their Serb counterparts joining in 2002.

Football in Belgium was also divided along nationalist lines between the Flemish and Walloon communities. Ever since 1912, year of foundation of the exclusively francophone football association (*Union Belge des Sociétés de Football Association*), the dividing line between the two communities became apparent when French became the official language of Belgium’s football governing body, barely acknowledging the Flemish dimension when the relevant translation (*Belgische Voetbalbond*) was incorporated the year after. The ethnic division of Belgium was reflected in football and was unmistakably highlighted in a 1906 document of the national football association that made reference to all member clubs. According to the relevant list, which comprised 53 football clubs, only one had a Flemish name, Atheneum Voetbal Vereeniging from Brussels (*Voetbal Vereeniging* is Flemish for ‘football club’). Even when the national football association was renamed in 1920 as *Union Royale Belge des Sociétés de Football Association*, the political dimension of football remained obvious. As a consequence, ten years later the Flemish responded by setting up their own football association (*Vlaamsche Voetbalbond*), as well as an independent football league; however, the Flemish association was never recognised by either the official Belgian Football Association or FIFA. In the search for legitimacy, the Flemish Football Association established close relations with the Flemish separatist party *Vlaamsch National Verbond*, which promoted the secession of Flanders and unification with the Netherlands (Duke and Crolley, 1996: 48–51). Today, the ongoing, albeit modest, conflict between Flemings and Walloons is better reflected in the Club Brugge KV versus Standard Liège football rivalry.

In France, regional diversity is reflected in the clubs’ names. Nantes, for example, is located on France’s Atlantic coast, hence the name FC Nantes

Atlantique; just as Sedan is in the Ardennes (Club Sportif Sedan Ardennes); Montpellier in the Hérault department (Montpellier Hérault Sport Club); FC Girondins de Bordeaux is named after a group of French revolutionaries that operated in the area; and Association Sportive Nancy-Lorraine from the administrative region of Lorraine. Within this context, the setting up of Paris Saint-Germain FC in 1970 for the purpose of promoting a Parisian football identity is anything but surprising. As a whole, the socio-political division of France between the Republican left and the Catholic right, or else between State and Church, profoundly influenced the game's development to an extent where it contributed little, if anything, to nation-building – unlike other countries around Europe. On the contrary, 'France's formation as a modern nation-state was a century too early for football to have been a tool for forging an initial shared national identity' (Hare, 2003: 119). Despite the fact that football contributed little to French nationalism, both the *Fédération Internationale de Football Association* and the *Union des Associations Européennes de Football* were French initiatives guided by French imperialism, just as the French were also instrumental in setting up competitions such as the World Cup and the European Championship at national level, as well as European competitions at club level.

In the case of Italy, society, and therefore football, has witnessed political and geographic divisions, as with the leftist AC Milan and Bologna FC 1909, and the right-wing Inter Milan and Verona, as well as the geographic rivalry between Atalanta Bergamasca Calcio in the north and Società Sportiva Calcio Napoli in the south, as dictated by the *mezzogiorno* line, with the latter suffering even from racist remarks (*Negro di Merda*, black shit) because of southern Italy's geographic proximity to Africa (Giulianotti, 1999: 160). In general, the politicisation of football is seldom questioned ever since the association of Silvio Berlusconi with AC Milan, not to mention the name of his political party (*Forza Italia* – a widely used football chant).

National subdivisions are even more apparent in Spanish football, where clubs play in the colours of the ethnic groups they represent. For instance, Real Betis Balompié play in the green-and-white of Andalusia, Unión Deportiva Las Palmas in the yellow-and-blue of the Canary Isles and Real Club Celta de Vigo play in the blue-and-white of Galicia, just as many clubs feature national symbols such as FC Barcelona and Athletic Bilbao. The motto of FC Barcelona is 'more than a club' (*mes que un club*), emphasising the unifying character and properties of the club. Even its local rival Real Club Deportivo Espanyol, a club openly favoured by Francisco Franco's dictatorial regime, and still supported by a strong fascist following, changed its name in 1994 from the Castilian *Espanol* to the Catalan *Espanyol*, to better reflect its national identity (Ball, 2003: 88). The association of Athletic Bilbao with the Basque Nationalist Party (*Partido Nacionalista Vasco*), from which all the club's chairmen came (Ball, 2003: 76), is of

course noteworthy, as is its recruitment policy considering that the club employs exclusively football players of Basque origin (a policy followed by Real Sociedad de Fútbol for a long period of time too). Surely, Athletic Bilbao is considered the most suitable ambassador of the Basque Country, given that its board members have long supported the Basque separatist group *Euzkadi ta Askatasuna* (Duke and Crolley, 1996: 37).

Football in Cyprus

The game of football was introduced to Cyprus by the British in the early-twentieth century. It gained much popularity with the founders of the earliest clubs being members of the educated elite, also associated with the Church and in favour of union with Greece – though some promoted the idea of Cypriot independence. Interestingly, those clubs functioned more like cultural societies, since their activities were aimed at promoting Greek values and ideals through music, poetry and theatre, as well as athletics (football). In 1934, the Cyprus Football Association was founded and the first national league was set up. When the Cyprus Communist Party was set up in 1926, it exploited the presence of those clubs to promote the communist ideology and by the late 1930s the party had succeeded in attracting the attention of the working class. Such was its success that in 1941 AKEL (Anorthotiko Komma Ergazomenou Laou – Progressive Party of Working People) was set up to recruit those communists that did not adhere to the hard-core Marxist ideology of the local communist party. In view of the ever-expanding AKEL, the right wing in Cyprus was housed within the Cypriot National Party (Kipriako Ethniko Komma), with the two ideological rivals promoting their respective political objectives through all things Cypriot, including football. Their ideological clash was heightened in the late 1940s and reached its peak when the civil war in Greece broke out (1946).

The civil war in Greece (1946–49) had a severe impact upon Cyprus, given the special relationship that characterises the two countries, ideologically dividing the east Mediterranean island into ‘left’ and ‘right’. In 1948, at the request of the Hellenic Athletics Federation in Greece, Cypriot sports clubs demanded that their leftist members denounce their political ideology by means of signing a relevant declaration. Those athletes that resisted were forced away from all sports associations, including the Cyprus Football Association and all football clubs. Those defiant football players proceeded to set up new football clubs, such as Alki Larnaca, Nea Salamina, Omonoia and Orfeas. Together with AMOL Limassol and Asteras Morphou, those four clubs set up the Cyprus Amateur Football Federation in 1948 and a separate football league that ran until 1953, when the two national football associations merged (Duke and Crolley, 1996: 80). The merger was decided after the rapprochement of AKEL to the idea of union with Greece in alignment with the demand of the Greek Communist Party for unity in all things

national. Interestingly, Alki Larnaca was founded to counterbalance local EPA Larnaca, Nea Salamina was the answer to Anorthosis Ammohostou, while Omonoia was formed by players who came from the ranks of APOEL.

Despite the merging of the two (ideologically) rival national football associations, football in Cyprus was still a long way from maturity, mainly because of colonialism. With the aim of thwarting any independence claims, the British authorities in Cyprus put into effect a number of oppressive measures in the early 1950s, which affected football too. In order to curb violence on the island, for instance, the British colonial office in Cyprus issued a decree prohibiting any sort of gathering that could turn into a demonstration, particularly in Nicosia where football stadiums would remain closed for an indefinite period of time. These developments forced the Cyprus Football Association to restructure its league in such way so that football matches were hosted in the other cities around the coastline of Cyprus, thus the name 'coastal league', until the relevant decree was recalled after six games. The 1974 Turkish invasion of Cyprus brought about the de facto partition of the island and, of course, the division of football clubs along ethnocentric lines. Ever since, the Cyprus Turkish Football Federation (*Kıbrıs Türk Futbol Federasyonu*) has operated in the occupied areas, in parallel to the official Cyprus Football Association.

The semantics of football emblems

The emblems of Greek-Cypriot football clubs reveal much about the degree of politicisation of the popular game. Contrasting its ideological rivalry with the right-wing APOEL, the emblem of Omonoia FC is highly symbolic for it features a green shamrock, with the colour green denoting hope, just as the shamrock is a symbol of harmony – thus reflecting the name of the club itself (the Greek word *omonoia* translates into concord, peace and harmony). The emblem of APOEL, on the other hand, has no symbolic connotation; nevertheless, the club's full name, Athletic Football Club of Nicosia's Greeks, makes clear references to the ethnocentric character of the club by emphasising its Greek identity. Members of APOEL have in the past played a key role in the liberation struggle against the British, including a Michalis Karaolis who was hanged by the British authorities on the island.

The element of Greek identity is visible in the emblems of a significant number of Greek-Cypriot football clubs. Confusing the geographically illiterate, the emblem of Ethnikos Achnas features the map of Greece with Cyprus geographically located somewhere in the Aegean Sea right above Crete, thus denoting long-held aspirations for unification with motherland Greece. Along similar lines, the emblem of Enosis Neon Paralimniou displays the Parthenon on the Acropolis of Athens and a Greek soldier blowing a horn. Other than the apparent Greekness of the club, the type of

soldier depicted makes a clear reference to the times when Greece was occupied by Ottoman Turkey, the latter, of course, being held accountable for the misfortunes of the two countries. The emblem of Apollon Limassol FC features the Greek god of poetry and music, while the emblem of Athlitiki Enosi Kitiou Larnacas features the head of Kimon, a notable Athenian general who organised the defence of the city of Kition against the military forces of the Persian King Xerxes. The team badge of Athlitiki Enosi Paphou clearly stands out, from Greek-Cypriot football clubs, which reflect the history of Cyprus as it features Evagoras Pallikarides, who was better known for his engagement in the revolutionary EOKA and its anti-colonial struggle. He was also hanged by the British authorities in Cyprus. Digenis Akritas sports an emblem that features the legendary hero Digenis, with the local myth presenting him as the giant who grabbed hold of Mount Pentadaktylos as he leaped over to Turkey in pursuit of Saracen pirates. Finally, Anorthosis Ammohostou features an emblem that displays 'a phoenix rising from the ashes, an image redolent with political symbolism' (Duke and Crolley, 1996: 80).

Phantom politics: the politics of performativity and the performativity of fandom politics

The notion of performativity became popular in academic discourse mainly after the publication of Judith Butler's *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity* (1990). Here, in what is considered to be the most destabilising moment in the history of gender theory, Butler puts forward the argument that gender identities are in no way solid and essential, even though they often acquire that appearance through the process of coming into being through discourse. There are many intertexts in Butler's discussion, some of which she consciously acknowledges (Michel Foucault's work on power, discourse and sexuality, for example) and others which are merely echoed (Jacques Derrida's 'Signature, Event, Context', for example). Another work that is never mentioned in the text but one which the informed reader cannot fail to recognise as an intertext is J.L. Austin's 1962 work *How to Do Things with Words*.

In *How to Do Things with Words*, J.L. Austin introduces the notion of performativity and performative speech acts. 'The uttering of words', says Austin, 'is, indeed, usually a, or even the leading incident in the performance of the act ... the performance of which is also the object of the utterance, but it is far from being usually, even if it is ever, the sole thing necessary if the act is to be deemed to have been performed' (1962: 8). The performative utterance's success is subject to the appropriate circumstances and it depends on both a set of other actions as well as the reiteration and repetition of it (the utterance) not only by the speaker but by other persons as well. Therefore, performative acts name the very thing they purport to

express. The most famous example of a performative act, cited by Austin, is the wedding ceremony whereby through the utterance of a few words the couple comes into being – the declaration ‘I do’, coming from the couple, which in itself implies an action. This is followed by the utterance, ‘I now pronounce you husband and wife’, by the person conducting the ceremony. However, for a performative utterance to be ‘happy’, i.e. successful, the circumstances have to be appropriate. So, for example, in the wedding ceremony the person that utters the words must be ‘a proper person’, ‘with the capacity to perform’ the act/utterance, otherwise the action is ‘void’ or with no effect. According to Austin, ‘for the invocation of particular procedure invoked ... there must exist an accepted conventional procedure having a certain conventional effect, the procedure to include the uttering of certain words by certain persons in certain circumstances’ (1962: 26). Austin makes a distinction between illocutionary and perlocutionary acts to distinguish between an action we do (an illocution) and its consequence (a perlocution). Illocutionary acts are ‘utterances which have a certain (conventional) force’, while perlocutionary acts are the consequences of an utterance, ‘what we bring about by saying something’ (Austin, 1976: 108).

As the concept of performativity is often misapprehended and thought of as synonymous to the concept of performance, Butler emphasises the point that there is an important distinction to be made between performance and *performativity*: ‘the former presumes a subject, but the latter contests the very notion of the subject’ (Osborne, 2013: 112). This idea is the result of the marriage of Foucauldian thought on power and discourse in relation to the production of the subject, and Austin’s ‘notion of performativity, performative speech acts in particular – understood as those speech acts that bring into being that which they name’ (Osborne, 2013: 112). Discourse becomes, in this context, a productive force and Butler is trying to think ‘about performativity as that aspect of discourse that has the capacity to produce what it names’ (Osborne, 2013: 112). According to Butler, ‘[i]f the power of discourse to produce that which it names is linked with the question of performativity, then the performative is one domain in which power acts as discourse’ (1993: 225). Consequently, identities are discursively produced by systems of power that have the capacity to bring into being and to materialise the identities they put forward as their representative essences.

Following a Derridean re-thinking of Austin, Butler emphasises an element of repetition and recitation that characterises this production of identities. More than carrying the element of performance, performativity is based on and characterised by a ritualistic element in the ‘conventional force’ that characterises, and is the presupposition for, an illocutionary act. This is where the foundational difference between performance and performativity lies, in that the first requires a subject that produces it whereas the latter produces a subject, or as Butler says, ‘contests the very notion of a

subject'. Importantly, however, there is no power, construed as a subject, that acts, but only, to repeat an earlier phrase, a reiterated acting that is power in its persistence and instability (Butler, 1993: 225). In an interview with Peter Osborne she says that 'performativity is the vehicle through which ontological effects are established. Performativity is the discursive mode by which ontological effects are installed' (Butler in Osborne, 2013: 112). In reading the ritualistic element in the notion of performativity as it is discussed by Austin, Butler says in *Excitable Speech: A Politics of the Performative* regarding performative acts that, 'as utterances, they work to the extent that they are given in the form of a ritual, that is repeated in time, and, hence, maintain a sphere of operation that is not restricted to the moment of the utterance itself' (1997: 3). Through repetition of ritual, conventionality is reinforced thus creating the ideology that seems to form the subject. In fact, according to Butler, it is only through such mechanisms, the mechanisms of discursive power, that the subject comes to be at all. Where there is an 'I' who utters or speaks and thereby produces an effect in discourse, there is first a discourse that precedes and enables that 'I' and forms in language the constraining trajectory of its will. Thus there is no 'I' who stands behind discourse and executes its volition or will through discourse. On the contrary, the 'I' only comes into being through being called, named, interpellated, to use the Althusserian term, and this discursive constitution takes place prior to the 'I'; it is the transitive invocation of the 'I' (Butler, 1993: 225).

In the case of football fandom, the acts and gestures that compose the reality of the identity of the fan, and which are thought of as being the expression of that identity, are in actual fact the generating force of that identity. Adopting certain attitudes (in and outside the stadium), repeating slogans and chants, associating oneself with symbols, affiliating oneself with online webpages and groups that support a particular club, are not the expression of one's fan identity but rather the process through which that identity is performatively formed since all of these acts and gestures carry symbolic meaning. The language of football fandom is a form of discourse, just like any other semiotic context; it is a space in which the sign (as a two-sided entity, both signifier and signified) engages the subject in the play of language and self-definition. However, due to the excessive nature of the signifier (it cannot correspond only to one, fixed signified) meaning and signification and consequently, the semiology of the fandom body (and the body of the fan) goes beyond fixed interpretations. The body of the fandom basis of any club is characterised by an instability in its identity, it changes with the times and it is open to interpretation. Having said that, these identities cannot be read outside the history of the club and the socio-political context that has informed its foundation and development. Fans and their identity are always formed and interpreted through the larger context of the club's identity.

What the above tells us about identity is that regardless of the type of identity one is interested in performing, the 'I' that speaks, never speaks as an 'I' but is rather spoken for; it expresses an identity that it never fully owns and that is characterised by the instability of the language that is used to form it. In football fandom terms, this translates as the fan coming into being through the process of enactment of certain gestures and expression of speech acts that constitute it as the fanatic supporter of either one team or another. However, in supporting a team the fan is never only engaged in football politics; he or she is also always involved in a series of other identifications that constitute him or her not only as being passionate about the team's performance in the local or European championships but also about expressing a certain political identity.

Our earlier comments have demonstrated not only the ways in which football is politicised, and that being a popular sport it has been used by different ideologies as a vehicle to spread and capitalise on their ideas, but also how in some cases (Cyprus being the example under consideration) it has been used to construe national identity. To be an APOEL FC fan, for example, also implies a strong identification with Hellenism. The Greek state flag, as opposed to the Cypriot state flag, or a Greek flag that has been altered to incorporate the dominant symbol of the Cypriot flag (a map of the entirety of the island) at its centre, is often used by the APOEL FC fans, especially the most fanatic group, the Ultras. At times of political unrest that inevitably give rise to feelings of anxiety about one's national identity, this is even more pronounced and in some cases has gone to extremes causing the wrath of UEFA, which has fined the club for its fans' demonstration of unsportsmanlike behaviour in using Nazi symbols like the swastika and shouting racist slogans during the match. This is not to equate the one with the other, but rather to show how anxiety for one's national identity may lead to extreme behaviour – in such situations one has a stronger need to symbolically and performatively assert one's identity. Following Austin and Butler's theorisation of performativity the identifications that we make and the symbols that we use to express them are less an expression of an identity that we are in control of and more of an interpellation through discourse: we do not control our symbols, they control us. APOEL FC fans are anxious to perpetuate a Greek national (sometimes nationalist) identity and are sometimes more royal than the King in matters of Greekness. As suggested earlier, this goes back to the founding history of the club and the nationalist politics that led to the creation of the two Nicosia clubs. As a result, one who identifies as an APOEL FC fan, willingly or unwillingly attaches themselves to a series of other identifications, not all of which may really be shared by that individual. For example, currently being right wing in Cyprus, as well as which party actually expresses and practises right-wing politics, has become a rather unstable and relative concept. The local right-wing party, the voters of which constitute the fan base of APOEL FC

currently, favours the idea of the reunification of Cyprus in a confederacy with the Turkish-Cypriot population currently residing in the north of the island. By contrast, the APOEL FC Ultras have on a number of occasions expressed their disagreement with such a development and in extreme cases their hatred for Turkish Cypriots and the possibility of establishing any relationship with them, inside or outside football stadiums. On the other hand, there are in the ranks of the fans politically moderate individuals who do not approve of such extreme reactions and are more open to an understanding of contemporary Cypriot identity as more flexible, while still maintaining a strong sense of Greekness however.

Similarly, supporters of Omonoia FC have maintained, throughout the years following the war in Cyprus in 1974, an anti-nationalist attitude with an emphasis on Cypriotness and the development of Cypriot national consciousness and identity. As it has already been pointed out, this was highlighted by the use of the Cypriot state flag alongside the Omonoia FC club. It is however a bizarre contrast to some other symbols often favoured and used by some of the club's supporters, such as the hammer and sickle on a red flag, an unmistakable communist symbol highlighting the club's political affiliations and associations with the Cyprus Communist Party, which has always viewed and treated Omonoia FC as its sports branch. Even though today, some fans want the club to disengage from the grip of party politics and rule, there is still a strong leftist feeling in the club. Ironically however, it is again often the case that these fans are sometimes unaware of the associations that their identifications with communist symbols (now redundant even, or mainly, in the countries of former dominance) imply. The effort to put forward a Cypriot, leftist ideology that includes the respect and acceptance of Turkish Cypriots in a possible federal state is often undermined by acts such as the Communist Party's negative attitude and vote at the Referendum in 2004 proposing a reunification of the island on the basis of the Anan Plan. This was followed by their coalition with a party that claims to be in the political centre but which has never really supported the idea of a reunified Cyprus, to form a government and rule for a term of five years, united under a leader who was involved in the EOKA struggle and was never a communist sympathiser. Once again, identities prove to be fluid and unstable in spite of a desire and the vested interest of some to present it as fixed and solid.

Taking both these cases into consideration, one may proceed to argue that although there is a clear desire to use football fandom as an axis for the establishment and perpetuation of fixed political and national identities, the materiality of the expression of such identities is always of a performative nature. To follow the poststructuralist understanding of the nature of the sign as a two-sided entity (the signifier and the signified) in which the signifier is always in excess, never fixed, never stable, the language of football politics and the politics of fandom are never really stable either and can never express a fixed and solid identity. In this context, identities are shown

to be once again phantasmatic and the politics of fandom to be of a performative order. That, however, is not to say that there is no materiality to such politics; if fandom politics are phantom politics, they are only so because the order that enables their materialisation is discourse. Discourse, however, has the capacity to bring into being by naming – this is the performative quality. Sometimes such emancipations of identity are of the most material kind, especially when football matches between the two teams erupt in violence, both inside and outside the football stadium. Fan identity in these situations materialises when discourse becomes violence and violence has a direct impact on the body of the fan.

Fandom's phantom identities

Being a popular sport, and one which appeals to the masses, football has offered fertile ground for political manipulation of those who associate themselves with the sport, the fans, as well as enabled and contributed to the formation and development of national identities in a variety of contexts. Besides, this is certainly true of the formation of state and national consciousness and identity of Cypriots over the last century.

A closer consideration of the workings of identity formation in this context allows us to think of fan identity as being as performatively constructed as any other identity, be it gender, race or other. Following Judith Butler's understanding of identities as unstable entities constructed through a discourse, which then presents these products as essence, we arrive at the conclusion that the identity of the fan, so closely connected with the formation of a national identity in Cyprus, presents us with the same challenge that any form of identity does: in that they are constructions of discourse, products of a cultural context and mediated through a system of signification in which the signifier is always in excess and subject to (mis)interpretations, identities are never fixed and solid but rather unstable and fluid. However, it is in the nature of the desire for identity formation that one invests heavily, fanatically we might say, on what appears to be solid ground through a series of identifications that serve to offer one the stability one desires when forming identity. In that respect, being a football fan and adopting this identity is no different to developing any other social identity. What our approach to the subject of fandom identities shows is that the association between fandom politics and national identities may enlighten us further in the ways in which politics and football are entwined as well as the ways in which fandom politics become identity politics.

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Partition in Irish sport during the 1950s

Cormac Moore

The repeal of the 1936 External Relations Act by the Irish Free State government in 1948 paved the way for the establishment of the Republic of Ireland and removed the last tenuous link between the twenty-six counties and the United Kingdom.¹ It was no longer a dominion of Britain; its membership of the British Commonwealth was at an end (McCabe, 1992). The move by John A. Costello's Inter-Party government to declare a republic prompted Basil Brooke, Northern Ireland prime minister, to call a snap election in Northern Ireland in early 1949 to demonstrate the desire of the vast majority of Northern Ireland citizens to remain an integral part of the UK, where his party won a resounding victory (Lynn, 2005). These events, in turn, prompted Clement Atlee's British government to bring in legislation, the Ireland Act of 1949, to reflect the changed status between the United Kingdom and the Republic of Ireland (Fanning, 1981–82). One of the clauses of the Ireland Act was a declaration that all of Northern Ireland would remain as part of the United Kingdom unless the Parliament of Northern Ireland consented otherwise (Fanning, 1981–82).

This clause, given the veto enjoyed by unionists (who sought to maintain the status of Northern Ireland within the union of the United Kingdom) in the Northern Ireland parliament, copper-fastened partition between North and South (euphemisms for Northern Ireland and the Republic of Ireland, respectively). This led to outrage from many of a nationalistic (those within both Northern Ireland and the Republic who favoured re-unification) hue, who in hoping partition was a temporary measure, now realised the permanency of the political divide in Ireland. It led to strained relations between the government in Dublin and those in London and Belfast. It also led to 'strident anti-partitionist rhetoric from successive Irish governments in the early 1950s' (Fanning, 1985: 16). This was a continuation of the anti-partitionist campaigns adopted not only by nationalists in Northern Ireland but also by governments in the twenty-six counties from 1945 onwards. In 1945, the Irish Anti-Partition League (IAPL) was formed in a bid to demonstrate a united front from all of the minority community in Northern Ireland to oppose partition (Lynn, 2005). Sean McBride, Minister of

External Affairs of the Irish Free State government, lobbied Europe and the United States to end partition, meeting with no success. Not to be outdone, Eamon de Valera, on being ousted as Taoiseach (Prime Minister) in 1948 for the first time in 16 years, embarked on an anti-partition tour of the United States, Australia, New Zealand and India, again meeting with very little success (Lee, 1989).

The now perceived permanency of partition saw repercussions for many in Irish society, including by most sporting bodies. The 1950s would see increased tensions directly related to partition, tensions even amongst sporting bodies that had never experienced any problems since Northern Ireland came into being in the early 1920s. The aim of this chapter is to look at the many issues that occurred in that decade, demonstrating how the political landscape in Ireland posed significant problems for governing bodies attempting to administer sports without offending one political grouping or another.

Under the Civil Authorities (Special Powers) Act of 1933 of the Northern Ireland government, it was illegal to fly the tricolour flag 'purporting to be a flag of an Irish Republic and containing three vertical stripes of green, white and yellow',² even though the colour orange, and not yellow, was the official colour of the national flag. A number of high-profile court cases had highlighted the sensitivity relating to this matter. A man was prosecuted in 1950 for displaying the tricolour in Armagh. In his defence, his lawyer highlighted the absurdity of the British government recognising the Republic of Ireland and its flag, and yet the Northern Ireland administration refused to do so.³ The Irish government formally complained to the British government for this 'deep offence offered to Irish national sentiment by the continuance of a state of affairs wherein a law is in existence and enforced which purports to render it a criminal offence to display the Irish flag in Ireland'.⁴ A US citizen who had two tricolour pennants removed from his car by the Royal Ulster Constabulary (RUC) in Belfast claimed, 'this would not happen in darkest Africa'.⁵

One of the most high-profile instances of the Northern authorities prohibiting the displaying of the tricolour came at an international rugby match between Ireland and Wales held in Ravenhill,⁶ Belfast in March 1950. A fan who had travelled from Dublin, on displaying the tricolour prominently before the match commenced, was chased and attacked by RUC officers. A photograph showing the man manhandled by the RUC with one officer planting his knee on the man's neck, pinning him to the ground was seen around the world.⁷ Motorists travelling over the border for the match were also ordered to remove the tricolour by the RUC once they entered the six counties (*Sunday Independent*, 12 March 1950, p. 1). The Irish Rugby Football Union (IRFU) had previously been embroiled in controversy for refusing to fly the Irish tricolour for international matches in Dublin, opting to fly its four provinces flag instead, and yet it had no

issue with flying the Union Jack (the British flag) at internationals played in Belfast. It took the intervention of the Irish Free State government to force the IRFU to change this practice in 1932.⁸ Another incident had occurred in 1948 with the RUC 'snapping' any tricolours flown by spectators at an international rugby match in Ravenhill (*Mayo News*, 27 March 1948, p. 3). It did not lead to the level of hostility that the incident of 1950 did. Many in the Press were outraged by the incident, the *Ulster Herald* (a Northern Ireland newspaper) describing it as 'a remarkable illustration of what it means to live in an armed Police State' (*Ulster Herald*, 18 March 1950, p. 7). Another Northern Ireland newspaper, the *Fermanagh Herald* believed 'the setting at Ravenhill looked more like as if the game was being played in an English town, and not in Ireland's second largest city', such was the prominent display of Union Jack flags (*Fermanagh Herald*, 18 March 1950, p. 5). A newspaper in the South, the *Sunday Independent* (19 March 1950, p. 10) believed the IRFU was directly responsible. It urged the union to 'find some remedy which will prevent the great majority of Irish rugby followers being nauseated' in future. Other pro-unionist papers blamed the spectators from the twenty-six counties for their 'displays of exaggerated nationalism and political assertiveness wholly out of place at a sporting event and in exceedingly bad taste'.⁹ The *Strabane Weekly News* (a Northern Ireland newspaper) called for firm action against displaying the tricolour, describing it as

The flag of a bitterly hostile, rebellious foreign country ... There can be no objection to the display of any foreign flag in Northern Ireland as a mark of respect and courtesy towards the countries they represent, but the tricolour can never be associated with respect or courtesy. It is the symbol of hatred, avarice, dishonour and rebellion, and the emblem of a country whose politicians aim at the destruction of the Government of Northern Ireland and the subjugation of its people.¹⁰

The Northern Ireland government subsequently introduced legislation, the Flags and Emblems Act of 1954, to include orange as one of the colours that could be considered encompassing the tricolour. It also did relax its ruling on the displaying of the tricolour. The flag was no longer considered illegal; it would only be considered so if it led to 'a breach of the peace' by provoking 'others to create trouble', something left in the hands of the RUC to decide upon on a case-by-case basis.¹¹ Despite the relaxation on the displaying of the tricolour, the Act was still, 'seen as a prime example of the repressive and sectarian nature of the Northern Ireland state in its relation to any manifestation of the national identity of its Catholic minority' (Patterson, 1999: 106). This Act was only repealed in 1987 after the Anglo-Irish Agreement of 1985 (Sugden and Bairner, 1993: 59). A tragic postscript to the match in Ravenhill involved a number of Welsh fans who chartered

a plane to return from Dublin to Wales after the match in Belfast. The plane crashed shortly before it was due to land, leading to the worst-ever disaster in aviation history up to that point with eighty people losing their lives (*Irish Press*, 13 March 1950, p. 1).

In 1953, the IRFU was accused of insulting 'its country by having "God Save the Queen"' (British National Anthem) played as the anthem of Ireland at an international rugby match between Ireland and France in Ravenhill, the IRFU being described as 'a clique which stands for British rule for part of the northern province of Ireland and which, we feel sure, would like to see the Twenty-six Counties again occupied by Britain' (*Connacht Sentinel*, 27 January 1953, p. 2). It was believed that some of the players from the Republic of Ireland were 'discussing the form in which they should make a strong protest' (*Connacht Sentinel*, 27 January 1953, p. 2). A strike was threatened by the southern players a year later unless the Irish national anthem was played and the tricolour flown, on top of the United Kingdom ones, at rugby internationals held in Ravenhill. A strike was averted when the IRFU agreed to host all future rugby internationals in Dublin (Sugden and Bairner, 1993: 59).

Other sports governed on an all-Ireland basis, acutely aware of the potential potency of symbols, looked to incorporate the Northern and Southern make-up of their members. At a women's hockey international match between Ireland and the Netherlands in 1951, 'O'Donnell Abú' was played instead of Amhrán na bhFiann, the Irish national anthem, 'as the situation between their Northern – the Six County members of the team – and the others was delicate regarding political loyalties and affiliations and that they feared a split in their Association – at present an all-Ireland Association – if matters were forced'.¹² The dinner that evening featured the tricolour prominently displayed alongside the Dutch flag as well as the Northern Ireland-born non-playing captain offering the Dutch association president a Tara brooch as she wanted to give 'something really Irish'.¹³ The Irish Davis Cup team in tennis played under the flag of the Four Provinces of Ireland on a St. Patrick's blue background. This was chosen as the flag for their association as they were keen to preserve Irish unity in tennis.¹⁴ Even though only two of the players representing Ireland at an International Bowls tournament in Brighton in 1953 were from the twenty-six counties, the tricolour was still chosen as the Irish flag.¹⁵

A minor incident was caused in the ranks of the Irish Ladies' Golfing Union in 1958 when Drogheda-born Philomena Garvey withdrew from the British Isles Curtis Cup team to play the United States as she refused to wear a Union Jack on her blazer. She claimed she 'would be prepared to wear a combination of the Union Jack and Eire Tricolour, or a lion rampant, but I feel I would be disloyal to my country if I wore a Union Jack only'.¹⁶ A compromise was reached the following year when a new badge was designed containing the shields of Ireland, England, Scotland and Wales,

and in the centre a small Union Jack, a compromise acceptable to Garvey (*Irish Press*, 24 September 1959, p. 1). Bridge players were also affected by the political divide on the island with two separate associations for Northern Ireland and the Republic of Ireland in existence. A motion was passed at the Contract Bridge Association of Ireland (CBAI) AGM of 1950 not to compete in ‘competitions or tournaments in which the Northern Ireland Bridge Union is allowed to compete as a unit.’¹⁷ It was also agreed to explore the possibility of one ruling body for bridge in Ireland, a union that came about in 1954.¹⁸

The governance of athletics and cycling in Ireland had seen unity between North and South in the early 1920s. It was not a smooth alliance, though, and lasted for just over a year between 1924 and 1925 (Reynolds, 2012: 30). The governing body, the National Athletics and Cycling Association of Ireland (NACA), fought a bitter decades-long battle with the athletic branches in Northern Ireland. NACA sought to govern for the thirty-two counties of Ireland, while the Northern bodies wished to champion a new identity within a British framework (Reynolds, 2012: 31–32). NACA refused to accept the ruling of the International Amateur Athletic Federation (IAAF) of 1934 to ‘limit the jurisdiction of its member federations to the political boundaries of the country or nation they represented’, and was subsequently suspended from the IAAF in 1935 (Hunt, 2015: 2). It refused to withdraw its claims to control athletics in Northern Ireland. ‘The politics of athletics became identified with the politics of the constitution ... to accept the IAAF ruling would be to condone partition’ (Comerford, 2003: 233). The Irish Olympic Council decided not to compete in the 1936 Berlin Olympics. Due to the Second World War, the next Olympic Games took place in London in 1948. Clubs unhappy with how NACA was governing athletics in Ireland had established their own athletics body, the Amateur Athletics Union, Éire (AAUE), in 1938. The AAUE became affiliated to the IAAF. Although not sanctioned by the Irish Olympic Council who supported NACA, ten AAUE athletes competed in London (Hunt, 2015: 6). At the Opening Ceremony of the London Olympics, the Irish team were required to march as Éire between Egypt and Finland (Hunt, 2015: 5), and not as Ireland even though Éire was only the official Irish language name for the country, Ireland being the official English language name. The Irish Olympic Council threatened to bring its case to the International Court of Justice at the Hague for its right to use the name Ireland at international competitions. This was rejected by the International Olympic Committee (IOC) on the grounds that athletes from the six counties of Northern Ireland were not subject to the Irish Olympic Council’s authority. The IOC Chairman, Otto Mayer, sent a letter saying the Irish Olympic Committee should continue to use the name Éire and to illustrate his point, he included an Irish postage stamp inscribed ‘Éire’. The Irish body responded by stating ‘As regards the Irish postage stamp

enclosed with your letter it does not appear to be material to the point at issue'. They enclosed a Swiss stamp inscribed 'Helvetia' and a British stamp inscribed 'Postage Revenue'.¹⁹

Although talks for unity in Irish athletics were considered in the 1950s, NACA did organise rallies with the Gaelic Athletic Association (GAA)²⁰ and the Anti-Partition Association protesting against partition in athletics and condemned the Taoiseach and Tánaiste in 1950 for holding a reception for partitionist athletes.²¹ NACA occasionally had race meets it organised banned in Northern Ireland by the RUC for fear of such events leading to a 'breach of the peace'.²² NACA took issue with Belfast athlete Thelma Hopkins winning a gold medal in the high jump event at a race meet in Berlin, representing Britain in 1954. Her sister Moira commented, 'although she is representing Britain, the honour and glory is Ireland's'.²³ Hopkins had in fact been born in Hull in England. Although not allowed to compete for Ireland in athletics, she did represent Ireland in hockey (*Irish Independent*, 8 March 1954, p. 10). She won a silver medal representing Great Britain and Northern Ireland in the 1956 Melbourne Olympics, the same Olympics Ronnie Delaney won a gold medal for the Republic of Ireland in the 1500 metres track event.²⁴ As Delaney was an AAUE athlete, he did not receive universal acclaim upon his return to Ireland (Comerford, 2003: 234). Athletics in the Republic of Ireland would only be healed in 1967 when the NACA and AAUE amalgamated to form Bord Lúthchleas na hÉireann (Comerford, 2003: 234).

The National Cycling Association (NCA), the cycling arm of the NACA, also did not accept partition, and it too was not recognised by the world governing body of its sport, Union Cycliste Internationale (UCI). The NCA secretary, Kerry Sloane, sent a circular to all of the UCI-affiliated associations seeking recognition. He claimed that the UCI affiliate from Ireland, Cumann Rothaidheachta na hÉireann (CRE), had only 138 members (including tourists) compared with the NCA's 1,000 racing cyclists in over 100 clubs.²⁵ A motorist in Kerry left his car in a public place to block a race organised by the CRE in 1954, comparing the CRE cyclists to the notorious Black and Tans²⁶ for their acceptance of partition.²⁷ Also recognised by UCI, it was claimed that the Northern Ireland Cycling Federation (NICF) had only about 100 members in one or two towns. To highlight the perceived injustice, NCA cyclists were sent to the Rome World Championships in 1955 and the Melbourne Olympics in 1956 as a mark of protest. Four NCA cyclists were arrested at the Rome event after a fist fight ensued between the NCA cyclists and the officially sanctioned Irish team from the CRE. One of the cyclists was detained for striking an Italian policeman.²⁸

Soccer in Ireland had been divided, North and South, since 1921 when the Leinster Football Association (headquartered in Dublin) seceded from the parent body, the Irish Football Association (IFA) leading to the formation of the Football Association of Ireland (FAI) (Moore, 2015).

Attempts were made throughout the 1920s and 1930s to reunify the game. Some came close to success, but all ultimately failed. From the time of the split up until 1948 players were eligible to represent Irish international teams from sides governed by the FAI and the IFA. Over 20 players born in the territory governed by the FAI represented the 'Irish' team selected by the IFA. This all changed once the British associations re-entered the Fédération Internationale de Football Association (FIFA) after the Second World War.

The campaign for British re-entry into FIFA was led by the English FA secretary, Stanley Rous, who believed the prestige Britain had lost through its collapsing empire could be softened by a greater role in world football (Tomlinson, 2014: 56). He would become FIFA president in 1961. To appease FIFA, Rous and the English FA believed both Irish associations should only choose players born in their own territories. He wrote a letter to the IFA seeking an 'assurance that the players selected to take part will be only players whose birthplace is Northern Ireland' for the match between England and the IFA selected Irish team on 28 September 1946, an assurance not granted by the IFA.²⁹ A similar letter was sent by Rous to the FAI secretary, Joe Wickham, asking that the FAI choose only 'Eire born players' for the forthcoming match between England and an FAI selected Irish team, a request the FAI consented to (*The Irish Times*, 24 September 1946, p. 2).

The Irish President (de facto President of the twenty-six counties only), Sean T. O'Kelly, sought the advice of his former Cabinet colleague, Oscar Traynor, on whether he should attend the match or not. Traynor had previously been a professional footballer, including a period as goalkeeper for Belfast Celtic from 1910 to 1912 (Coleman, 2015). Belfast Celtic was the leading nationalist-leaning club in Northern Ireland up until it withdrew from football in 1949 due to politics and sectarianism within Northern Ireland (Coyle, 1999; Flynn, 2009). Traynor recommended O'Kelly should attend 'as it will be the first occasion since the foundation of the State that an English International Team has accepted an invitation to play in the Twenty-Six Counties'.³⁰ It was, in fact, the first time any association from Britain agreed to play an FAI international team. O'Kelly did attend, although he was unhappy with the reception he received at the match. The anthems had already been played before he arrived; he was rushed onto the pitch to meet the players as the referee wanted to start the match early and he was not seated in the centre seat of his row.³¹ The English team and officials also met with the Taoiseach, Éamon de Valera, and were granted a tour of Dáil Éireann.³²

The FAI later in the year complained to the IFA for selecting seven players born in the twenty-six counties for the latter's international against Scotland in November (*The Irish Times*, 21 November 1946, p. 2). FIFA also queried the IFA for selecting players born in FAI territory for the match against Scotland.³³ At the International Football Association Board³⁴

meeting in 1947, the English FA's attempt to prohibit each association from selecting players born outside their association was defeated.³⁵ The English FA still sought a resolution to the impasse as it desired to 'play matches against the two Irish Associations' and wanted each Irish association to 'restrict the selection of their players to that area over which they have jurisdiction'.³⁶ Despite the IFA recommending a conference of the associations involved, none took place.³⁷ One of the reasons the IFA may have been interested in agreeing to a conference, the first time the IFA was willing to do so for over sixteen years, was due to a new FIFA enforcement disallowing any association from selecting players born outside its territory from 1948. This enforcement was caused by both Irish associations entering the World Cup tournament for the first time (*The Scotsman*, 11 October 1950, p. 9). The last time the IFA would select an all-Ireland team was in 1950 against Wales (Sugden and Bairner, 1993: 74). Even though the IFA just had jurisdiction over Northern Ireland, it continued to call its team 'Ireland' long after 1950. Although it rarely selected players born outside its own territory, the FAI was mocked in 1949 by the Swedish Press for selecting players against Sweden who had previously represented IFA international teams, some accusing the FAI of cheating. The FAI retorted that it was the IFA who had broken FIFA's rules as the players in question were born in the twenty-six counties (*Irish Examiner*, 30 May 1949, p. 6).

Feeling the time was opportune, the FAI recommended a conference to the IFA in 1950 suggesting 'that the terms of such a settlement be on a fifty/fifty basis in all matters pertaining to International Affairs and International Matches, in which Ireland is concerned'. The IFA rejected the overtures unanimously as it believed 'no new facts or suggestions have been presented' to justify a conference.³⁸ The IFA's refusal to agree to a conference led to four players, previously capped by the IFA, announcing they would no longer accept international honours from the IFA. Ten players who had not been capped by the IFA also claimed, if such offers were forthcoming, they too would refuse to play, leading the *Limerick Leader* (a regional newspaper in the Republic of Ireland) to declare 'Solve this soccer mix up and you're a genius!' (1 April 1950, p. 12). The FAI subsequently stipulated that each player must sign a declaration agreeing to play for an international team only selected by the FAI, in order for a Clearance Certificate to be granted allowing footballers to play for a club under another association (*Irish Independent*, 30 December 1950, p. 9). What had been a 'cold war' became a 'complete severance of relations between North and South' (*Irish Independent*, 30 December 1950, p. 9). At a meeting between the IFA and the Irish Football League, it was agreed to cancel all inter-league matches between the Irish Football League and the Football League of Ireland and no club, league or association under the jurisdiction of the IFA was allowed to play against any like club, association or league 'under the jurisdiction of the body calling themselves the Football

Association of Ireland'.³⁹ The junior inter-association matches were also cancelled (*The Scotsman*, 11 October 1950, p. 3). The IFA refused to allow Queen's University Belfast to participate in the Collingwood Cup,⁴⁰ the annual all-Ireland inter-universities competition, and the Irish Schools' Football Association from Northern Ireland cancelled the annual representative match against their equivalent body in the South.⁴¹ Under pressure from the FAI, FIFA ruled in 1953 that IFA-selected international teams should be known as Northern Ireland in the future and FAI selected teams should be known as the Republic of Ireland (*Irish Times*, 28 November 1953, p. 19). Despite the ruling, the IFA was still fielding teams called 'Ireland' a year later (*Irish Times*, 9 October 1954, p. 23). The 'word war' between the IFA and FAI was very much reminiscent of a similar disagreement between the Republic of Ireland, Northern Irish and British governments on what should be the official names for the twenty-six and six counties (Daly, 2007).

The animosity between North and South in the 1950s also had repercussions for Catholics joining Northern Ireland's most successful football club, Linfield. Up until the late 1940s, approximately seventy Catholics had been on Linfield's books at one time or another. This all stopped in 1949 with the perceived cementing of partition and the hardening of attitudes on both sides of the border. Just one Catholic, a Hungarian Imrie Hidvegi, played for Linfield Swifts in the 1950s (O'Hara, 1993: 11).

Although the relationship between the FAI and the IFA had reached a new low, many people in the Republic of Ireland were desirous to see soccer governed on an all-Ireland basis. There was an incident in 1957, though, that saw both soccer administrators and others from the South disown any involvement with soccer in Northern Ireland. At an international match between Italy and Northern Ireland held in Windsor Park, the appointed Hungarian referee István Zsolt was unable to reach the ground on time due to inclement weather whilst travelling to Belfast. As the IFA had only local match officials available, it was decided just before kick-off to change the fixture from a World Cup qualifier to a friendly match (Marshall, 2016: 74). This was not appreciated by the 50,000 spectators in attendance, many of them sacrificing their work to be at the match. The atmosphere in the crowd was reflected on the pitch in what transpired to be a bad tempered encounter (Marshall, 2016: 75). The match was marred by an ugly attack on the Italian players by the local supporters who broke down barriers, battled with the RUC officers and mobbed the Italian players who were stoned, kicked and beaten (*Los Angeles Times*, 5 December 1957, p. C4). Italian soccer fans protested in Milan carrying banners that read, 'Ireland, you are no sport' (*Irish Press*, 5 December 1957, p. 1). The unruly attack caused a sensation in the international press with headlines such as the 'Barbarian Irish Football Crowd' (*The Times*, 6 December 1957, p. 8) and 'Italians Mobbed by Wild Irish' (*Irish Pictorial*, 14 December 1957, p. 2)

commonplace in many British and international newspapers. The Italian newspaper, *Il Tempo*, commented on 'The Irish public – the "quiet men" whom John Ford made us know and like – invaded the field at the end of the match attacking the Italian athletes'.⁴² There soon followed a rearguard action from the FAI and the Irish government, renouncing any involvement in the incidents at Windsor Park. The Minister for External Affairs, Frank Aiken, sent a telegram the day after the match to the Irish embassies in Rome, Paris, Bonn, Brussels, Lisbon, the Hague, Sweden, Switzerland and Madrid stating, 'Explain to Press Belfast part of partitioned Ireland still held by British. All Ireland regrets incident at yesterday's football match'.⁴³ The FAI protested to the British Broadcasting Authority (BBC) for its use of the name 'Ireland' instead of 'Northern Ireland'.⁴⁴ Some commentators were not impressed by the attempts from sections in the South with their 'indecent haste, individuals and organisations vied with each other in their anxiety to disassociate themselves from the "bad boys" of Belfast',⁴⁵ some believing 'the "southerners" didn't come so well out of the business with their holier-than-thou and let's-disown-them attitude' (*Irish Pictorial*, 14 December 1957, p. 2). Others believed the incident in Belfast provided an opportunity for the government in the Republic to publicise the 'evils' of partition to an international audience.

Lord Killanin, president of the Irish Olympic Council and future president of the IOC, wrote a letter to *The Times of London* (10 December 1957, p. 11) complaining of its implication that all of Ireland was responsible for the incidents in Belfast when in reality the IFA only governed for the six counties of Northern Ireland. In a wide-ranging letter he commented on how different sports dealt with partition:

The overwhelming majority of sports in Ireland are administered internally and affiliated internationally on an all-Ireland basis. The result is that Irishmen from both sides of the border, with divergent but sincere views on what may be politically best for our country play as Irishmen. Among the few exceptions are field and track and Association football. The former all amateur, has cast a shadow over our Olympic endeavours since the split in the mid-1930s. The latter, largely professional, has not only affected the question of entering amateur teams in the Olympic Games but has created problems in the development of sport in this island.

He concluded by pondering on what would happen should Ireland (Republic) and Ireland (North) meet in the finals of the World Cup. Both teams would not meet in the 1958 World Cup with just one of them qualifying, the team from the North, the first time any Irish team had qualified for the final stages of a World Cup. The Irish Legation in Sweden, host nation of the 1958 World Cup, sought advice from the Department of

External Affairs on what attitude should be taken with the Northern Ireland team competing in the World Cup.⁴⁶ The following reply was received:

As it is almost certain that the Six County team will be regarded as British, that the Union Jack will be flown, that the British National Anthem will be played and that the principal guest will be the British Ambassador, we feel that you should plead diplomatic illness and not attend the matches in which this team is engaged or any functions in connection with them ... If approached, you might express pleasure, or regret, at the victory, or loss, of the Northern Ireland team, adding a remark regretting that the team is not representative of all Ireland as in the case of Rugby football.⁴⁷

During the World Cup, there was considerable confusion over the status of the Northern Irish team. There had been confusion in the qualifying rounds too when the Portuguese Embassy contacted the Irish Embassy for a copy of the Republic of Ireland's national anthem, *Amhrán na bhFiann*, to be played at Northern Ireland's match against Portugal in Lisbon in January 1957 (Marshall, 2016: 43). The bus to collect the team at Malmo flew the Irish tricolour and was reprimanded by the IFA for doing so, stating they were not the FAI. At a shop close to the Northern Ireland training camp, there was a photograph of the Irish team displayed, except it was an FAI, and not an IFA, team. It was also believed that the team would not have the players to cope with a world tournament.⁴⁸ Such beliefs were to be unfounded as Northern Ireland defied their critics by reaching the quarter-final stages. So frustrated were some with the lack of political capital gained from the team's showing at the World Cup with most countries referring to them as Ireland and not Northern Ireland, there were calls for the first time north of the border for the team to be known as Northern Ireland in future.⁴⁹

The 1950s had shown that few sports were insulated from the partition of Ireland. Some sports that were successfully governed on an all-Ireland basis since partition and had experienced little friction up until 1950 were presented with challenges that tested their capacity to administer their sports without causing offence to one political group or another. Divisions that had plagued sports like soccer and athletics were amplified throughout the 1950s – the gulf between North and South never wider. The introduction of the Republic of Ireland Act in 1948 and the subsequent Ireland Act in 1949 brought home to many that partition was not a temporary measure: it was here to stay. Although there had been no realistic prospect of union for decades, many, particularly in the South, clung on to the faint hope of a United Ireland. The concerted anti-partitionist campaigns of successive governments in the South and from the

nationalist community in the North from the end of the Second World War in 1945 provided people with a false expectation that partition would end soon. It was also believed that the election of a Labour government in 1945 in the United Kingdom, for the first time with an overall majority, would look favourably on ending partition, unlike the steadfast ally of unionism in Northern Ireland, the Conservative party (Lynn, 2005). With the introduction of the two aforementioned Acts, the hope of ending partition was dashed for many, leading to a significant change in the relationship between North and South. Given the symbolical importance of sport and the necessity of many sports to function in a cross-border capacity, sport was one sphere of society that experienced major ramifications caused by the political situation in Ireland throughout the 1950s. The increased polarising of opinions on the partition of the island amplified identity issues for all sports. The importance of flags, anthems and other symbols came into sharp focus. For sports like football and athletics, the 1950s only helped to further the divisions within their ranks. Although not being dealt a fatal wedge within other sports, the identity issues posed in the late 1940s and 1950s did lead to heightened tensions to sports that had, up to that point, operated on an all-Ireland basis comfortably.

Notes

- 1 Ireland had been partitioned in 1921: six counties in the north-east of Ireland became Northern Ireland; the other twenty-six counties became the Irish Free State.
- 2 Public Record Office of Northern Ireland (PRONI), Cabinet Secretariat Records (CAB) 4/844, 25 April 1951.
- 3 National Archives of Ireland (NAI), Department of an Taoiseach, S14749A, *Prosecution of Flying of National Flag in Six Counties*, 17 February 1950.
- 4 Ibid., 17 February 1950.
- 5 Press clipping of *Irish Press* article in NAI, Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade, DFA/305/14/125, *Six County Ban on Flying of Tri-Colour*, 4 July 1950.
- 6 Most sporting bodies remained or became all-Ireland bodies after partition, soccer and athletics being the primary exceptions.
- 7 NAI, Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade, DFA/305/14/125, *Six County Ban on Flying of Tri-Colour*, 24 March 1950.
- 8 NAI, Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade, DFA/2/1/38, *National Flag at International Rugby Football Matches*, Lansdowne Road, 5 February 1932.
- 9 Press clipping of *Belfast Newsletter* article in NAI, Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade, DFA/305/14/125, *Six County Ban on Flying of Tri-Colour*, 13 March 1950.
- 10 Press clipping of *Strabane Weekly News* article in NAI, Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade, DFA/305/14/125, *Six County Ban on Flying of Tri-Colour*, 25 March 1950.
- 11 PRONI, CAB 4/846, 10 May 1951.
- 12 NAI, Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade, DFA/305/14/183, *All Ireland Teams in International Sport*, 16 May 1951.

- 13 Ibid., 16 May 1951.
- 14 Ibid., 16 May 1951.
- 15 Ibid., 11 July 1953.
- 16 Press clipping of *Belfast Telegraph* article in NAI, Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade, DFA/305/14/162/2, *Partition in Sport – Soccer Matches*, 28 June 1958.
- 17 NAI, Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade, DFA/305/14/162, *Partition in Sport*, 23 May 1950.
- 18 Ibid., 28 March 1954.
- 19 Press clipping of *Northern Whig* article in NAI, Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade, DFA/305/14/162, *Partition in Sport*, 27 January 1951.
- 20 Ireland's largest sporting organisation, it promotes amateur sports such as hurling, Gaelic football and handball.
- 21 Press clipping of *Irish Press* article in NAI, Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade, DFA/305/14/162, *Partition in Sport*, 1 June 1950.
- 22 NAI, Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade, DFA/305/14/162/2, *Partition in Sport – Soccer Matches*, 30 December 1959.
- 23 Press clipping of *Irish Press* article in NAI, Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade, DFA/305/14/162, *Partition in Sport*, 1 June 1950.
- 24 Press clipping of *The Irish Times* article in NAI, Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade, DFA/305/14/162, *Partition in Sport*, 3 December 1956.
- 25 NAI, Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade, DFA/305/14/162, *Partition in Sport*, 31 August 1958.
- 26 The Black and Tans, the name derived from the colour of their uniforms, were a temporary force of constables recruited to assist the Royal Irish Constabulary during the Anglo-Irish War of Independence (1919–1921).
- 27 Press clipping of *Cork Examiner* article in NAI, Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade, DFA/305/14/162, *Partition in Sport*, 8 September 1954.
- 28 Press clipping of *Irish Press* article in NAI, Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade, DFA/305/14/162, *Partition in Sport*, 28 August 1955.
- 29 Irish Football Association (hereafter referred to as IFA) Emergency Minutes – 1943–1995, D4196/N/2, 17 September 1946.
- 30 NAI, Office of President, PRES1/P2888, *International soccer matches: attendance of President*, 21 September 1946.
- 31 Ibid., 1 October 1946.
- 32 Ibid., 1 October 1946.
- 33 IFA Emergency Minutes – 1943–1995, D4196/N/2, 10 December 1946.
- 34 The International Football Association Board was formed in 1886 by the English, Scottish, Welsh and Irish FAs to formalise the rules of football. FIFA became a member in 1913. To date, its membership comprises the four UK associations and FIFA.
- 35 IFA Emergency Minutes – 1943–1995, D4196/N/2, 11 November 1947.
- 36 Ibid., 29 July 1948.
- 37 Ibid., 12 August 1948.
- 38 IFA Emergency Minutes – 1943–1995, D4196/N/2, 24 January 1950.
- 39 IFA Emergency Minutes – 1943–1995, D4196/N/2, 4 October 1950.
- 40 Press clipping of *Northern Whig* article in NAI, Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade, DFA/305/14/162, *Partition in Sport*, 6 December 1950 and IFA Emergency Minutes – 1943–1995, D4196/N/2, 10 January 1952.
- 41 Press clipping of *Belfast Newsletter* article in NAI, Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade, DFA/305/14/162, *Partition in Sport*, 19 December 1950.
- 42 NAI, Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade, DFA/305/14/162/2, *Partition in Sport – Soccer Matches*, 6 December 1957.

- 43 Ibid., 5 December 1957.
- 44 Ibid., 7 December 1957.
- 45 Press clipping from *Sunday Review* article in NAI, Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade, DFA/305/14/162/2, *Partition in Sport – Soccer Matches*, 8 December 1957.
- 46 NAI, Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade, DFA/305/14/162/2, *Partition in Sport – Soccer Matches*, 7 April 1958.
- 47 Ibid., 16 April 1958.
- 48 Press clipping from *Sunday Review* article in NAI, Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade, DFA/305/14/162/2, *Partition in Sport – Soccer Matches*, 22 June 1958.
- 49 Press clipping from *Derry Journal* article in NAI, Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade, DFA/305/14/162/2, *Partition in Sport – Soccer Matches*, 4 July 1958.

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Part II

Media representations, sport and national identities

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Constructing the nation through sports news on ‘Televisió de Catalunya’ – Catalan public TV

Albert Juncà Pujol and Eduard Inglés Yuba

Catalonia and its national TV network, Televisió de Catalunya (TVC), provides an interesting test case for assumptions related to national identity, media and sport, especially in the last ten years. Catalonia, a territory with a population of over seven million, its capital is Barcelona, acknowledged worldwide and associated with sport by virtue of the 1992 Olympics and its acclaimed football team FC Barcelona, and of the many sporting events held there, is currently experiencing one of its most crucial political periods.

Over the last ten years, particularly since 2010, when severe cutbacks were introduced by the Spanish Constitutional Court into the Catalan Statute of Autonomy (*Estatut*) – the constitutional law that governs most of Catalonia’s home rule policies – the political situation has led many Catalans to push for their own state. In the meantime, however, a sporting territory like Catalonia has continued to engage in sport and participate with its individual sportspersons and clubs in major Spanish, European and international competitions. And such participation has been commented upon, covered and broadcast in the different media that currently operate in Catalonia. How has sport been reported, in national identity terms, over this period? And what role has Catalan public television, whose news programmes enjoy Catalonia’s highest audience rating, played in this context? This chapter retraces sport and the recent political situation in Catalonia in relation to the way sport is covered in the media, especially on TVC, the most potent audio-visual medium broadcast in the Catalan language.

Catalonia and Spain: the political conflict

Tensions arising from attempts to organise the Spanish State in such a way as to assimilate one of its nations, Catalonia, date back a long time. Different authors identify their origins as having emerged centuries ago, in a number of historical episodes, from which historical controversies have arisen (Fontana, 2014; Sobrequés, 1997; Vilar, 1979). Catalonia’s self-perception as a nation dates back to the Middle Ages and the region did not

come under control of the centralised Spanish State until September 11, 1714 (Ranachan, 2008). Nonetheless, such self-perception has recently reached one of its critical points. Different forms of action on the part of the Catalan and Spanish governments have elevated the question of the possibility of Catalonia becoming a new state in Europe. Lluh (2009) contends that periods of constitutional change may fuel nationalist movements, and it is in this context that ‘the process of reforming the Catalan Statute of Autonomy (the Catalan basic law), that lasted from 2003 to 2010 (Keating and Wilson, 2009; Orte and Wilson, 2009), is indeed widely regarded as providing a favourable context for a public discussion of Catalonia’s relationship to Spain and for the Catalan secessionist movement to gain public support’ (Muñoz and Guinjoan, 2013: 49).

In 2003, the centre-right nationalist coalition *Convergència i Unió* (CIU), which had governed Catalonia uninterruptedly since 1980, lost the Catalan parliamentary elections to a coalition of the left formed by three parties,

ranging from the federalist *Partit dels Socialistes de Catalunya* (PSC, the Catalan branch of the state-wide Socialist Party) to the overtly pro-independence *Esquerra Republicana de Catalunya* (ERC). The coalition was formed upon the promise of a new Statute of Autonomy that would substantially increase the Catalan government’s powers and autonomy.

(Muñoz and Guinjoan, 2013: 49)

Months later, the right-wing *Partido Popular* (People’s Party (PP)) lost the Spanish general elections and the Socialist Party (*Partido Socialista Obrero Español* (PSOE)), which had promised to approve the *Estatut* in whatever form it emerged from the Catalan Parliament, rose to power (Requejo, 2010). Legal formalities required that once approved by the Catalan Parliament, the *Estatut* had to be ratified by its Spanish counterpart, the *Cortes*. After tough negotiations and significant watering-down of the initial attributions and scope of the text, it was also approved by the *Cortes*. Approval of the *Estatut* also required ratification on the basis of a referendum held by the people of Catalonia. And although the pro-independence parties advocated the ‘no’ vote in view of the cutbacks the *Estatut* had suffered on its passage through the Spanish Parliament, a total of 74 per cent of votes in favour were registered.

However, the main Spanish opposition party, the PP, alleging that the new text gave too much autonomy to the Catalan government, impugned the *Estatut* before the Spanish Constitutional Court in July 2006. Eventually, in June 2010, the Constitutional Court declared that several articles of the *Estatut* – the most crucial ones – were unconstitutional. This resolution marked a turning point in Catalan self-government aspirations; as the process regarding the *Estatut* took its course, the feelings of the

Catalans as regards political links with the Spanish State underwent a profound change. Survey data from the past decade shows a clear trend toward increasing support within Catalonia for secession from Spain. The series of surveys conducted by the Catalan government's official survey institute (Centre d'Estudis d'Opinió) between 2006 and 2014 demonstrate how the number of respondents who support an independent state increased from 13.9 per cent in 2006 to 28.2 per cent in 2011 and reached 42.5 per cent in 2014.

Today, three out of every four Catalans are in favour of a self-determination referendum similar to the one held in Scotland in 2015 to decide what kind of political structure they want for Catalonia (Generalitat de Catalunya, 2014). However, of the four main Spanish parties, three (PP, PSOE and Ciudadanos (C's)) are radically opposed to the idea while the fourth (Podemos) is in favour, although they advocate a vote against independence. This stalemate scenario is accentuated if we take into account that in the last elections to the Catalan Parliament (September 27, 2015), those parties that presented a pro-independence programme and road map together gained an absolute majority. And while political events followed their course, in the world of sport the media continued to 'inform'. Below, a number of particularities of the Catalan sports system are described as well as the main characteristics as regards the Catalan national identity of sports coverage on Catalonia's leading television channel.

Catalonia: a sporting territory

Political debates have an extensive battleground on the Catalan and Spanish sports-fields, and where such tensions are most acute is over the subject of international representation. Indeed, Pierre de Coubertin himself (quoted by Simon, 2010) already included Catalonia among the Olympic countries of his time, on the basis of his doctrine of Olympic geography according to which 'an Olympic country and a nation need not always correspond to a state' (2010: 8). For decades, therefore, Catalan sport has been struggling, with little success in all honesty, to attain international representation, an aspiration that invariably comes up against frontal opposition from the Spanish State. At the time of writing, Catalonia has international recognition in 21 federations, basically of minority sports such as beach tennis, bike trials, mountain racing, bowling, pitch and putt, korfbal, darts, fistball, touch rugby and twirling (Plataforma, 2016).

However, in major sports and international competitions such recognition, despite efforts on the part of Catalan institutions, is not yet forthcoming. The most striking case in this context is related to rink hockey, an extremely popular sport in Catalonia (thirteen of the sixteen first-division teams in Spain are Catalan; and between 90 and 100 per cent of members of the Spanish national side are invariably Catalans) (FEP, 2016).

In 2004 the Catalan Rink Hockey Federation was admitted as a provisional member to the Fédération Internationale de Roller Sports (FIRS). Immediately afterwards, Catalonia competed in, and won, the Rink Hockey B Men's World Championship in Macau, having defeated teams such as England and Japan. That same year, however, as the outcome of pressure exerted at a high level by Spanish diplomats, the FIRS did not endorse final acceptance (Simon, 2010). Eventually, in 2006 the Catalan federation was admitted as an associate member to the Confederación Sudamericana de Patín (South American Roller Sports Confederation (CSP)), from which the Catalan side currently participates in international championships organised by said Confederation.

Furthermore, over recent years most of the international federations, as a result in some cases of pressure from Spain (Simon, 2010), have introduced a *sine qua non* condition into their statutes specifying that only states may be members, as the International Olympic Committee (IOC) had done in the case of the Olympic Charter – the essential regulations of the Olympic Games – in 1992. Before this modification was made, the rules stated that the different nations in the world were entitled to take part in the Games. However, the 1992 amendment stated explicitly that only nation-states could participate (this measure did not apply to those who were already eligible when the statutes were modified, only to those who sought to compete subsequently). Consequently, Catalonia's aspirations to compete in the Barcelona Olympics and those to follow faded into nothing.

Given the political circumstances of the past two centuries and the obstacles Catalan sport has had to face when it comes to attaining international recognition, the Fútbol Club Barcelona has emerged at different moments in history as the team that has come to represent the hopes and national aspirations of Catalonia as well as playing the role of Catalonia's main sporting ambassador. Barça is known throughout the world for its famous slogan *més que un club* (more than a club), whereby the club has come to be associated with Catalonia.

Furthermore, during the Franco dictatorship (1939–1975), which banned any form of public pro-Catalan expression (Burns, 1999; Conversi, 1997), the Barça stadium, Camp Nou, provided the setting for a collective expression of Catalan identity and the guarantee that solidarity among citizens still existed, which fostered a commitment to ensuring the maintenance of Catalan identity. Thus the true meaning of 'more than a club' became evident (Ranachan, 2008). Consequently, 'one of the easiest ways for many Catalans to present themselves as Catalans, that is, as members of a nation which is not internationally recognised, is by presenting themselves as *culers* (FCB supporters)' (Duch, 2004: 324). In short, if, as Clausewitz (2003) suggests, war is the continuation of politics by other means, no doubt football and sport in Catalonia may be regarded as the continuation of politics and war by other means.

Media and nation building in Catalonia

The term *nation building* denotes the set of actions carried out by a whole network of institutions (educational, political, military, media) in nations with or without a state to consolidate the nation as such (Billig, 1995; Calhoun, 1997; Norman, 2006). The promotion and reinforcement of national belonging is the key point of nation building (Norman, 2006) and in such promotion, the media play an important role. Media co-create and reproduce national communities (Anderson, 1983; Schlesinger, 2000). In this context, Castelló (2007) contends that in contemporary societies the media are the main generators of social and cultural representation and that they have long surpassed traditional institutions (school and family) in the constitution of a collective imaginary and identity. Hargreaves sums this up by saying 'The media are, arguably, the most important institution reproducing national unity today' (1987: 154) because, among other characteristics, they produce and reproduce the notion of nation on a daily basis (Billig, 1995; Gellner, 1996). Furthermore, they do so in a mundane or banal manner and rely on everyday mechanisms that normally pass unnoticed by the majority of citizens (Billig, 1995).

Sport and sports coverage in the media also contribute towards national construction. And they do so in a prominent way because when they provide sporting information, Anderson's 'imagined' community (1983) becomes real, or at least it takes shape on the basis of a palpable entity: a team or a national side that carries its name and its colours. 'The existence of a national team is a concrete phenomenon; similarly, masses of people sharing the spirit of support and the same or similar emotions are also concrete and conspicuous, thereby giving rise to what Smith and Dilwyn (2004) call "communities of feeling"' (Juncà and Inglés, 2014: 244). Moreover, to all this we must add a crucial factor, namely that some of the characteristics associated with sport and its presentation in the media (constant presence, banality, emotional attachments) allow its messages to reach consumers directly and continually, without having to overcome the barriers normally imposed by conventional political and advertising messages (Ferrés, 1996). In these terms '[sport] allows for alternative ways of expressing national identity that might sit outside conventional party politics or movements. It might even allow for an expression of national identity that supporters would not identify with a nationalist movement at all' (Ranachan, 2008: 23). In Catalonia nation building is a particularly complex process, because both the Catalan and the Spanish nations are continuously constructed, through sport events as well as in the media (Hargreaves, 1987; Juncà, 2010).

In nations without a state, which normally present a complex public sphere formed by 'a dual sphere of publics' (Schlesinger, 2009: 13), symbols and their possession are a motive for dispute between the two public

spheres. In this sense, sportspersons and teams act as national symbols because they are familiar to most of the population and can therefore be shared (Gill, 2005). The identity of Catalan sportspersons is normally a cause for dispute between the nation-state that they represent on specific occasions (European and World Championships, Olympic Games) and the nation without a state to which they also belong. Actually, the identity they eventually acquire, or which is assigned to them, is the nationality they are identified with most consistently. In this context, the stance adopted by the main media operating in Catalonia is especially important in relation to past, present and future conceptions of Catalan nation building.

Televisió de Catalunya and its coverage of sport from the nation-building viewpoint

In Catalonia, television is dominated by channels that broadcast in Castilian (Spanish). What is more, these channels, as in most European nation-states, are programmed in accordance with a Spanish mono-national model that neither reflects nor contributes to fostering any national reference other than the Spanish one (Peris, 2008; Giori, 2014). Since the introduction of digital terrestrial television, channels that broadcast in Castilian have become the overwhelming majority on the Catalan media map. Thus, of the 89 channels currently in operation, only six broadcast in Catalan. Of these, TVC, which has four channels, accounts for approximately 20 per cent of viewers. The programmes most watched in Catalonia are the daily news programmes (TN) on TV3, the number one TVC channel. Viewers of the news programmes account for between 20 and 30 per cent of the total rating (CCMA, 2013; CCMA, 2016) and the sports information broadcast occupies between one-quarter and one-third of the total news time. The pro-nation characteristics of the sports information broadcast throughout 25 TN news programmes chosen at random in 2013 are described in the following pages.

Determining which nation is featured throughout the 221 news items, of which 209 had a clear territorial reference, is not an easy task and depends, partially, on how the matter is approached and what aspects are taken into account. In the following paragraphs the three basic aspects that are most commonly examined when it comes to determining which nation is represented in sports news are presented. These are the ones we have used for our own assessment.

a) The referential map drawn up by the sportspersons who appear in the news

In the first place, we ascertain which sportspersons, clubs and teams are featured in sports news items (González Ramallal, 2004; Mihelj, 2011). The

individuals and groups that appear most in sports news together trace out a territorial reference map that normally coincides with the frame of reference of the medium and at the same time acts as a banal remembrance of the national frame of reference (Guifreu and Saperas, 1993; Juncà, 2010; Yumul and Özkirimli, 2000).

As shown in Table 6.1 and Table 6.2, if we classify sportspersons in terms of two variables – a) place of birth (first letter in Table 6.1) and b) the territory to which the club or team they play for belongs (second letter Table 6.1) – data resulting from analysis of the television news items reveals that the sportspersons related to Catalonia in terms of either one or both of the variables constitute the most prominent group: 64.1 per cent. The sportspersons who are related to the Spanish State (excluding Catalonia) in terms of either one or both of the variables account for 33.5 per cent of cases, and lastly those who are related to other territories worldwide (excluding Catalonia and the rest of the Spanish State): 39.7 per cent.

Table 6.1 Number and duration of cases in each category on the daily news programmes

<i>Place of birth</i>	<i>Territory of team</i>	<i>Cases</i>	<i>% of cases</i>	<i>Duration (in seconds)</i>	<i>% of duration</i>
C	C	72	34.5	3,627	38.3
C	S	14	6.7	711	7.6
C	O	12	5.7	416	4.4
S	S	31	14.8	1,010	10.8
S	C	9	4.3	383	4
S	O	10	4.8	584	6.2
O	O	28	13.4	915	9.7
O	C	27	12.9	1,511	16.1
O	S	6	2.9	276	2.9

Notes: C: Catalan; S: Spanish; O: other parts of the world.

Table 6.2 Total number and duration of cases in each reference group

	<i>% of cases</i>	<i>% of duration</i>
Catalan reference CC, CS, CO, SC, OC	64.1	70.4
Spanish reference SS, SC, CS, SO, OS	33.5	31.5
Other reference OO, OS, SO, OC, CO	39.7	39.3

Notes: C: Catalan; S: Spanish; O: other parts of the world.

To this information we should add the fact that the protagonists with exclusively Catalan referents are featured in 34.5 per cent of news items, that those with exclusively Spanish referents (precluding Catalonia) in 14.8 per cent and those related to places elsewhere in the world that lack any Catalan or Spanish referent in 13.4 per cent. Thus, we observe that while TVC news programmes trace out a map with a prominent Catalan referent, at the same time they also trace out a markedly Spanish one. Above all, if we take into account that sportspersons and teams from the rest of the world are granted less exposure than exclusively Spanish sportspersons and teams. The presence of sportspersons, clubs and teams varies also in terms of the kind of sport and competition featured in the news item.

We must bear in mind that practically all today's sports competitions have become endowed with a state structural framework. Giulianotti (1999) expresses this as the 'nationalising process'. Thus, the professional leagues apply the territorial limits of each state to determine who may take part and who may not (the Spanish, French, Italian and other leagues). Furthermore, most international competitions apply the state structure as the unit of participation. It seems clear, therefore, that the structural and competitive characteristics of sport play a major role here, because not all competitions are yet marked by state conditioning factors (motorcycle racing, F1, tennis in the case of Grand Slam tournaments). Thus, talking about an event in which two national sides face each other, in which case it is almost inevitable to speak of each of them as a national team, is not the same as talking about Barça when they play in the Champions League, or about Catalan tennis players when they compete in an individual tournament, such as Wimbledon, where in theory they are representing only themselves. Hence the fact that pro-national coverage may vary from sport to sport. Even so, in general the media tend to cover sport, including international events, from their own national viewpoint (Blain et al., 1993; Yumul and Özkirimli, 2000). And TVC is no exception, although it often mixes two national points of view. In the case of the Champions League, for example, Fútbol Club Barcelona and its players practically monopolise news items, accounting for almost 70 per cent of coverage. Much of the rest is given over to other Spanish League teams taking part (Real Madrid (above all), Atlético de Madrid and Real Sociedad), while time devoted to other – non-Spanish – teams is nominal. The opening remarks in a specific sports news section may be taken as an example of this kind of coverage: 'Barça clearly leads in the H group ... Today it's the turn of Real Madrid' (TN, 10-2-2013). Thus, while the Catalan reference framework is certainly present, we are given to understand that there is a 'superior' framework, the Spanish one, which also constitutes a reference point for viewers.

This same situation also arises in news reports on tennis. Thus, in the first rounds of different tennis tournaments we find items that feature players from Catalonia, Madrid, Valencia and Majorca – all from the Spanish

State and none from outside. Let us take the following commentaries as examples:

Rafa Nadal [Majorca] has encountered a setback as he sets off on the road to his eighth Roland Garros. He has had to win back a set from the German Mar ... Today, too, Feliciano López [Madrid] has eliminated Marcel Granollers [Catalonia] and Albert Ramos [Catalonia] has also been eliminated. Robredo [Catalonia] has passed to the next round ... Albert Montañés [Catalonia] also carries on (TN, 27-5-2013).

On the other hand, Feliciano López [Madrid] has qualified for the third round at Wimbledon. His rival, Paul-Henri Mathieu, had to withdraw due to injury when he was losing 6–3 and 5–1 (TN, 27-6-13).

David Ferrer [Valencia] will reach number three in the world ranking after having qualified for the Wimbledon quarterfinals. In the semi-finals he will face Del Potro. Fernando Verdasco [Madrid] has also passed to the next round, where he will play against Andy Murray (TN, 1-7-2013).

From these items (covering the first rounds of Roland Garros, Wimbledon and the US Open) we note that the time devoted to Catalan tennis players occupies 10.5 per cent of the total; 82.3 per cent is devoted to players from the Balearics and Valencia (the results obtained by Rafael Nadal, from Majorca, have much to do with this); and only 7 per cent to players from elsewhere in the Spanish State. However, the most relevant aspect here, in terms of production and reproduction of the pro-national message, is surely the fact that none of the news items on the first rounds of the three tournaments featured a player from outside the Spanish State.

When analysis is conducted of the last stages of tennis tournaments, the results show that while the occasional player from outside Spain appears in the news, the time devoted to him or her is minimal in comparison to that allotted to sportspersons regarded as Spaniards. Indeed, tennis players from outside Spain who obtain victories either do not appear in the news or else they are given far less exposure than their Spanish counterparts. And it is precisely these presences and these absences that contribute to create an 'us', which in the case of tennis on TVC is often Spanish.

On the other hand, Grand Prix motorcycle championships are presented to viewers with Catalan riders playing the leading role. Motorcycle racing as a sport enjoys a long tradition in Catalonia and many of the world's number one riders have been Catalan. Thus news reports covering Moto GP focus on the feats of Catalans:

The Motorcycle World Championship has begun with a Catalan victory: Pol Espargaró ... In the lower cylinder capacity category,

Esteve Rabat [Catalan] came ninth, Jordi Torres [Catalan] eleventh and Toni Elias [Catalan] fifteenth. Axel Pons [Catalan] and Ricki Cardús [Catalan] were forced to withdraw (TN, 4-7-2013).

Except for Jorge Lorenzo, who is from Majorca though he lives in Catalonia and is a confessed FC Barcelona supporter (he celebrated one of his GP victories by flourishing the Barça flag), no other rider is allotted a leading role in the news: 'Twenty-sixth pole position for Pedrosa [Catalan] in Moto GP. Lorenzo is third [he is interviewed during the broadcast] ... Màrquez [Catalan] is sixth and Aleix Espargaró [Catalan] is twelfth' (TN, 15-6-2013). No mention is made of the riders in between, none of whom are Catalan.

b) 'Territorial' identification of sportspersons

The second aspect to be taken into account when it comes to recognising the territory of reference broadcast by the medium or the 'location lexical tokens' is associated with teams and sportspersons (Higgins, 2004). Blain et al. (1993), for example, reveal differences in the use of the demonyms 'British', 'English' and 'Scottish' attributed to athletes depending on whether the frame of reference of the medium in question is Scottish or British. In the case of TVC news programmes, sportspersons from Catalonia are almost invariably identified as 'Catalan' and very rarely as 'Spanish', at least explicitly. Cases such as 'Marina García, the Catalan swimmer from the Club Natació Mediterrani, classified for the final' (TN, 29-7-2013), 'Three Catalan riders have climbed to the top of the podium' (TN, 14-7-2013), 'The Catalan Ivan Cervantes is taking part as a member of the Spanish side' (TN, 2-10-2013) and 'Catalan final [FC Barcelona and Joventut de Badalona] in the International Junior Euroleague Tournament' (TN, 11-5-2013) are the most frequent location lexical tokens.

An interesting aspect in this context is that sportspersons from the Balearic Isles and Valencia (two Spanish autonomous communities that share Catalan as an official language and, from the Catalan perspective, are grouped together with Catalonia as the 'Països Catalans') are hardly ever identified with the demonym 'Spanish', it being far more common for them to be called *valencià*, *balear* or else identified with their town or city of birth. However, in one case two tennis players were grouped together under the same national designation: 'First final between Spaniards' (referring to the Roland Garros final between David Ferrer and Rafael Nadal) (TN, 7-6-2013).

If 'it is always from controversies that we see struggles of identities' (Yan and Watanabe, 2014: 510), explicit identification of, and the controversy that has arisen around the figure of Mireia Belmonte (Catalan sport's most successful swimmer) constitute a highly illustrative example of what occurs

on TVC news programmes. Belmonte, born in Badalona, Catalonia's third-largest city, has won a substantial number of gold, silver and bronze medals in recent Olympic Games and world championships. Here follow several samples of TVC news reports on the swimmer, in which the Catalan and Spanish referential frameworks are combined:

'Mireia Belmonte is the undisputed queen of the Spanish team at the Palau Sant Jordi pool, with two silver and one bronze medals' (TN, 5-8-2013).

'Mireia Belmonte has won the Spanish team's second medal ... the Catalan swimmer has put up an astonishing performance ... At the end, the girl from Badalona was very happy' (TN, 29-7-2013).

In one and the same news item on Mireia the following was said: 'We have a new medal for Spain ... the second medal for a Catalan, for Mireia Belmonte ... She also competed in the 200-metre freestyle relay, in which the Spanish girls came in fifth' (TN, 1-8-2013).

However, controversy over territorial identification arose at the 2016 Rio Olympics. Belmonte was the first Catalan sportsperson to win a medal there. And TVC reported this as a medal for Catalonia. This immediately gave rise to disparaging comments on the part of several Spanish media, such as: 'TV3 does it again: "Mireia Belmonte, first Catalan medal"' (Libertad digital, 2016a). Previously, the presentation of Catalan cyclist Joaquim 'Purito' Rodríguez with the Catalan flag (*senyera*) was also the cause of complaint on the part of this same medium: 'TV3 makes a fool of itself: it identifies "Purito" Rodríguez with the *senyera* and not with the Spanish flag. The autonomous channel broadcast an infographic in which the cyclist was identified as a Catalan, not Spanish, sportsperson' (Libertad digital, 2016b). And in the daily ABC: 'TV3 appropriates Purito Rodríguez's Olympic diploma for Catalonia. The public channel used the *senyera* instead of the Spanish flag to identify the cyclist in the road trial classification' (ABC, 2016).

This controversy highlights what Rovira and Solà (2008) describe as loss of the banal nature of nation-building information. Thus, when the banality of some practices is denounced or stigmatised by national or political entities that hold pre-eminence in the realm of communications, such banality disappears because 'everybody' becomes aware of its presence, thereby hindering imbrication in discursive common sense (Juncà, 2010).

c) Linguistic resources that denote a territorial framework

The third aspect that allows us to identify the national framework broadcast by a specific medium consists of the most common territorial/national frames of reference used to unite citizens around a collective identity: history (own), metonymy, assumed forms of knowledge and explicit acknowledgement of their own national framework (Blain et al., 1993; Rosie et al., 2004; Skey, 2014; Yumul and Özkirimli, 2000).

History. The practice of national reproduction and national reminder associates sports achievements with the history of the media's nation of reference. Balcells (2008: 45) states that 'there is no identity without memory', while Nora (1986) contends that glorification, idealisation or remembrance of the past are key elements in the nationalist discourse. In the case of TVC, recourse to history uses historical references in terms of both the Catalan and the Spanish frameworks. Prominent examples of the use of the Spanish framework include: 'What makes the greatest Spanish sportsperson of all time [Rafael Nadal] happiest is the fact that not only has he managed to regain the level he had reached before the injury but that he has actually surpassed himself' (TN, 10-9-2013).

'In this World Championship it seems that the women's [Spanish water polo] side is more likely to win a medal than the men's team ... Their rise has been meteoric, in the 2003 Championship they came eighth' (TN, 20-7-2013).

'Tomorrow Fernando Alonso will be competing in his 200th F1 GP, and he wants to celebrate it by winning at Sepang' (TN, 23-03-2013).

However, we also find others that turn to the Catalan framework: 'Robert Martínez, from Balaguer, the first Catalan to embark on the adventure of British football, has been the trainer of Wigan Athletic for four seasons' (TN, 11-5-2013).

Metonymy. The use of metonymy, in which the success or performance of an individual athlete or team is interpreted almost as the act of an entire nation, is a further national reproduction resource (Sahin, 2011; Skey, 2014). In this sense, referring to tennis and speaking about the different European media, Blain et al. observed: 'When there is more than one player from a country involved, there is even a sense in which journalists from that country attempt to create the idea of a national team' (1993: 122). Given the fact that competitions are structured on the basis of nation-state teams (Spain, France, Portugal), the competition itself contributes to enhancing the metonymic presentation of news items. Thus, we hardly ever hear 'the eleven players who compete as representatives of the Spanish State have won ...', but rather 'Spain has won'. News items are constantly presented in this way: 'Spain seeks fifth position' (TN, 3-8-2013).

However, except when competition results are being represented, we observe little use of metonymy in other cases, and in these the Spanish frame of reference sometimes appears and on other occasions the Catalan. A case where metonymy is applied to the Catalan frame of reference is: 'Catalan hat trick in Sachsenring. Màrquez, Torres and Rins are victorious, the season's second Catalan triplet' (TN, 14-7-2013). While an example of use of the Spanish framework would be: 'The first to debut will be the [Spanish] women's teams. Spain has placed all its hopes on them, particularly after their having won the famous silver medal at the last Olympics' (TN, 20-7-2013). A common practice on TVC news programmes is to

report the results of Spanish teams while stressing the presence in them, which is often the majority, of Catalan sportspersons. Thus, for example: 'Spanish synchronised swimming today won its sixth medal. ... At the top of the podium, five Catalan swimmers: Ona Carbonell, Clara Basiana, Paula Klamburg, Sara Levi and Txell Mas' (TN, 26-7-2013).

Assumed forms of knowledge and own prism. This resource refers to cases in which information is provided without territorial reference since this is supposed to be taken for granted within the context shared by readers and the media (Rosie et al., 2004). This 'common sense geography' (Higgins, 2004) may be found in references such as the side or team, in which there is no need to be explicit about which side or team is being mentioned. In this context, on TVC news is given in terms of two frames of reference, which are taken for granted and shared by all viewers: sometimes the Catalan and sometimes the Spanish. Thus, 'Barça is in Vitoria to play for the Super Cup. The first match will be against Baskonia' (TN, 3-10-2016). This item speaks of the Super Cup, although no mention is made of the fact that it is the Spanish basketball Super Cup. It is taken for granted that both the medium and viewers share the Spanish frame of reference and that 'everyone' will realise that the cup in question is the Spanish one. In official international team competitions news is often given from the Spanish perspective and constructed on the basis of the idea that the Spanish side is regarded as our own. Thus, in reference to the handball world championship: 'Spain must beat Serbia. Germany is waiting in the quarter finals. ... The side must defeat Serbia' (TN, 20-1-2013).

Another resource behind which we also observe the presence of the 'own prism' is the one that appears in news items in which there is a combined presence of sportspersons from the Spanish State and outside. In these items no demonym is usually applied to those from the Spanish State, by which we are given to understand that 'everyone' knows who they are and where they are from, while on the other hand they are almost invariably applied to those from abroad. A number of cases serve as examples: 'Marc Márquez, fifth, Lorenzo, second and Pedrosa, third. The winner, the German Bradl' (TN, 23-8-2013); 'Kilian Jornet comfortably wins the Transvulcania Ultramarathon. ... In the women's category, Núria Picas [also Catalan] came in second behind the Swede Emile Forsberg' (TN, 11-5-2013).

An illustrative example of the Spanish frame of reference taken as 'our own' is the way in which F1 events are reported. In this sport, where there are no Catalan drivers, there is one Spanish driver: Fernando Alonso. On the TVC sports news, when F1 is reported it highlights the performance of the Spanish driver. However, one might think that his predominant presence is by virtue of the fact that the results he achieves are better than those of the remainder of F1 drivers. This is not the case, however: those drivers with better placings than Alonso are given much less coverage on the TN.

Furthermore, they are all from outside the Spanish State. Thus, for example, F1 news is reported as follows: 'Let's see also how things are going for Fernando Alonso' and immediately afterwards: 'Fernando Alonso is for many people the moral winner of the Championship. ... Alonso sorely misses the points he lost in ...' (TN, 1-1-2012). And: 'Fernando Alonso will have to regain the front from third position on the starting grid. ... This would not be the first time that Alonso, having started from behind, is the first to reach the bend' (TN, 11-5-2013). Or 'Fernando Alonso, after his failure, has no option but to climb the podium' (TN, 6-6-2013).

Other examples of typical news items presented in accordance with a non-explicit though clearly Spanish national frame of reference are: '[After Real Madrid's victory] tomorrow it will be the turn of Barça and Real Sociedad' (TN, 17-9-2013); 'Today Atlético de Madrid is also playing in the Champions League in Vienna and tomorrow it will be Real Madrid's turn' (TN, 22-10-2013). Or when the results are given for the Champions League draw, after talking about Barça an infographic is shown with the groups in which the Spanish teams (Real Madrid, Real Sociedad and Atlético de Madrid) will compete, with the following comment: 'The other Spanish League teams have also been lucky' (TN, 29-8-2013).

Explicit acknowledgement of their own national framework. On TVC sports news programmes, little explicit mention is made of the national frame of reference. Even so, that which is made tends mostly to refer to Catalonia, although it also contains some implicit reference to the Spanish State. Thus, for example, in a January 1 news item an overview was made of the most important upcoming sports events, adding that 'a substantial number [of major sports events] will take place in Catalonia ... At home [referring to Catalonia]'. However, when referring to football and basketball, this same item took the Spanish side as its protagonists: 'Champions of everything, Del Bosque's men [Vicente del Bosque, coach of the Spanish national side] now have the opportunity to win the only title they are still missing' and 'In basketball, the defenders of the title [the Spanish national side], the Navarros and company' (TN, 1-1-2013).

Conclusion

TVC, unlike all the Spanish State channels, is not consistent in reproducing the same nation of reference at all times. In the sports news broadcast on Catalan TV two nations are featured and reproduced as their own: Catalonia and Spain. However, this occurs neither constantly, nor in all news items, nor in the same way. Reproduction of the national frame of reference on TVC is complex. On a substantial number of occasions it broadcasts a message in which Catalonia features as its only own reference; on others, fewer in this case, the message features the Spanish frame of reference. Mostly, however, it combines both references. And this

combination in the same programme or even in the same news item emerges sometimes as a juxtaposition or even as a hierarchical order (with the Catalan coming under the Spanish). This 'lack of consistency' when it comes to national framing, production and reproduction is not observed either on Spanish national television or on any of the private TV channels that broadcast across the state. On these, whose frame of reference is the nation-state of Spain, there is no kind of inconsistency in the realm of national identity. The nation of reference, the nation that is reproduced and fostered is invariably the Spanish one, as in the case of all 'normal' state television channels worldwide.

In the Catalan case, broadcasting both frameworks may have to do with Catalonia's political situation (views here differ as to the national frame of reference we have and the one we should have), though also with the structures of professional competitive sport, since only those sportspersons and teams who represent a state are eligible to compete. And this, besides eliminating the possibility for any athlete or team to represent Catalonia, also eliminates the possibility to report on these kinds of events in the same way as they do on state television. If there are no teams bearing the name of Catalonia, while there are Catalan sportspersons who compete for Spain, how may we report on this without forcing reality and without reproducing a Spanish frame of reference?

From the perspective of nations without a state, it is very difficult to broadcast sports news without contributing to reproducing, even in a banal way, the territories of the nation-state. Even though 'national' representation may not be official, it is hard to deliver the news item without its *de facto* 'national' component. Indeed, in some cases this would involve forcing reality to such an extent that the news item in question would lose much of its meaning. By way of an anecdote, in Catalonia a regional newspaper attempted to draw up a classification of Catalan teams in the Spanish League by publishing only the results of the direct encounters between them. It didn't make real sense to the reader and it only lasted one year. The state-related structure of sport and the fact that the media scenario in Catalonia is dominated by those whose frame of reference is the Spanish State together foster the configuration of specific news broadcasting routines, which become hard to disassociate. And the compulsion, either conscious or not, to speak of the same things that those with whom you share the same physical and media space speak of may lead, in many cases involuntarily, to the use of the same Spanish frames of reference. Taking into account, therefore, the national frameworks generated and reproduced on TVC sports news, it seems unlikely that the latter will influence the process of political evolution that the people of Catalonia are currently undergoing.

Furthermore, if, as mentioned earlier, we take into account this medium's audience rates, along with the fact that the other media with more viewers in Catalonia all reproduce the Spanish frame of reference, perhaps what we

should ask ourselves is how can it be that despite such an enfeebled media scenario, the number of people who claim Catalonia's right to be regarded and recognised as a nation is constantly on the increase?

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No boarders

Postnational identity and the surfing subculture in Ireland

Stephen Boyd

The forthcoming inclusion of surfing at the 2020 Olympics raised eyebrows within the global surfing community. Many were happy that surfing will be represented on the global stage, but for others, the inclusion at the Tokyo games represents the very antithesis of surfing as a practice. For the first time in its history, a highly individualistic sport whose subculture has traditionally regarded itself as part of an anti-establishment counterculture, which eschews competition, will truly be at the centre of a genuinely international event and at the heart of global industry and commerce (Evers, 2016). The Olympics are one of the prime sporting manifestations of modern nationalism, yet surfing is a practice in which overt expressions, declarations and dedications of national allegiance or identity have mostly been curiously absent. As Peter J. Westwick and Peter Neushul (2013) have noted, surfers and surf cultures have been historically apolitical. This ideological outlook and social image, whether true or not, has meant that nation-states have not always embraced surfing as a reputable 'national' activity in the same way as other sports.

This chapter is a preliminary attempt to explore the relationship between national identity and the practice of surfing in Ireland. The analysis will examine Irish surf culture and the practice of surfing in Ireland in order to highlight the emergence of a postmodern, globalised and postnational identity within the subculture, rather than one which adheres to exclusively national interpretations of contemporary social identity. A progressive methodology will be utilised in order to underline how and why such a postnational identity has emerged. Firstly, the analysis will discuss postnationalism as a theoretical concept and consider the main elements of relevance to this study. The analysis will then provide a brief but necessary global history of surfing in order to provide a context in which to highlight the important social and cultural distinctions between surfing and other sports on the island of Ireland, and the historical reasons for the emergence of a postmodern subculture. The chapter will then analyse two forms of media representation from Irish surf culture – *Tonnnta*; the Irish surf magazine, and the surf film genre – in order to underline the postnational

sensibilities and ideological tendencies that exist within the subculture. Finally, the analysis will attempt to theorise the relationship between the above factors and the practical reality of surfing in Ireland. Surfing still often goes unseen by mainstream culture in Ireland. Despite the romantic imagery of surfing that appears in almost every tourism video or brochure, most holiday makers to the North, West and South of Ireland never experience the powerful ocean swells that batter the coastline, or the harsh, cold reality of surfing in Ireland during autumn and winter. There is also little to no national media coverage of surfing in Ireland, and as such, Irish surf culture is still a relatively unknown area for the general public. This chapter analyses the social identity that has developed within the Irish surfing subculture in the absence of a dominant national representation, and how this identity can be regarded as postnational.

Before returning to the field of surfing and surf culture, it is worth outlining the concept of the postnational, which is an often misunderstood and contested notion within studies of national identity. Misunderstandings of the postnational may arise because the theory lacks a centralised theoretical perspective or singular theorist; in this sense it is indicative of poststructural theory in general. The idea of the postnational emerged from attempts to theorise the possible future of social identities in the postmodern, post-colonial and multicultural societies of the 1980s. These social processes offered challenges to commonly held ideas of national identity as a fixed, singular community. Numerous writers have argued for the importance of postnational identities as representative of the relatively newly formed idea of global citizenship (see Habermas, 2000; Kearney, 1997: 178–188; Sassen, 2009: 278–291; Isin and Wood, 1999). Others have studied the effects of postnational discourse in the cultural activity of contemporary societies (Nordin and Zamorano Llena, 2010). These studies argue that the emergence of postnational tendencies in contemporary social identity can be understood as the result of myriad social, economic and technological processes that have occurred across the globalised world. The reasons for this include the gradual lessening importance of nation-states and national identity, increased international trade and the opening of international markets, the greater movement of peoples across borders and the globalising social influence of the internet (Shapiro, 2001). These processes are accelerated by the interactions of transnational media that allow for the existence of global imagined communities based on shared ideas or ideological perspectives.

The most common misconceptions surrounding postnational theory stem from a belief that it somehow means an ‘end to nationalism’, or that it always represents a repudiation of nationalism. The meaning of postnational is quite simply ‘that which comes after’ the national and this should not be understood as a polar opposite or as antithetical to national identity. Rather than seeing such definitions as exclusive, this analysis

argues that nationalism and postnationalism represent coexisting and overlapping identity configurations in many western states. In the context of this study, the postnational can be regarded as a sensibility in which individuals, groups and communities can understand their own social identities as both part of national identities and those that are 'beyond' the national. This understanding of identity is representative of the conditions of postmodernity and the wider process of globalisation, but it is also symptomatic of wider historical developments in which nations begin to lose their ideological significance in the face of the effects of global capitalism and wider supranational and global entities. If the modern period was synonymous with a singular devotion to national political identity, then it is an inevitable consequence that postnational identities have emerged in the postmodern era, which celebrates the plurality of identities. A concise history of surfing will help to explain why the social identity of surfing in Ireland and around the world is often reflective of these postnational tendencies.

The practice of riding waves may actually have begun in Peru almost 3,000 years ago (Pomar, 1988), but as Matt Warshaw (2010: 22) points out, the modern history of surfing begins with the expansion of Polynesian peoples into the islands of the Pacific Ocean almost 4,000 years ago. Finney and Houston (1996: 21–22) record that the practice of wave riding was probably practised everywhere in Polynesia by children up to 2,000 years ago by catching waves on floats of any size and on any material, but that it was solely on the islands of Hawaii and Tahiti that stand-up surfing was practised by both adults and children. Warshaw describes how roughly 1,000 years ago on the Hawaiian Islands, the sport of surfing had developed into a 'communal obsession' (2010: 23). By the time colonial sailors 'discovered' the activity in the eighteenth century surfing had become intertwined with almost all aspects of the indigenous culture, such as religion, myth, work, war and courtship. *He'e nalu*, meaning 'the art of sliding on waves', played a central role in Hawaiian culture prior to western contact; the activity was practised by all age groups and genders, playing a role in courtship, social cohesion and community bonding (Warshaw, 2010). The first published account of surfing comes from Lt James King in 1777 on Captain Cook's voyage to the Pacific, and the first image of a man on surfboard appeared in an engraving made from a pre-existing sketch in 1778 (Finney and Houston, 1996: 12–13). Surfing became regarded as backwards by Protestant Christian missionaries to Hawaii during the nineteenth century, who discouraged the activity, outraged by the naked indecency of the indigenous peoples in the water and the easy intermingling of the sexes (Laderman, 2014: 12–17). Surfing was discouraged as a sinful act.

After Hawaii's annexation by the USA in 1898, many of the newly converted peoples of Hawaii abandoned the practice following the instruction of Christian values and the general introduction of *Haole* (non-Hawaiian/white) culture. Many Hawaiians did continue to surf but

became marginalised as many clubs in cities such as Honolulu maintained a 'white only' status. Wealthy industrialists such as Alexander Hume Ford were proponents of the Americanisation of Hawaii in favour of a more 'civilised' white population and for the Islands to serve as a tourist destination for mainland Americans. America's colonisation of Hawaii would mean that the modern history of surfing would become intimately linked to rise of the USA as an imperial, industrial power, and ultimately to the spread of western capitalism in the twentieth century. However, as Scott Laderman (2014: 17–40) has noted, the demise of surfing in the nineteenth century appears to have been a white narrative, constructed to allow surfing to be regarded as a singularly white masculine activity. A traditional social practice became a major international commercial enterprise with the exclusion of the original practitioners, to the extent that some scholars believe the modern history and global expansion of surfing can be regarded as a result of American imperial foreign policy.

The popularity of surfing grew amongst the new middle classes of California and Australia during the 1950s, and expanded significantly in other national territories during the first half of the twentieth century. By the 1960s, 'thriving communities of surfers could be found in Australia, South Africa, New Zealand, France and Great Britain' (Laderman, 2014: 3). A professional tour emerged during the 1970s, today existing as the World Surf League (WSL), formerly known as the Association of Surfing Professionals (ASP). Within countries such as the USA, Australia and Brazil, a relatively strong national acceptance of surf cultures developed due to a high number of surfers, warm water and the competitive and professional nature of the practice in those regions. This has also occurred because of the exposure surfing has had in its representation in popular film, TV and sports channels in those regions. In America, surfing has been imagined as part of the national community in mainstream Hollywood films as far back as the 1950s in films such as *Gidget* (Wendkos, 1959) and more recently in the mid-1990s when 11-time world champion Kelly Slater appeared in the then most popular American television programme *Baywatch*. With advances in mass produced shorter surfboards and wetsuit technology, surfing became a widespread social activity in the late-twentieth century, having significant impact within the economies of most Western countries. This is manifested in a vast international lifestyle industry producing surf equipment and accessories, as well as popular clothing brands, magazines, films, video games, websites, shoes, sunglasses, accessories, mobile applications and a thriving commerce in tourism. However, it is important to stress that for most surfers, the act of surfing primarily takes places within non-competitive and non-professional spaces. Cold weather surf locations have been virtually ignored by mainstream competitive professional surfing and surf events, allowing unique local surf cultures and interpretations of identity to emerge in more remote surfing locations such as Ireland, Cornwall,

Brittany, Iceland and Norway (Boyd, 2014; Langseth, 2012; Mansfield, 2009).

Surfing developed in Ireland long after the majority of the formative moments in modern political Irish history had passed. Joe Roddy is noted as the first Irish person to construct a surfboard and paddle into the sea to catch a wave in 1949, but it was Kevin Cavey who arguably introduced the concept of surfing as a popular activity in 1966, operating the first-ever surfing exhibition named 'Bray Island Surf Club' at the Irish Boat Show at the Royal Dublin Society (Murphy, 2008: 46–49; Cavey, 2012: 33–36). Cavey was also the first-ever Irish competitor at the World Championships the same year. In 1967, the first Irish surfing championship took place in Tramore, County Waterford, followed by the first intercounty championships in Rossnowlagh, County Donegal in 1968 (Cavey, 2012: 82–136). These competitions still continue today under the direction of the Irish Surfing Association (ISA). The ISA is a 32-county body,¹ which has been in existence under the stewardship of Brian Britton and Roci Allan with little funding for decades, but may yet come to exert more national control and influence given surfing's inclusion as an Olympic sport.² One of the most significant events that would come to define the identity of Irish surfing occurred at the 1972 'Eurosurf' European surfing championships, held in Lahinch. The competition was a popular success, but was the subject of a protest and the unveiling of a banner reading: 'We enjoyed surfing until we discovered Smirnoff'. This protest was a reaction against the encroachment of competition surf culture into Ireland and the increased commercialisation of the practice by multinational corporations. By the 1990s, surfing in Ireland had progressed far beyond the small dedicated numbers of previous decades as the pastime grew into the wider popular culture of Ireland during the Celtic Tiger³ years, evidenced by the popularity of Joel Conroy's *Waveriders* (2008) in Irish cinemas and the emergence of a unique subculture throughout the 1980s and 1990s. A surf tourism industry emerged with major sites in Bundoran, Lahinch and Portrush, encouraged by an increasingly affluent urban population. By 2016, the surfing industry included hostels, hotels, pubs, music festivals, films, film festivals, surf shops, surf schools, shapers, wetsuit producers, magazines and clothing brands. To the casual observer, surfing may even appear to be part of mainstream Irish culture: Fáilte Ireland (the Irish Tourist Board) regularly features surfing in tourism films and imagery directed at national and international consumers, the national broadcaster Radio Teilifís Éireann (the national broadcaster) recently screened a reality television series aimed at young adults entitled 'Big Wave Boot Camp', and AIB Bank even attempted to draw association between the disparate worlds of surfing and commercial banking in a 2009 advertisement featuring John McCarthy.⁴

How then has a postnational sensibility emerged in Ireland alongside the national? Many of the historical elements described in the previous

paragraphs have a direct link to the postnational tendencies that are evident in Irish surf culture. One of the main reasons that surfing has never truly been embraced as a mainstream social pursuit has its origins in the racial and religious prejudices that surfers from the Hawaiian Islands endured at the hands of American colonial Christian missionaries during the nineteenth century. These prejudices would go on to characterise the narrative of surfing as either offbeat or antisocial until today:

From the moment Westerners ‘discovered’ it, surfing took on the status of an outsider activity. In every surf-related log entry, journal passage, travelogue, and monograph, the division between the surfer and nonsurfers is always implied and often explicit. It couldn’t have been otherwise, given prevailing ideas of racial hierarchy, which studiously ordered the peoples of the world – with the dark skinned always ranked at the bottom.

(Warshaw, 2010: 32)

This ‘outsider’ status continued throughout much of the twentieth century, often deliberately fostered by the subculture itself through ‘subterranean values’ (Ford and Brown, 2006: 65). One of the consequences of this is that in Ireland and many other places around the world surfing is not regularly depicted in arts or media as a mainstream national activity. The characterisations of surfing that have appeared in Irish tourist literature or in mainstream media often do not relate to the reality of surfing in Ireland and Irish surf culture. The historical division described above is responsible for why surfing and surf culture is so openly misunderstood by non-practitioners and by wider national cultures. The surfing subculture is a broad spectrum. Surfing and surf ‘culture’ exist at broadly two extremes of this spectrum. The first is a lifestyle culture that consumes international surf fashions and surf tourism as part of a globalised consumer culture; for example, many Irish people now go on surf holiday weekend breaks or surf-themed stag or hen parties. The second is as a small, marginalised subculture with its own very different tastes and consumption patterns and its own understandings of identity (Boyd, 2014). Surfing in Ireland mostly takes place in the colder seasons of autumn and winter, out of sight to most Irish people. In response to the lack of realistic mainstream or national social representation and because of the common misrepresentation of surfers in general, this subculture has retained a sense of local identity by developing its own tactics and practices to represent themselves, which also relate them to a global community of surfers (De Certeau, 1988).

Other historical factors have also attributed to the emergence of post-national identities in surf culture. Surfing does not carry the same modern political associations of many other sports because of its origins as a premodern cultural activity that is still broadly unregulated for most

practitioners. Whilst most western premodern sports underwent periods of institutionalisation that introduced formalised rules and practices during the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries, surfing was still regarded as an outsider activity and thus bypassed by the greater nationalisation of sport during this period. In Ireland, the absence of powerful surfing governing institutions, laws, rules, club culture and the relative absence of an influential competition culture has meant that binary political distinctions created by such organisations are uncommon. This is in contrast to other popular sports in Ireland that had premodern ancestors that maintain strong national sporting cultures today, such as Gaelic football or hurling. Surfing in Ireland is unhindered by the weight of socio-economic, cultural, religious and political factors historically associated with other national sports on the island such as the aforementioned Gaelic games, soccer or rugby (Cronin, 1999). Cronin has highlighted the role that such sports had in helping to define Irish national culture, and the ideological importance of these factors to the discourse of national identity can still be understood in the constant representation of these sports in a national sense. For example, sports such as Gaelic football, hurling, soccer and rugby are depicted by the national media as national sports in print, broadcast and new media on a daily basis. Surfing is still a subcultural practice within Ireland and not yet part of the national imagination, and the everyday life of Irish surfers or surf culture is rarely the focus of sustained national interest, with one of the few exceptions being Rossnowlagh's Easkey Britton. This absence of national representation has led to a high level of self-representation within the subculture.

Another element that is central to the globalised social identity of the surfer is the often unconsidered science and physics of waves, and the manner in which many surfers interpret the experience of riding them. Waves are global and universal phenomena that do not fit into modern ideas of national territory, regardless of recent attempts to categorise them as such. Ocean swell and resulting waves are created when wind or storms blow often on the far side of the ocean, creating a dispersion effect. For example, autumn swells in Ireland begin their journey in tropical storms on the other side of the Atlantic. More structured or modern sports must take place within a specific national location or arena, which enforces national binaries and distinctions, but the universal quality of waves is a significant factor in allowing surfers to view themselves as part of a global community. This identity is also influenced by the relationship of surfing with travel (Laderman, 2014: 41–60). It is a basic requirement that many surfers must travel to find waves, and this 'journey of discovery' to find distant waves whether locally or globally has become the generic narrative focus of much of surf documentaries, advertising, magazines and books. Surf tourism and travel have had significant negative social and political effects, but there is no doubt that this has also fostered globalised ideas of identity in the minds of young, western surfers.

Many of the postmodern and postnational tendencies in identity formation described in the previous paragraphs can be observed in the Irish surf magazine, *Tonnta*. Since *Surfer* magazine was first published in 1959, magazine culture (just behind the local surf shop) has been regarded as the beating heart of the surfing subculture in the USA and around the world. Filling a representational void left by mainstream culture, surf magazines are the main source of information, photos and articles for surfers and one of the prime sources of advertising for board makers and surf shops. Ireland's first and only surfing magazine, *Tonnta* (an Irish word meaning 'Waves'), was founded in 2008 by publisher Graham Collins and editor Wayne Murphy. Due to *Tonnta*'s position as the sole dedicated print outlet for the Irish surfing subculture, it had significant power to interpret and represent surfing and Irish social identity. The magazine was established by Collins and Murphy in order to showcase Ireland's world-class waves and the surfers, photographers and writers who spend their lives riding and documenting them, many of whom are not of Irish origin. *Tonnta* provided a focus on 'stories relating to Irish heritage, culture, and the environment' that would 'form an integral part of the magazine as well as local surfing news, updates and pictures from around the coast' and was the first time that Irish surfing had a regular editorialising voice that spoke on behalf of the subculture (Magicseaweed.com, 2009). Emphasising the importance of local culture and language, the magazine even had a *Foghlaim Gaeilge* (learn Irish) section aimed at people of all nationalities who chose to come to Ireland and surf. *Tonnta* provided an economic boost for the entire Irish surfing community across the island, offering paid work for photographers and advertising space for surf schools, surf shops, board shapers and other industries, such as pubs and hostels. The print magazine was published quarterly whilst still in existence; however, *Tonnta* now only exists as a Facebook page, often sharing links about Irish surfing from *Carve*, a UK-based surf magazine.

Tonnta's ideology could be best described in a hopeful letter by the Australian former professional surfer, Derek Hynd (listed as an international surfing citizen) in the opening issue:

May I extend sincere hopes for a vibrant Irish publication that veers to the left, stays true to cottage soul and away from bubblegum pop crap, does not editorially bow to corporate pressure, calls a spade a spade no matter the issue, bonds north to south in open good will, strikes a blow for locals on locally built boards, acts foremost for the environment and water quality in particular, and would rather collapse in a screaming heap than become just another rag in long line of conservative mouthpieces for the softcore surfing world.

The first issue of *Tonnta* was emblazoned with its signature design, in which the word 'Tonnta' was spelled out in large neo-Celtic font, with the image

of a lounging Celtic surfer in the capital 'T', accompanied by the headline 'Roar of the Celtic Tigers'. It also contained an article by Easkey Britton on the history and role of women in surf culture, a feature on local stonemasonry in Bundoran and the history of Joe Roddy's first surf. The magazine would go on to document all aspects of Irish surfing and surf culture from big wave surfing at Mullaghmore to reviews of books, music and films. *Tonnta* serves as one of the prime examples of the postnational tendency in Irish surf culture. *Tonnta* was firmly local in its production values and readership; the magazine was primarily sold in surf shops around Ireland and featured surfers and the work of photographers who lived in those regions. The publication was also blatantly international and cosmopolitan in its visual design and ideological discourse. *Tonnta* was heavily influenced by American surf and skate culture in literary and artistic style, amalgamating global subcultural signs and symbols with postmodern interpretations of Irish folklore and myth; Barry Britton's illustrations and 'SingleFin McCool' comic strip echoed the popular psychedelic surf art of Rick Griffin, which had appeared in *Surfer* magazine in the 1960s and 1970s. The magazine combined the encoded meanings of an international surfing subculture with local signifiers, such as Celtic-influenced graphic design and typography, the Irish language and the promotion of traditional Irish culture in general. These transcultural representations depoliticised many of the political associations that such imagery can connote when invoked in relation to other Irish sports. *Tonnta* was clearly an *Irish* publication, but one which represented a subcultural perspective of Irish identity that is beyond *national* distinctions because of its association to a global subculture. In its 17-county approach (Irish counties that have a coastline), *Tonnta* represents a postmodern Irish identity that associates itself with its distant past as much as its modern past. It is an identity that is inclusive of all forms of Irishness from those with Irish roots to those who surf Irish waves but may not be Irish themselves. *Tonnta* bases its discourse not only through the idea of a national community, but also through a subcultural discourse in which Ireland is an ancient geographic and geological entity and part of a global community.

This discourse can be observed in other aspects of Irish surf culture. As I have noted elsewhere, this trend toward a postmodern/postnational aesthetic is also evident in other popular forms of representation within the subculture and can be seen in branding, advertisements, typography and even in the visual culture of clothing brands (Boyd, 2014: 215–218). *Emerald Surfwear*, a company that now sells its fashions in both Ireland and America, employs the traditional Celtic cross design as one of its trademarks with three surfboards adorning the bottom. Another company, LirChild clothing, invokes the mythic imagery of the Children of Lir in its company name and crest. Surf artists, such as Barry Britton and Gavin McCrea, have also employed a postmodern blend of premodern Irish

mythical and Celtic imagery in their work, including Britton's comic strip for *Tonnta* magazine entitled 'SingleFin McCool'. This regional emphasis in visual representation and the connections between surf culture and ancient Celticism can be interpreted as an attempt to draw associations between an ancient Polynesian cultural activity, the perceived environmental friendliness and ecological awareness of ancient societies and the postmodern act of surfing in western Europe (Boyd, 2014: 221).

One of the primary areas in which the overlapping of national and post-national identities can be observed is in the Irish surf film. Similar to surf magazines, surf films have played a formational role in the narrative history of the subculture, 'crystalising and disseminating the images and subcultural connotations of surfing' (Ford and Brown; 2006: 65). Irish surf films have emerged since the early 2000s as one of the main modes of expression for the localised subculture, existing in numerous forms including as feature films, community films, television documentaries, extended advertisements and as 'edits'. The most common form of expression is the 'edit'. Aided by the emergence of relatively cheap digital filming technologies (GoPro) the 'edit' has become a popular online global form through which amateur, professional and commercial filmmakers attempt to capture the experience and practice of surfing. The 'edit' can have narrative or be a short documentary, an actuality, a commercial film or it can be moments of poetic or visual expression. These films are distributed online but are sometimes shown at surf film nights or festivals, such as the now annual Shore Shots film festival wherein a panel of judges pick the best Irish and international surf films of the year. 'Edits' can vary wildly in length, style and content but are usually locally produced often featuring local culture, music and surfers yet with a potentially global subcultural audience. A recent example, *Wet Dreams*, a 50-minute odyssey of the surfing life in and around Bundoran during winter, was premiered in January 2014 at the Eclipse cinema in Bundoran to a crowded and loudly enthusiastic local audience. A collection was made instead of charging the audience, and with the takings the production company, a group of young surfers called Pockets Full of Water Productions, bought an underwater camera with the intention of producing more films. The importance of such events within the various local subcultures that the films represent cannot be underestimated. First-hand evidence of audience reactions at the premiere of *Wet Dreams* would suggest that such a film meant far more to the local audience than any commercial feature film. The representation of Irish identity in these films is broad and fluid; many of the surfers and filmmakers are very often not Irish. Some of the best short examples are Fergal Smith's *Winter*, funded by the American watchmaking company Nixon, or an edit such as *TrendyNewAtrocity* by Dylan Stott, a New York surfer living in Ireland's north-west.

The most well-known Irish surf film is undoubtedly Joel Conroy's documentary *Waveriders* (2008), which had a budget of over one million euros

and was filmed on 35mm, taking five years to complete. The film was successful at the box office, also winning the audience award at the Dublin Film Festival in 2008, an Irish Film and Television award in 2009 for best feature documentary and the *Surfer* magazine award for best documentary. Conroy's film combined spectacular surf footage with a narrative drive through the introduction of the tragic figure of Irish/Hawaiian/American George Freeth whose father had emigrated to Hawaii from Ulster in the nineteenth century. *Waveriders* confronted audiences with a significantly different figure from Irish stereotypes offered to generations of audiences in Irish or Irish-American themed films: Freeth, a revered figure in surf history, was a bronzed soul surfer whose father was an Ulsterman and whose mother was a native Hawaiian. The film also features the stories of the Irish-American Malloy brothers and the Irish-American surfer magazine journalist Kevin Naughton, alongside Bundoran native Richie Fitzgerald.⁵ Much like the ideological intentions of *Tonnta* magazine, Conroy's film is an attempt to depict contemporary Irish social identity in a manner that positions itself between the regional, national and cosmopolitan.

One of the most influential figures in the Irish surf film is a Cornishman, Mickey Smith. Smith was one of the main subjects of the Irish journalist Keith Duggan's book *Cliffs of Insanity* (2012), which is one of the first literary attempts to convey the daily lives of Irish surfers to wider society. Smith also pioneered the surfing and naming of numerous high-class and high-risk waves on the west coast of Ireland and his films such as *Powers of Three* (2009) and the *Dark Side of the Lens* (2012) have been viewed millions of times online. Smith's films are also indicative of a broad representation of Irishness in the surf film. As mentioned previously, it is relatively common in the output of Irish surf culture that directors, producers, writers, photographers and surfers are themselves not of Irish origin. In *Dark Side of the Lens*, Smith refers to his own 'Celtic Blood', connecting his own Cornish identity with his Irish experiences, resulting in a hybridised representation of Irishness, which can be described as beyond the national. *Into the Sea*, a recent film by Irish surfer and feminist champion Easkey Britton and director Marion Poizneau, highlights this hybridisation to an even greater extent. Premiered at the London Surf Film Festival in 2015, *Into the Sea* was financed through internet crowdfunding and documents Britton's personal journey to southern Iran in order to break gender barriers and encourage Iranian women to surf. Distributed through the internet, starring an Irish surfing champion and directed by a Frenchwoman, *Into the Sea* is a film with an understanding of contemporary identity in which the solidarity of women across disparate communities is as strong as any sense of national identity conveyed by the film.

The films described here represent a political discourse in which Irishness is fluid and inclusive, rather than static and exclusive, existing as unique local expressions of identity but also as part of a globalised subcultural

community. Postnational expression in these films often straddles borders and potentially many different national perspectives, blurring modernist distinctions of exclusive national identities. An exemplary case of these muddy postnational waters is present in the title and content of a 2015 film, *No Borders: A Film Getting Lost at Home*, in which Northern Irish surfers ride waves on the north coast and across the border in the Republic of Ireland. *No Borders* is produced by Meldrew Productions, who also made the amusingly titled surf film *Children of the Norn*. Both films are low budget but energetically ambitious films, typical of an international surf film genre, which features surfing to a soundtrack of popular music. Both films are also significant of what could be regarded as new identity formations in Northern Ireland. If not exactly postnational, these emergent identities in the surfing subculture may be evidence of wider social changes across Northern Ireland in which claiming nationhood from the 'Norn' (Northern Ireland) is a significant change to simply being Irish or British.

A number of factors mark Irish surf films as representative of post-national discourse. Firstly, most contemporary surf films produced in Ireland are not part of a national 'cinema' or film industry, or any of the legal and financial frameworks that constitute such an industry, although two have received support from the Irish film board (Barton, 2004: 1–13). Secondly, Irish surf films are not distributed through conventionally established channels of national film distribution. Films that have been released on DVD have been sold through surf shops and websites. Thirdly, the contemporary surf film is predominantly exhibited through the internet, although films have also been screened at 'surf film nights' in coastal towns, premieres in spaces considered peripheral to mainstream film culture and at film festivals. On video hosting websites such as *Vimeo* and *YouTube*, many Irish surf films are consumed by a significant international audience, which cannot be understood in terms of national cinema goers, national statistics or economy. Exhibition is global, removed from the national spaces of cinema and television. Fourthly and most importantly in terms of the development of the postnational sensibility within the subculture, Irish surf films represent a break from representations of the Irish people and landscape as national. Nationalism was the one of the dominant discourses in Irish culture during the twentieth century and although cinema did not play a significant role in its cultural dissemination (Barton, 2004: 5), the visual culture of nationalism internalised the aesthetic values of romanticism as created during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

The romanticised image of the Irish west, popular with British artists, came to be defined as national imagery, by which the new Irish state could imagine itself through a 'nationalist cultural programme' (Brett, 1996: 48–50). The myth of romantic Ireland became bolstered by Hollywood films such as *The Quiet Man* in the twentieth century, but also in tourist imagery, painting, photography, advertising and other forms of Irish visual culture.

To be able to view a scene as romantic in this manner '*as if it were a painting*' is to take up a privileged position of detachment and disinterest' (Brett, 1996: 40, original emphasis). Irish surfers and surf filmmakers have generally been unable to take the detached, privileged perspective that sets the romanticist apart from the landscape. Filmmakers such as Mickey Smith are instead active participants within the landscape, exchanging romanticism for a pragmatic and practical interpretation, which challenges the romantic representation of the Irish landscape as national. Smith's depictions of landscape do not correspond to the visual culture of romantic nationalism, not the primitive arcadia represented in historical depictions of the island from external perspectives.

Richard Kearney has written of the importance of an Irish social and cultural 'transition from traditional nationalism to a postnationalism which preserves what is valuable in the respective cultural memories of nationalism, while superseding them' (Kearney, 1997: 59). In this manner, rather than being any perceived threat to Irish national identity, postnational iterations in the social representation of the Irish surfing subculture are often complementary, incorporating signs and symbols that may once have been considered politically formative in the idea of the Irish national. These signs are then reinterpreted and reintegrated into postmodern narratives, depoliticising some of their primary visual markers in order to reappropriate them within postmodern narratives. As described earlier, surfing does not carry the same cultural or political connotations as other popular sports in Ireland. This enables Irish surf culture to employ imagery that might otherwise invoke cultural or political tensions in other sports due to their association with Irish national political culture. The postmodern processes of remaking, parody and reappropriation can be observed in the arts of the Irish surfing subculture, which produces alternative representations of Irish identity in which cultural uniformity is resisted. Irish surf culture is a marginal subculture utilising strategies and tactics that celebrate the 'everyday practices' of the subculture. According to Michel De Certeau (1988), such processes allow those *subject* to dominant media discourses to construct their own parameters of social identity by turning to their own ends forces alien to them. This can be observed in the reappropriation of signs and symbols commonly used by traditionally national visual or literary narratives, 'an "imagined community", reimagined again in alternative versions' (Kearney, 1997: 188). It can also be seen in the consumption practices of the subculture that emphasise the importance of local signifiers in the production and consumption of its own fashions, art, magazines and films.

Olympic surfing may yet have significant implications for the future of surfing in Ireland as a 'national' sport. Greater institutionalisation, higher levels of national funding (ISA is partially funded by the Irish Sports Council), centralised training programmes, combined with increased levels

of local and national competition could in time change the social identity of the surfer and surf culture toward more exclusive understandings of national identity. Perhaps it may yet come to pass that young Irish surfers on the west coast will utter to themselves on cold, dull, winter days that that 'one day I want to surf for Ireland' in the same way that a young runner or footballer might, but it is more likely that they will just want to surf. The discourses within Irish surf culture discussed in this chapter are representative of a broader gradual move away from orthodox notions of political and cultural identity that place emphasis on recognition with global communities almost to the same extent as to the nation. This is influenced by the wider processes of globalisation and technological advances that allow disparate communities within distinct national territories to identify with one another based on shared passions, interests or beliefs. In Irish surf culture, this can be read as *postnational* because it embodies an understanding of Irish social identity beyond exclusive national distinctions. If we accept Benedict Anderson's (1983) thesis recognising the importance of centralised mass media in the origin and spread of nationalism, then it seems logical to conclude that decentralised, global media may also help lead to identity configurations that regard themselves as global, or beyond national. Rather than surf culture representing a unique postnational tendency, it is much more likely that the subject examined in this study may simply become representative of alternative identity configurations in Ireland throughout the twenty-first century.

Notes

- 1 Many sports on the island of Ireland are regulated by 32 county associations. Whilst Gaelic football and hurling are all-Ireland sports, which have direct historical links to Irish nationalism, there are many other 32 county regulatory sporting bodies that do not have political ties to the political discourse of Irish nationalism, such as rugby, hockey and rowing, amongst others.
- 2 National surfing associations have historically had little influence on surfers and surf cultures and the act of surfing very often takes places beyond the field of influence of regulated institutional activity. This is true to an even greater extent in Ireland, where competitive and highly organised surf culture is in its infancy; and regarded with caution by many practitioners of the activity.
- 3 The 'Celtic Tiger' is a term referring to a rapid period of growth in the Irish economy that occurred roughly between the mid-1990s to the mid-2000s.
- 4 John McCarthy is a former Irish champion surfer from Lahinch in County Clare, where he runs a surf school and surf shop. <http://lahinchsurfschool.com/john-mccarthy/> (accessed 17/12/16).
- 5 Bundoran, in County Donegal, has arguably become the centre of Irish surf culture and the home of one of the best surf breaks in Europe, named 'The Peak'. The town is home to numerous surf schools and three surf shops. Richie Fitzgerald is a well-known Bundoran surfer, who also runs the influential Surfworld shop and surf school in the town. www.surfworld.ie/ (accessed 17/12/2016).

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Confronting America

Black commercial aesthetics, athlete activism and the nation reconsidered

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(Re)introducing the Black athlete within American politics

At the start of the 2016 National Football League (NFL) preseason, San Francisco 49ers quarterback Colin Kaepernick exercised his constitutional right to freedom of speech by sitting silently during the national anthem. In doing so, he confronted, and confounded, the notions of freedom and egalitarianism through which the American populace has come to imagine, and indeed mythologise, itself. Importantly, this act of civil defiance articulated him to the emergent yet loosely coalesced Black Lives Matter movement, thereby bringing Kaepernick not insignificant levels of popular support. Amidst a climate of persistent systemic racial discrimination, and seemingly unrelenting police shootings of unarmed people of colour, Kaepernick drew attention to inequities institutionalised within the American justice system. According to his stance – rather than being an institution of justice, fairness, and rehabilitation as is oftentimes uncritically assumed – America's punitive law and order complex functions as a mechanism for reproducing the racial inequities and injustices that have long characterised the American condition (Feagin, 2010; Giroux, 2006). Continuing the protest into the regular season, Kaepernick stated that he is:

not going to stand up to show pride in a flag for a country that oppresses black people and people of color. To me, this is bigger than football and it would be selfish on my part to look the other way. There are bodies in the street and people getting paid leave and getting away with murder.
(Quoted in O'Connor, 2016)

In taking this stand, Kaepernick joined a venerable list of Black American athletes who, in response to distinct social and historical moments throughout the twentieth and early-twenty-first centuries, defied America's systemic white privilege by drawing attention to the persistent race-based hierarchies and inequities responsible for the racially fractured nature of the American experience (Colby, 2013).

Following the lead of Muhammad Ali, Tommie Smith, John Carlos, Jim Brown, Kareem Abdul-Jabbar, Althea Gibson, and many others rooted in America's sporting past, Kaepernick's resolute protestation spoke to a long-standing tradition of Black athletes challenging racial injustice within America (Boykoff, 2016; Carrington, 2010; Zirin, 2005). However, he also drew inspiration, and subsequently motivated, less-heralded figures stirred by the recently reignited protest movement against various forms of race-based discrimination. For example, Ariyana Smith, a Knox College women's basketball player enacted a courageous, and inceptive, 2014 protest in Missouri following the shooting of Michael Brown in nearby Ferguson (during the anthem, Smith raised her hands in the 'don't shoot' gesture before lying on the court for four and a half minutes to symbolise the four and a half hours that police allowed Brown's corpse to lay in the street (see Zirin, 2014)). A year later, the University of Missouri football team lent significant weight to a broader student-led protest movement by refusing to practise or play until University President Tim Wolfe resigned¹ (Pearson, 2015). Increasingly, athletes at high school, collegiate, and professional levels across the country are using their sport-ascribed platforms to speak out, opening up new spaces of dialogic engagement to address the existential realities of racial oppression within the nation. Each week, more NFL players joined Kaepernick by sitting (Jeremy Lane (Seattle Seahawks)), raising a fist (Marcus Peters (Kansas City Chiefs)), taking a knee (Arian Foster and teammates (Miami Dolphins)), or interlocking arms during the anthem (San Diego Chargers) (cf. Teicher, 2016), and his actions even drew support from sections of the military, police, and service communities.

By publicly defying expected performances of uncritical deference to the American project through the powerful symbolic gesture of refusing to *honour* the flag (as metonym for the nation), Kaepernick predictably stirred a welter of public criticism on traditional and social media alike. Sportswriters, news media pundits, fans, and athletes (NASCAR driver Tony Stewart typified the views of his ilk when referred to Kaepernick as an 'idiot' on the social media site Twitter (see Martin, 2016)), have chided the racially mixed star quarterback for being 'disrespectful' of the flag, anthem, and America itself (Moore, 2016), and intrinsically unpatriotic. Far from lacking patriotism, the resistive acts and utterances of these activist athletes demonstrate a deep-rooted commitment to, and concern for, the state of the nation and its peoples (Zirin, 2005). As Kaepernick later commented (in response to opposition fans directing 'USA, USA' chants at him in a manner that questioned his patriotism):

I don't understand what's un-American about fighting for liberty and justice for everybody, for the equality this country says it stands for ... To me, I see it as very patriotic and American to uphold the United States to the standards that it says it lives by.

(Quoted in Wagoner, 2016)

In what Frantz Fanon (1986) would likely consider to be the psychological internalisation of the master's oppressive racial logics, some negative responses to Kaepernick's performative resistance also emerged from a few Black athletes; former NFL player Rodney Harrison later apologised for suggesting that, 'he isn't even black', while San Francisco 49er legend Jerry Rice Tweeted that, 'all lives matter ... I respect your stance but don't disrespect the flag' (Martin, 2016). However, as he himself intoned, as a continuation of a progressive tradition of athlete resistance, Kaepernick's act of seated dissent is fundamentally patriotic; challenging the uncritical genuflection toward flag, and nation, that a politically neutered American citizenry is socialised into embodying.

Despite intimations up to this point, this chapter is not an in-depth examination of Kaepernick's actions, intentions, or the variegated responses to it. Rather, its preoccupation is what could be characterised as the Kaepernick moment. Our aim is to delineate the contextual forces (cultural, economic, and political) that coalesced to create the space for high-profile Black athletes, such as Kaepernick, to become more visible representatives, and thereby effective agents, of the seemingly more strident and progressive Black politics presently in evidence. Primarily as a means of diversifying product offerings, and thereby expanding market reach, post-Fordist capitalism's preoccupation with the aesthetic and/or stylistic dimensions of racial and ethnic difference (Davidson, 1992) has led to the commercial mobilisation of the 'languages of the margin' (Hall, 1992: 34). Representations, embodiments, and performances of (predominantly urban) Blackness are now redolent features of the popular cultural economy. They are signifiers of a form of alterity that imputes commodities with a symbolic value exuding a seemingly authentic notion of difference (Hall, 1992: 31). American mainstream (read: White) culture's residual fear of Black bodies (Boyd, 1997, 2003) is thus complicated by a commercially fanned popular fascination with it: today's is a cultural condition simultaneously exhibiting both 'blackophilic' and 'blackophobic' tendencies (Yousman, 2003). Black bodies may appear in all manner of American advertising, media, music, entertainment, and sport, yet they continue to be oppressed in both material and symbolic terms (Tucker, 2003; Watkins, 2005). It is our contention that the dichotomy between spectacularised and vernacular forms of Blackness has prompted numerous highly visible and popular Black Americans specifically within popular cultural fields such as music, entertainment, and sport (for example, actors Jesse Williams, Viola Davis, and Laverne Cox; musicians Beyoncé, D'Angelo, and Lupe Fiasco; and athletes Serena Williams, Maya Moore, and Dwayne Wade) to use their commercially initiated public personas as platforms for advancing politically progressive ways of thinking, and acting, which challenge the enduring iniquities and injustices of the American racial formation. Previously, the mainstream commercial appropriation of the aesthetics, representatives,

and symbolism of Black political movements of the 1960s and 1970s saw the depoliticising of this progressive politics through its reduction to being little more than a stylistic flourish (Frank, 1997; Gilroy, 2001). In the present moment – and whether intentionally or not (and everything points to the latter) – post-Fordism's covetous colonisation, and monetising advancement, of various expressions and embodiments of Black difference has arguably contributed to the re-energisation of Black politics within the USA. This is the Kaepernick moment: a confluence of economic, cultural, and political forces, enabling the emergence of twenty-first century Black athlete protests, realised through the hyper-visibility of what are richly commodified and highly spectacularised sport celebrity-advocates, and rooted in a critical response to both recent events of highly publicised police violence against people of colour, and the more general persistence of institutionally and informally wrought race-based discrimination.

Within this chapter we offer a preliminary mapping of the Black athlete's place within this moment of fraught national dialogue around issues of race and racial difference. In doing so, we consider the role of prominent Black athletes as high-profile figures within a progressive political movement that threatens to challenge the exclusive whiteness of American national identity, by unequivocally incorporating bodies of colour within popular (re)imaginings of national citizenship and belonging. The discussion begins with an explication of how, within an era pre-dating the current reignition of issues pertaining to race and raced-based discrimination, high-profile Black bodies were oftentimes used by commercial interests as seductive signifiers of Black aesthetics and culture, in a manner that expunged any originally intended vestiges of political derivation, intent, or effect. Through reference to the widespread commercial re-articulation of Muhammad Ali, and the more specific utilisation of singer Marvin Gaye's iconic performance of the US national anthem at an National Basketball Association (NBA) All-Star Game, the discussion outlines how the aesthetics, representatives, and symbolism of Black political movements of the 1960s and 1970s were subsequently appropriated by mainstream commercial interests in a wholly depoliticising fashion. The focus subsequently turns to a discussion of NBA basketball player Carmelo Anthony, arguably a figure who most graphically embodies the commercial-political fusion characteristic of the twenty-first-century Black vernacular sporting intellectuals (Farred, 2003) existing and operating within the current conjuncture. The commercially mediated construction of Anthony's public persona has consistently, and indeed persuasively, cast him as the emblematic progeny of America's simultaneously mythologised, and pathologised, urban spaces and populations. Promotionally articulated as not only Baltimore's, but also America's, basketball-playing *ghetto child*, Anthony was ascribed a level of perceived popular visibility – and, perhaps more pointedly, *urban* cultural authenticity – that ignited interest in, and subsequently corroborated, his heightened

political stridency that materialised as part of the insurgent Black Lives Matter movement. Finally, we consider future potentialities, and indeed obligations, of high-profile athletes to use their considerable public platforms to continue to challenge the social inequities, and injustices, that always already threaten to disallow the realisation of a truly egalitarian American project.

From Black progressives to Black aesthetics

Commenting on late capitalist consumer culture's ability to depoliticise, even the most troubling aspects of Black history and experience, Gilroy noted:

Blackness can now signify vital prestige rather than abjection in a global info-tainment telesector where the living residues of slave societies and the parochial traces of American racial conflict must yield to different imperatives deriving from the planetarization of profit and the cultivation of new markets from the memory of bondage.

(Gilroy, 2001: 36)

This point was empirically extended by Michael Eric Dyson (2016) in his recent recounting of Muhammad Ali's shifting position within the American popular imaginary:

We loved and adored [Muhammad] Ali when he was silenced by disease. But we deplored him when he stood at full stature and full voice against racial injustice. That same Ali tossed his Olympic gold medal into the river because he realized it meant nothing in a country that didn't offer freedom and justice to his people back home. We loved Ali when he was shaking, and quiet, not when he roared like a lion and upset the power dynamics of the culture.

As a charismatic and effusive embodiment of pan-Africanism, Black Nationalism, Black pride and power, Ali had directly challenged the USA's white ethnocentrism by refusing to be a pawn of neocolonial capitalism in Vietnam; refusing to 'be what you want me to be' (Marqusee, 2005: 8). Ali's physically weakened, and thereby politically neutered, state made him more palatable to mainstream white sensibilities – his understated medical struggle now eclipsing his *radical past*. Certainly, commercial interests, especially in the period following his emotive lighting of the Olympic torch at the 1996 Summer Olympic Games in Atlanta (Ezra, 2009; Lemert, 2003; Marqusee, 2005), capitalised upon his physically diminished, yet personally defiant, identity in producing a de-radicalised, racially neutered, and pro-American Ali, who exuded neoliberal America's prerequisite individual

fortitude, determination, and defiance against the indiscriminate foe of Parkinson's disease, rather than targeted against the tyranny of white America.

Ali's transformation from national pariah to American treasure illustrates late capitalism's capacity to accommodate, and thereby defuse, oppositional agents who once embodied a radical racial politics. A memorable Adidas advertisement from 2004 provides a compelling example of this process of commercially driven historical revisionism. Therein, footage (drawn from Leon Gast's 1996 documentary *When We Were Kings*) of Ali running through impoverished villages in Zaire in preparation for his 1974 world title bout with George Foreman, was digitally reproduced to embed the sound and moving images of modern-day Adidas brand athletes (David Beckham, Zinadine Zidane, Maurice Green, Laila Ali, Haile Gebrselassie, Tracy McGrady, and Ian Thorpe). These latter-day sporting celebrities, part of Adidas' 'Impossible is Nothing' campaign, appear to be jogging alongside, and playfully interacting with, the younger boastful Ali. In a postmodern pastiche intended to conjure memories and stimulate the affective sensibilities of consumers, the advertisement seamlessly blends the 'familiar themes of past and present' (PRNewswire, 2004). As noted by then president and CEO of Adidas America, Erich Stamminger, the concept, 'captures in one short thought the essence of Adidas as a brand ... this is what we think at Adidas. It is what we feel – and what our athletes feel as they strive to go further, break new ground and surpass their limits' (PRNewswire, 2004). Historical figures and inspirational stories that corroborate Adidas' brand identity are purposefully selected to reflect the core values of the company and achieve the greatest potential return on investment. In this case, Ali's return to boxing champion in 1974, and the context of his overcoming the odds (indeed, leading up to the fight, prognosticators largely doubted Ali's chances, citing Foreman's brisk annihilation of Joe Frazier and Ken Norton, both of whom had beaten Ali in 1971 and 1973, respectively (Early, 2006)) provided a compelling reality-based historical narrative that expressed Adidas' 'impossible is nothing' mantra. Through the insertion of celebrity athletes (taking the place of African children), original audio snippets of Ali's voice, and the narration of Adidas' brand rhetoric, the advertisement playfully draws upon the past merely as a modality of authenticity to corroborate the valued meaning of achieving against the odds.

Thoroughly decontextualised from the original event, the infamous 'run' has become a widely popular and isolated historical event – being reproduced as not only a metaphor for the life and career of Ali, but for any individual seeking to work hard enough to achieve their goals. The politics of Pan-Africanism, Ali's earlier role in Africa as an emissary of Elijah Muhammad, and the complex racial and cultural politics of the fight's production itself (see, for example, Mailer, 1976; Marqusee, 2005) have

been conveniently erased under the weight of Ali's latter commercial and cultural repositioning. As suggested by Andrews (1999: 80–81):

Ali has in fact become an embodied example of what the novelist E. L. Doctorow described as the 'disappearance of the American radical past': a potentially progressive figure whose insurgent history has been creatively revised, and by that means neutered, in the name of commercial avarice.

(Andrews)

Once represented to, and widely perceived by, white Americans as a dangerous, Black man, a radical threat to the established systems of white supremacy, Ali's embodiment of Black pride and power was creatively refashioned to complement contemporaneous imaginings of American national identity. In particular, within the last decades of his life, Ali became a figure whose previous radicalism was celebrated for its demonstration of his individual courage and fortitude, while his incitement to progressive action was rendered irrelevant through the widespread questioning of the relevance of race-based politics in the era of post-racial delusion (Bonilla-Silva, 2006; Wise, 2010). Thus, a politically de-racinated Ali was enthusiastically welcomed into the pantheon of contemporary American metonyms.

Another instructive example of commercial discourse employing historical figures to convey new imaginings of race and nation can be discerned from a 2008 Nike advertisement featuring the legendary soul singer, Marvin Gaye. The commercial paired archive footage of Gaye's controversial rendition of the national anthem at the 1983 NBA All-Star Game with practise videos of the USA men's basketball team in preparation for the 2008 Beijing Summer Olympics. Given the current national conversation around racism, protest, and the significance of the anthem, the advertisement is useful for deconstructing the manner in which expressions of Black cultural style become stylistically appropriated and conditionally appended to the symbolic weight of an imagined American nationalism. Purposely splicing together images of contemporary NBA players, who are seen flashing in front of Gaye as he performs the 1983 national anthem in his own inimitable style, 'an attempt is made to magically recapture feelings of the past, to convey, with the use of [*soul*, *R&B*] nostalgia, the collective memory and moods' from distant eras (Howell, 1991: 260). Strategically, Nike drew upon the iconic image of a culturally resonant, edgy but not too controversial, deceased figure of authentic Black cultural style, one that can no longer speak for himself but is made to speak and represent any manner of ideas or commercial products in the contemporary late capitalist moment. Gaye's highly stylised anthem performance provided the template for redefining the performative embodiment of commercially viable Black American patriotism, juxtaposing footage of the 2008 USA Men's basketball team

practising fundamentals and downplaying their individual celebrity. It is in such moments of commercial reproduction that the negotiation of cultural meaning is carried out; although the meanings of the past are already representations of themselves, their political impact is further disrupted by the purposeful imposition of new meanings and contexts.

While Ali's radical political past was refashioned by stylistic commercial appropriation of his image in the wake of physical decline, Marvin Gaye's oppositional and subversive style of embodied politics – most notably his seminal 1971 album *What's Going On*, which highlights issues of racism, sexism, poverty, war, and environmental pollution (Dyson, 2005; Neal, 1998) – has been appropriated well after his tragic death. At the 1983 NBA All-Star game, Gaye sang the anthem with a smooth soulful voice and rhythmic inflection that, against the simple backing of a drum machine, countered the normative standards of tonal solemnity. Recounting the event, All-Star centre Kareem Abdul-Jabbar stated that, 'Marvin changed the whole template, and that broadened people's minds. It illuminated the concept, "We're Black and we're Americans. We can have a different interpretation [of the anthem], and that's okay"' (Batchelor, 2005: 43). Jose Feliciano's performance of the anthem at the 1968 World Series, and Jimi Hendrix's 1969 rendition at Woodstock, also spoke to the existential moments of injustice and protest marking the 1960s and 1970s. Neal (1999) notes that Feliciano's performance, concomitant to the pinnacle of anti-Vietnam and Black Power demonstrations, was 'invested with a clear reference to the political discourse(s) of the era' (p. 72). The performance was especially critical given that, amidst increased government surveillance, harassment, and counterintelligence activities directed at groups like the Nation of Islam (NOI), Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), and after Dr Martin Luther King's death, the Black Panther party in particular, Black political discourse had been characterised as 'anti-American and anti-law and order' (Neal, 1999: 68; see also Marqusee, 2005; Van Deburg, 1992). Such sentiments, and the continued struggles over defining American identity, consistently reappear in media discourse following any perceived slight by a person of colour against American emblems like the flag or anthem. Black athletes, as representatives of America in international sporting competition, have long known and felt the hypocrisy and conditional love of their country.

After a bronze medal finish at the 2004 Athens Summer Olympics – largely perceived as a *tragic* loss of America's global dominance in basketball – media pundits quickly blamed the 'black male baller' through demonising associations with hip-hop music, cornrows, tattoos, and an individualistic arrogant swagger – the very same characteristics most prized within the broader cultural economy of basketball (Boyd, 2003; Lane, 2007). With all manner of racially charged euphemisms, media sources implicated that it was the 'juvenility between the players and their coach'

(Araton, 2008: 1), and the NBA's 'punks and thugs' with their individualistic, pretentious, and selfish style of play that were the source of the problem (Kindred, 2004 quoted in Leonard, 2006b). One reporter proposed that, stemming from the dominance of the 1992 Dream Team, there was 'an atmosphere among NBA stars of divine right and entitlement that has led to a generation of egocentric players unable to grasp the simple concept of team' (Kindred, 2004: 80). Nike's portrayal of the 2008 'Redeem Team' purposely disrupted the popular signification of the *ghettocentric baller* (Leonard, 2006a), instead relying on the seemingly more palatable, historical image of authentic blackness provided by a Marvin Gaye. Stripped of his progressive politics, the stylistic elements of Gaye's performance offered just enough Black cultural expression to maintain the perception of *urban* authenticity, without overshadowing the implicit message of self-sacrifice, teamwork, and collective effort projected onto the bodies of Team USA's all-Black roster. Thus, the advertisement sought to directly counter the negative racialised perceptions of ungrateful and un-American Black superstars, through the reframing of Gaye's 1983 anthem as an example of *soulful*, yet not oppositional, Black patriotism.

Sport's authentic urban activist

As Black vernacular intellectuals (Farred, 2003), imbued with the power of unparalleled commercial centrality, compounded by immense levels of mass and socially mediated public visibility, today's Black athletes possess the potential to invoke more political intent and influence than their predecessors. This capacity is exemplified by the compelling synthesis of commercially mediated urban authenticity and racially progressive political stridency of NBA player, Carmelo Anthony. Highly popular and commercially relevant, Anthony's hyper-mediated public persona has persuasively positioned him as the emblematic progeny of America's simultaneously mythologised and pathologised urban spaces and populations. Hailing from the unforgiving and, since the death of Freddie Gray while in police custody, the ever more culturally resonant streets of West Baltimore, this urban provenance has proven effective in both legitimising his commercial viability while simultaneously corroborating the form and intent of his recent activism. Already ascribed the status and popular visibility as an arbiter of urban cultural authenticity, Anthony's politicisation is further confirmed through his very real connection to, and first-hand experience of, the plight of urban poverty and racial oppression. In a recent interview discussing his decision to speak out on these issues, Anthony suggested that:

timing is everything, and for me the Freddie Gray thing was the one that tipped me off. It was like something just exploded. It was like [snaps] now was the time. Enough is enough. And everybody's calling

me like, 'We should do this' or 'We should do that,' and I was like, 'I'm going home.' If you want to come with me, you come with me, but I'm going home. I'm not calling reporters and getting on the news; I'm actually going there. I wanted to feel that. I wanted to feel that pain. I wanted to feel that tension.

(Bryant, 2016)

A native Baltimorean, Anthony has long felt a deep connection to the people of Baltimore, particularly those severely isolated communities of colour who have been neglected throughout waves of neoliberal retrenchment, economic restructuring, and targeted criminalisation (Harvey, 2001; Giroux, 2006). Following Gray's death while in police custody in April 2015, Anthony returned home to march in the streets alongside fellow Baltimoreans demanding justice: 'the Freddie Gray situation is right in my backyard. These are my people, people that I grew up with. It's affecting me' (Spears, 2016). Amidst masses of peaceful protesters, demonstrations, and candlelight vigils, mainstream media networks focused much of their attention on an otherwise small group of frustrated young people that looted and burned down a local CVS store. Freddie Gray's arrest record also became a popular headline for commentators to explain, rationalise, or justify the excessive use of force by Baltimore City Police, a department that has paid out millions in legal settlements for police brutality cases involving ethnic minorities (Fernandez, 2015). Little attention was paid to the frightful reality that young Black men are disproportionately victimised by police, that Baltimore has an entrenched history of racist police violence, or the existential reality that 'a riot is the voice of the voiceless' to use the words of Dr King (Fernandez, 2015).

As racial politics in the US regarding poverty, incarceration, and police violence have become more pronounced, Anthony has concurrently become increasingly vocal, organising town hall meetings, and taking the stage at the 2016 Excellence in Sports Performance Yearly Awards (ESPYS) – alongside compatriots LeBron James, Chris Paul, and Dwayne Wade – to express the point that 'the problems are not new, the violence is not new, and the racial divide is not new, but the urgency for change is definitely at an all-time high' (Spears, 2016). Connecting himself to the people of Baltimore, Black people everywhere, and the historical context of struggle against racial oppression, Anthony is redefining the role of the twenty-first-century athlete as revolutionary. In an open letter, Anthony directly addressed America's unchanged racial injustices and called upon his fellow athletes to stand up and be part of the movement for change:

The system is Broken. Point blank period. It has been this way forever. Martin Luther King marched. Malcolm X rebelled. Muhammad Ali literally fought for US. Our anger should be towards the system. If the

system doesn't change we will continue to turn on the TVs and see the same thing. We have to put the pressure on the people in charge in order to get this thing we call JUSTICE right ... I'm pretty sure a lot of people don't have a solution, we need to come together more than anything at this time. We need each other. These politicians have to step up and fight for change. I'm calling for all my fellow ATHLETES to step up and take charge. Go to your local officials, leaders, congressman, assemblymen/assemblywoman and demand change. There's NO more sitting back and being afraid of tackling and addressing political issues anymore. Those days are long gone. We have to step up and take charge. We can't worry about what endorsements we gonna lose or whose going to look at us crazy. I need your voices to be heard. We can demand change. We just have to be willing to. THE TIME IS NOW. IM all in. Take Charge. Take Action. DEMAND CHANGE. Peace7 #StayMe7o.

(Anthony, 2016a)

As one of the NBA's premier talents, Carmelo Anthony speaks from a unique position of authentic street credibility that, in concert with his actual lived experience, has been intertextually layered and thoroughly leveraged by the 'promotional vortex' (Wernick, 1991) of ghettocentric media producers (Leonard, 2006a). As a Black male athlete who has achieved against the odds and risen from the dangerous and dilapidated streets of West Baltimore, Carmelo's inspirational personal story has become further embedded as a more hip, cool, and commercially profitable reformulation of the 'Horatio Alger' American success story (Maharaj, 1997). Ironically, we argue that the very same commercial processes responsible for essentialising the supposed 'urban authenticity' of a player like Anthony, have so thoroughly popularised the myopic tropes of his blackness, that this assumed nature lends further credence to his recent outspoken activism.

As alluded to in the previous section, the commercial media has played a significant role in normalising – to the extent of essentialising – the relationship between race (African American) and space (urban) in the eyes of the viewing and consuming public. In this regard, Kelley (1997: 196) rightly identified the fact that 'representations of the ghetto as a space of play and pleasure amid violence and deterioration are more than simply products of the corporate imagination'. Basketball has long been the game of choice for America's ethnically shifting urban throng (Riess, 1991), and clearly the game was noticeably African Americanised, as that population came to dominate inner city America in the mid to late decades of the twentieth century (Boyd, 2003). However, that is very different from the routine assumption made by the popular media that any Black player within the professional or intercollegiate ranks is assumed to be the progeny of the hyper-ghetto, with all the stereotypical assumptions that arouses. The plain

fact that the majority of NBA players do not hark from such surroundings (Leonard, 2010) clearly becomes obfuscated under the symbolic weight of basketball's overdetermining ghettocentrism, which mobilises stereotypical signifiers of the urban African American experience and associated aesthetics: including socio-spatial location; family history and constitution; and preferences for particular cultural practices, forms of attire, music, hair style, and modes of verbal and non-verbal communication.

Perhaps more than most NBA players, Anthony's mediated image and persona has been at least partly constructed upon minor indiscretions and affiliations that, transposed through the promotional discourses of the 'ghetto-centric imagination', thoroughly connect him to the everyday lived realities of poverty, struggle, and Black oppression within the notorious streets of West Baltimore. These included various traffic violations, marijuana possession charges, and seemingly unwitting involvement in the notorious 'Stop Snitchin' video (Woestendiek, 2005). As a result, Anthony has been closely associated with a specific urban space, that of the poverty-, drug- and crime-ridden streets of West Baltimore. In a city where conditions of intense inequality, social division, and public retrenchment have severely isolated Black communities, ignoring their plight, and leaving them behind in the process of commercialised tourist redevelopment (Friedman, Bustad and Andrews 2013; Harvey, 2001; Silk and Andrews, 2011; Wacquant, 2007, 2009), Anthony's social ascendance through basketball, combined with his long-standing commitment to never forget where he came from, further cements his status as a hometown hero. Indeed, he has even been used as an arbiter of authenticity regarding fictional depictions of Baltimore for NBA.com readers:

While most who watch *The Wire* enjoy the comforts of leather couches and surround sound, Carmelo Anthony watches with an insightful eye. He grew up on the same streets that the show depicts. Carmelo knows the plight of the young black men who survive on the cold corners of West Baltimore ... Carmelo Anthony says, 'It's real. Everything is real about it.'

Carmelo's confirmation about the show's authenticity is frightening. *The Wire's* fourth season focused on middle school children who are sharp and intelligent, but are unable to overcome shattered families: absent fathers, addicted mothers, and grinding poverty.

(Ruderman, 2008)

Furthermore, Anthony's fluid yet dynamic playing style fits easily with common assumptions related to the expressive individualism of inner city basketball, as does his choice of corporeal attire and adornment. Such a comprehensive and compelling urban provenance has provided Anthony with a seductive aura of *ghetto* authenticity, which has proved to be a lucrative form of cultural capital within the commercial marketplace.

Anthony's mediated ghettocentrism, as communicated through a bevy of commercial advertisements and media appearances, has not only (re)produced the logics of neoliberal individualism, but also elevated his stature within the broader movement of Black Lives Matter wherein, amidst contemporary circumstances of racial injustice, he symbolises the authenticity and struggles of the Black 'urban' experience. Speaking out on behalf of those populations most often ignored, oppressed, and criminalised within American politics and media, Anthony is utilising his public platform to raise awareness, demand justice, and garner widespread support for Black Lives Matter, criminal justice reform, and an end to the long and tragic history of police brutality and violence within communities of colour. This is perhaps also where Anthony's established commercial and cultural credibility becomes particularly relevant and timely as he speaks from an authenticated position of experience, which connects him to the struggles of Black Baltimoreans, Black Americans, and people of colour everywhere. Simultaneously, and given his vastly diverse, and indeed globalising fan base as an International Team USA Basketball All-Time Gold Medal leader, the significant power of Anthony's voice also concerns how he is able to draw attention to issues affecting impoverished Black communities that most privileged white Americans are either oblivious to, or sorely misinformed about (Moore, 2016). Specifically, with regard to the pressing issues of police brutality, Anthony suggests:

You've got to be educated to know how to deal with police. The police have to be educated on how to deal with people. The system has to put the right police in the right situations. Like, you can't put white police in the 'hood. You just can't do that. They don't know how to react. They don't know how to respond to those different situations. They've never been around that, you know? When I was growing up, we knew police by their first name. We gave them the nicknames. But that's only because we related. And when the white police came into our neighborhood, the black police said, 'Yo, we got this.' That doesn't happen anymore. You got black police afraid to go into black communities now, and the white police are like, 'Shit, I'll come. It's a job. I'll go in there and do it.' Not knowing what's going to happen.

(Bryant, 2016)

Drawing upon his own experiences, and linking them to the broader history of distrust between Black communities and majority White law enforcement agencies, Anthony is directly broaching topics of American race relations that have, for too long, been concealed under the stultifying weight of colour-blind politics (Bonilla-Silva, 2006) and the auspicious hyper-mediated displays of successful, and politically neutralised, Black athletes, musicians, and entertainers. In effect then,

while the profit-driven ghettocentrism of NBA and NFL cultural producers, as previously articulated (Andrews, Mower and Silk, 2011), sought to essentialise, exploit, and thereby neutralise the capacities of the Black athlete as politically progressive public figures, the abundant popularity of Black American culture has actually helped produce a mass platform for new and more diverse imaginings of American citizenship and social activism.

Nevertheless, sporting bureaucracies and media conglomerates continue their attempts to control the discourse around race, activism, and American politics. In the summer of 2016 the Indiana Fever, New York Liberty, and Phoenix Mercury were each fined \$5,000 (in addition to each player being fined \$500) by the Women's National Basketball Association (WNBA) for violating the league's uniform policy by wearing black warm-up shirts to protest recent shootings of unarmed Black men by police (Evans, 2016). Carmelo Anthony was quick to speak out in support of WNBA players like Tanisha Wright who noted that the league was quick to disperse t-shirts to all WNBA players in support of the Pulse nightclub shooting in Orlando in June, but then was quick to enforce the uniform policy when players wore shirts in remembrance of Alton Sterling and Philando Castile (Evans, 2016). Although LeBron James and Derrick Rose were not fined for wearing 'I Can't Breathe' t-shirts in honor of Eric Garner in 2014, NBA commissioner Adam Silver made a statement about on-court attire that largely quelled further infractions (Evans, 2016). While both the NBA and NFL have profited from the promotion of its teams, and specifically its constitutive celebrity brands (players) as embodiments of 'the street cool that moves the merchandise' (Starr and Samuels, 1997: 28), both leagues simultaneously continue to actively police what they clearly perceive to be the problems accompanying its incontrovertible Blackness (Andrews, Mower and Silk, 2011).

Relatedly, and particularly in what could be termed the Kaepernick moment, such racialised perceptions crudely equate any act of defiance, when enacted by a Black athlete, as evidence of unpatriotic anti-Americanism, which for individuals shrouded by the parochialism of the white racial frame (Wingfield and Feagin, 2012), appears to be a commonsensical reaction in defence of America. Discussing the realities of racial perceptions and sporting protest in an aptly titled article, 'What white fans don't understand about black athletes', Evan Moore (2016) suggests that, 'To those outside the black community, people who are largely unaware of the nuances of black life in America, professional athletes speaking out on social issues appears to be breaking news'. For the misinformed masses of American sport fans, this is precisely where the synergised celebrity status and political platform of an athlete like Carmelo Anthony can begin to disrupt not only racial misperceptions but also the long-standing embargo on athletes voicing their opinion on social issues.

Arguably the most formidable contemporary mouthpiece of twenty-first-century athlete activism, Anthony's words are compelling when he proclaims the pressing need for today's athlete to eschew the status quo, sporting bureaucracies, and the historically entrenched taboos concerning sport and politics:

We all know our history, especially when it comes to sports and activism. We know Ali. We know Jim Brown. We know Kareem Abdul-Jabbar. But over the years as athletes started making more money, they started thinking: *I don't want people to talk bad about me for talking politics*. But this is not really about politics. There's nothing political about taking a stand and speaking on what you believe in. The teams and the support systems around athletes urge them to stay away from politics, stay away from religion, stay away from this, stay away from that. But at certain times you've just got to put all of that aside and be a human being. That time is now.

(Anthony, 2016b, original emphasis)

Acknowledging the deeply embedded, systematically reproduced, and institutionally enforced idea that athletes should be silent about potentially controversial topics, Anthony is leading an incipient movement to question the power elite (Mills, 1956). Drawing upon Dr Harry Edwards' notion that today's athletes are 'walking corporations' who carry more weight than 'the doctor up the street or the lawyer around the corner or even the community organizer' (ESPN.com, 2016), this power has emerged from the confluence of individual wealth, celebrity status, and new social media technologies that exponentially connect the individual athlete to a vast global audience. For example, and reflective of just one of his personal media platforms, Carmelo Anthony's official Twitter account boasts a following of more than 8.4 million people. This means that every time Anthony posts a message about getting involved in solving the racial divide (30 July), not letting the conversation end (26 July), how to register to vote (27 September), honouring the victims of 9/11 (11 September), or a video message encouraging young people to 'Stay Humble. Stay Committed. Stay Determined' in their pursuit of educational success (8 September), he is instantaneously reaching out to millions using the power of his own self-directed personal media platforms. This is precisely the kind of newfound power that Dr Edwards suggests makes it economically impossible to ignore today's modern athlete (ESPN.com). As a Black vernacular intellectual, the sheer popularity and street credibility of an athlete like Carmelo Anthony means that he commands not only the attention of millions of potential consumers, but also millions of potential supporters and activists.

Coda: reworking the American project

According to Michael Eric Dyson (2016):

We live in what author Gore Vidal called the United States of Amnesia. We forget that black athletic courage paved the way for a generation of black athletic genius. Tragically, we now have a generation that is often more interested in its brand and bank and bottom line than the lives of the people who loved them before they became famous.

While an attuned and astute cultural commentator, perhaps on this occasion Dyson has overlooked a discernible popular and political trend? While a prominent exponent of the phenomenon, Carmelo Anthony is clearly not alone: there would appear to be an emphasised and ongoing politicisation of high-profile Black athletes no longer willing to be constrained by the values, views, and identities that fit comfortably within the conservative-nation, status quo sensibilities of the corporate sport model (Andrews, 2006). Numerous celebrated Black athletes presently use their public visibility as a platform for progressively questioning the race-based injustices and inequalities historically obfuscated by the stultifying conservatism of American popular nationalism. Hence, the contemporary Black athlete has emerged as a potential ‘revolutionary agent of resistance to the most total forms of racial domination and white supremacy’ (Carrington, in press). S/he is both a product, and a potential disruptor, of the late capitalist commercial order shaping national popular culture and national political discourse.

The emergent forms of athlete protest are related to the broader ubiquity of Black commercial aesthetics, and the heightened visibility of political protest (i.e., the Black Lives Matter movement) related to the tragic, and all-too-frequent killings of unarmed people of colour at the hands of US law-enforcement agencies (Gill, 2016). These issues have demonstrated that discussions of race and national politics have implications for citizens from every background. Indeed, we suggest that the problem of American racism can no longer be treated as an isolated issue, or rather a ‘Black problem’, to which other groups feel no responsibility to help ameliorate. Gilroy’s (2001: 15) thought is perhaps instructive here when he suggests that whites

may not have been animalized, reified, or exterminated, but they too have suffered something by being deprived of their individuality, their humanity, and thus alienated from species life. Black and White are bonded together by the mechanisms of ‘race’ that estrange them from each other and amputate their common humanity.

(Gilroy, 2001: 15)

Those occupying the privileged social status position of whiteness must recognise, and learn to see, the insidious and dehumanising falsities of institutionalised and systemic race logics which continue to divide the people, and weaken national prosperity, for all but the white power elite (Lipsitz, 2006; Mills, 1956). As the celebrated heroes of contemporary American culture, and in spaces that can bring people of all backgrounds together, athletes hold tremendous potential to influence the redefinition of American identity according to principles of democracy (life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness) rather than being driven by some spurious 'possessive investment in whiteness' (Lipsitz, 2006), which has historically marked the centrality of race as the key barometer of national membership. In this regard, the actions and voices of activist Black athletes such as Ariyana Smith, Colin Kaepernick, and Carmelo Anthony provide instructive models for all those concerned with confronting the debilitating constraints of race logic, and the institutions of governance that uphold it.

Note

- 1 Student protests at the University of Missouri in the fall of 2015 began in reaction to racial abuse on campus towards students of colour, and the delayed and limited response to these incidents by University President Wolfe. Following the protests by the football team, which took place in conjunction and solidarity with other students and student organisations, Wolfe resigned in November 2015 and University Chancellor R. Bowen Loftin resigned at the end of that year.

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Part III

Sporting nationalisms and interstate power relations

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Beaten at their own game?

A study of British football power

Paul Tchir

When the English national football team fell to the ‘Mighty Magyars’ of Hungary in a match at London’s Wembley Stadium on 25 November 1953, the historic nature of the result was lost on no one. This defeat on home soil, England’s first,¹ shattered the ‘myth, sustained by a highly selective use of evidence, ... of the superiority of English football at an international level ... [that] rested largely on England’s unbeaten record at home in international matches’ (Critcher, 1974: 2). The signs of decline had long been present, with England’s refusal to integrate improvements in tactics leaving it vulnerable to such a catastrophe, but the nation excused even its 0–1 loss to a weak United States side during England’s 1950 World Cup debut as ‘some bad luck’ (*The Times*, June 30, 1950) that was ‘forgotten in a pre-television era as an inexplicable aberration’ (Mason, 1989: 177). The 6–3 loss to Hungary, however, would not be so easily purged from the nation’s collective memory.

Within two years of the Hungarian victory Willy Meisl, a well-regarded Austrian-born British journalist with a passion for football, published a work entitled *Soccer Revolution*, with the subtitle *Great Britain taught the world how to play and enjoy Association football – later to be taught many a hard lesson by former pupils*, which analysed what had gone wrong. For years thereafter academics and enthusiasts produced works that attempted to discern how England had deteriorated from being the birthplace of the organised game and its greatest international power to an embarrassment on the field. Soon the literature came to acknowledge the England–Hungary match as one of the defining moments in the nation’s sporting history. ‘No single event has influenced the course of English football so greatly as that defeat at Wembley’ (Cottrell, 1970: 151).

Absent from these analyses, however, was a reflection on the relationship between football and empire. Scholars were quick to acknowledge that Britain’s² decline owed much to the nation’s unwillingness to innovate playing styles alongside other European nations, as well as its desire to isolate itself in order to maintain an illusion of superiority. These academics, however, studied British football and its influence on society almost exclusively through the lens of national and European factors and, while it

proved impossible to ignore the rise of Latin American football, the impact of non-European concerns received scant attention; that which it did was cursory³ or even dismissive:

It may be, for example, that when the African nations awaken to the need for developing their own individuality rather than aping someone else's, as indeed they are doing, they will eventually give up trying to imitate unsuitable western games.

(Marples, 1954: 246)

This lacuna is surprising in light of the fact that many studies of Britain's footballing prowess highlighted its parallels with the empire's status on the political scene. Nor did scholars fail to recognise the ties in the sporting realm between the empire and its colonies. Richard Holt (1989: 212) referred to the notion that '[s]ports were thought to help create a climate of relations that would bind the Empire together'. Harold Perkin (1989: 151), meanwhile, mentioned that in Europe '[t]here was a certain zest in beating the arrogant British at their own game ... but it was not an obsession as it was in the empire'. For the colonies, 'when they finally wrested control of their national teams from the settlers and anglophile elites, beating England was a nationalist triumph'. These ties were not lost on contemporary observers either. In 1930, one correspondent for *The Manchester Guardian* (2 April 1930, p. 11) claimed that '[n]ext in importance to the Crown, royal visits, and the representation of the Crown by Dominion Governors we out here would place international sport as an effective bond of Empire'.

In engaging colonial football, therefore, the study of British sporting life develops into something more than a mere reflection of the nation's political fortunes. This link between the nation and its colonies raises a number of questions that have remained mostly unanswered. What was the British perception of its footballing prowess in relation to its colonial enterprise and what were the consequences of these views? How (if at all) was racial prejudice expressed, and reinforced, through sports reporting, a space that has been perceived naively as apolitical? How was this narrative influenced by the 'masters' being beaten at their own game?

In examining such questions, the Hungary match at Wembley is an obvious endpoint for the study, as it altered radically Britain's perception of its international football prowess. The first signs of Britain's decline, however, are not as clear. Britain won every pre-war Olympic tournament that it entered (1900, 1908, and 1912), victories that allowed it to reign as 'the country to whom the growing numbers of European football enthusiasts looked for leadership' (Mason, 1989: 176). After World War I, the Olympic movement set the stage for Britain to strengthen its claim to this role, as '[t]he football tournaments of successive Olympiads ... were recognised by FIFA as "the amateur championship of the world of association football"'

(Beck, 1999: 127). The 1920 Games, therefore, were Britain's next true chance to demonstrate its ability on the international scene, but it was defeated by Norway in the opening round. This significant failure, therefore, serves as the starting point for this study.

This should be understood, however, as the point at which Britain first had the *opportunity* to reflect on its international footballing prowess, not the moment at which it actually did. In fact, only one of the periodicals consulted provided anything more than a passing mention to the result.⁴ The explanation for this is related to Britain's obsession with 'amateurism', the image of 'gentlemanly' football that they attempted to portray on the international football scene, which gave them a sense of moral superiority regardless of objective success. Amateurism developed into 'an important and distinctive element in the ideology of the British elite through which ... manual workers and the lower middle class were informally excluded' (Holt, 1989: 116). This obsession soon travelled abroad: Great Britain remained mostly uninvolved with the International Federation of Association Football (FIFA) from its 1904 founding until the post-World War II era. This was in large part due to the nation's disagreement with FIFA's more relaxed standards of amateurism and led to increased British isolationism in the realm of football, a major contributing factor to its refusal to innovate alongside the Europeans. Believing more strongly in the nature of play than in results, even significant international losses did little to spur a desire for self-reflection.

There was, however, a non-European dimension to amateurism that has rarely been touched upon – Britain's strict definitions of amateurism essentially excluded any 'colonial' from participating at an international level. As Peter Beck (1999: 31) notes:

Britain, a leading force in both the international political and sporting spheres during the pre-1914 and inter-war periods, might be interpreted as having little to gain and much to lose from international football ... Victories over foreign teams, albeit reinforcing images of national footballing prowess, lost some impact because of the expectations of British success ... [and] this feature enabled other countries to excuse defeats to British sides with minimal loss of prestige, while allowing other governments to exploit any successes.

Britain, therefore, would have engaged a significant risk in encouraging, or even acknowledging, colonial sporting prowess, as any success could have taken on a nationalistic or anti-imperial visage. Moreover, as Perkin (1989: 152) noted, '[t]he struggle over amateurism and professionalism was an expression of Victorian class conflict. ... In the same way, class as well as race and nationalism played a role in sport in the Empire and Commonwealth'. Thus, one final question remains: was this drive towards a 'pure' version of football exacerbated by the encroachment of talent from non-

European nations? In other words, was this 'ideal' of football as much a response to 'colonial' football as it was to 'working class' football?

Tending to the field: methodology

Before any tentative answers could be explored, it was necessary to undertake a careful selection of the source material. Contemporary news reports of Britain's international football activities in both post-war periods provide one opportunity to shed some light on these issues, even if sports reporting *created* perceptions as much as it reflected them.⁵ The first question concerned which newspapers to choose. Given that the primary objective was to draw out a general picture of the British response, the initial selection focused on those periodicals that had the widest circulation, and therefore the broadest appeal, making them more likely to be representative of British attitudes in general. Here the interchangeability of 'Britain' and 'England' again deserves note, as no regional papers were among the highest in circulation. Thus what is considered here to be a 'British' response might be better termed an 'English' one. After choosing the ten most popular newspapers between the early 1920s and the mid-1950s, those whose histories did not cover the entire period, as well as any that were too specialised to be of use, were eliminated. Thereafter, seven papers remained through which the British perception of colonial football could be analysed. These publications cut a sizeable swath through the British political spectrum, from the socialist (Beer, 1921: 360; Taylor, 1965: 142; Young, 1988: 146) *Daily Herald* to the staunchly conservative (Higgins, 2010: 281) *Daily Mail*,⁶ although the concordance of findings suggests that such affiliations were of little relevance to the issue.

The most obvious place to begin a search for Britain's perception of its footballing prowess would be major international tournaments, such as the Olympic Games or the World Cup. Prior to World War II, however, periodicals paid no critical attention to events in which Britain did not participate. Egypt's fourth-place finish at the 1928 Olympic football tournament, for example, was addressed rarely, not treated as exceptional, and never subject to analysis of any kind. Perspectives on colonial football, therefore, were almost always located outside the coverage of major events. A more-thorough examination, therefore, of the content of these publications from 1920 through 1953⁷ was required to reveal clear answers to questions concerning colonial footballing prowess.

The eye of the lion: Britain's perceptions of non-European football

'[T]he British occupation', reminisced one correspondent abroad in 1926, 'encouraged a love for games' (*The Times*, 15 September 1926, p. 15). From

the 1920s on, mention of football in the colonies appeared most often as a proxy for the British conception of 'civilisation' and was politicised to suggest the success of the national 'mission' in these regions. Periodicals considered the game to be as important a marker of progress as capitalism, infrastructure, and luxury. 'What will be the English gift', wondered one correspondent, to the Middle East? (*The Manchester Guardian*, 15 November 1926, p. 6). The answer was obvious: 'The discerning take a quick look round [*sic*] the modern social habits of the people and say, without hesitation, football! ... Football in its incidence, of course, owed everything to the British "Tommy".' The author concludes by commenting that '[i]t may well be that when the philosophic historian of A.D. 3000 comes to weigh our civilization in the balance he will find a great part of its power to rest in the genius for discovering popular pastimes which are at once amusing, harmless, appealing, and (behind the scenes) sound builders of character'. In Iraq, the existence of a football team able to compete in the city league demonstrated the development engendered by a western-style school (*The Manchester Guardian*, 8 July 1925, p. 14), while in Khartoum, Sudan the presence of the game at Gordon Memorial College was a sign of the institution's success (*The Manchester Guardian*, 2 January 1920, p. 10). In Malaya, football was one among many examples of how British influence developed the region into a modern commercial powerhouse (*The Times*, 28 November 1921, p. 5). Even in the British West Indies, where cricket was by far more popular, football was one of the activities undertaken 'to stimulate the development of character' (*The Times*, 24 May 1926, p. xiii).

The newspapers afforded their most enthusiastic coverage during the 1930s to Britain's return to Olympic football in 1936, after 16 years of absence. These publications admitted that Britain had 'virtually no hope of winning' (*The Manchester Guardian*, 6 August 1936, p. 4), but this was based primarily upon the notion that they would not be competing against 'true' amateurs. One journalist lamented the situation thusly:

after 16 years of the most dignified aloofness where the Olympic Games were concerned, they suddenly put British amateur football on a plate and hand it up for the Germans to devour ... These German amateurs break no rules about 'broken time.' They are all conveniently employed in Government posts which give them as much time as they require for practice, travel, and the rest of it.

(*The Daily Herald*, 15 July 1936, p. 19)

Reporting on foreign teams became more prone to an examination of each nation in terms of their strengths and weaknesses, as well as the amount of threat that they posed to Britain (*The Manchester Guardian*, 20 August 1936, p. 4). Although this coverage usually concluded that Britain was

superior in one way or another, even if it was just in terms of ‘gentlemanly’ play, there was more awareness that the team’s antiquated tactics hampered their chances as well. With regard to Britain’s performance in Berlin, for example, one article began with the claim that ‘Great Britain, making her first appearance in the Olympic Association football tournament for sixteen years, did not cover herself with glory in beating China 2–0. There was nothing in the play to work the crowd of 9,000’ (*The Manchester Guardian*, 7 August 1936, p. 4). The same publication summarised the match thusly: ‘The British football team beat China 2–0 in the Association match. It was not an impressive display’ (*The Manchester Guardian*, 7 August 1936, p. 11). Even more directly, one article on the Olympic football tournament was subtitled ‘British Team’s Style a Handicap’ and began with the claim that ‘our style of play did not compare favourably with that of other nations’ (*The Manchester Guardian*, 6 October 1936, p. 4).

Nonetheless, the Britons’ self-questioning never evolved to the level of unfavourable comparisons to any nation or colony. There was always some element, often the British ‘style’ or ‘gentlemanly conduct’, that preserved their stature. Football, therefore, remained a proxy for the success of the ‘civilising’ drive. One report from Abadan, Persia, for example, highlighted the existence of football grounds as ‘a piece of England set down in the midst of an unlovely desert in a climate which at its worst needs every resource of modern civilisation to make it tolerable’ (*The Manchester Guardian*, 5 December 1932, p. 7). In an article extolling the virtues of modern, western education in China, an observer noted that ‘[o]ne result of this new regime was that the old, slow-moving Chinese were giving place to quick, youthful individuals fond of football and other vigorous Western recreations, in place of the mild traditional ones’ (*The Manchester Guardian*, 20 December 1933, p. 11). Another wrote of the ubiquity of football in China as a sign of ‘the general process of enlightenment which all grades of society are undergoing’ (*The Times*, 16 June 1931, p. 15). As for ‘the Arab’, one correspondent lamented that

[i]f he could be persuaded to take up Association football ... it is possible that raiding would wane in popularity, but so far there is no sign of that happening. The Arab has evaded the march of civilization more effectually than any other nation in the world.

(*The Times*, 27 April 1932, p. 13)

Most correspondents and observers did not take this fledgling football movement seriously, however, and celebrated non-European enthusiasm for the game in spite of the indigenous people’s differing interpretations of the game and lack of skill. One missionary, reminiscing on her 20 years of service with native Africans, praised them for their adoption of the western game as she recounted the odd way in which they interpreted it (*The Times*,

27 September 1935, p. 5, and 30 September, p. 15). Similarly, in a 1927 article, the author lauded China for its progress in football over the preceding decade, but was charitable in comparing their players' prowess to 'that of good regimental teams or English county amateurs' (*The Manchester Guardian*, 28 May 1927, p. 9). These newspapers often presented indigenous attempts at engaging football as ending in an amusing disaster. The Afghans, for example, '[n]ot having realised the guiding rules of Association ... converted a dignified game into a hideous melee' (*The Manchester Guardian*, 4 April 1928, p. 10). Even for them, however, the potential for football as a civilising tool could not be ignored: 'In my opinion, if field sports were introduced into Afghanistan the younger element would take to them with love' (*The Manchester Guardian*, 4 April 1928, p. 10). In 1936 the well-regarded missionary and amateur sportsman Cecil Tyndale-Biscoe detailed his attempts to introduce football in Northern India, where '[t]he Mahomedans ... wanted payment for kicking the ball about' and '[t]he Hindus fell back in horror from the leather' (*Daily Mirror*, 15 October 1936, p. 25).

Only a brave few, therefore, would have counted themselves among 'those cock-a-hoop folk who in recent years have declared that British football supremacy is a myth' (*Daily Mirror*, 28 May 1927, p. 18). Until the post-World War II era, and particularly the 1953 defeat at Wembley, the British perceived themselves as the world leaders in football and adjudged all variations, particularly colonial ones, to be inferior. Signs of decline were dismissed or excused, most often as a consequence of the nation's adherence to amateur principles. The 'masters' never saw themselves as truly being beaten at their own game and were able to ignore colonial success or reinterpret it as being somehow inadequate to the British game or style of play.

Misperceptions: the British press and racial prejudice

Simple dismissal was not, however, the extent of British attitudes towards colonial football; sports reporting routinely expressed racial prejudice. Concomitant with the images of colonial football as uncivilised and inferior, the British press portrayed non-whites as intellectually unsuited for football, subjecting non-European footballers to the same racial stereotypes invoked in contemporary political and academic discourse. The theme that recurred most often in the reporting was 'the apparent physical superiority and intellectual inferiority' (Fleming, 2002: 110) of non-whites. Although praised for possessing 'natural talents' that would benefit them in the game of football, colonial players were the subject of dismay concerning their innate inability to measure up to some mental aspect of the western game, such as organisation, tactics, or even rationality itself. One report on football in Mombasa, for example, provided an extensive list of the problems with the indigenous game:

They do not understand the value of team work ... African natives cannot resist an opportunity to show off in front of a crowd. Their ball control is not good ... [t]hey are weak in front of goal ... [t]heir heading is distinctly humorous ... [m]ostly, they just hunch their shoulders, screw up their faces like a man about to take a cold plunge, shut their eyes, and hope for the best.

(*The Manchester Guardian*, 10 February 1927, p. 4)

This is contrasted against praise for their physicality and enthusiasm: 'Their kicking is powerful ... [t]hey are as agile and keen-eyed as monkeys. ... All the players keep remarkably fit and are very fast. They are heart and soul in the game.' A popular expression of racist sentiments in the same piece was the trope of the barefooted footballer who refused to play with boots, yet somehow managed to avoid injury to his feet. 'The striking difference between the Association game played by African natives ... and the play at home', wrote the Mombasa correspondent, 'is that the Africans play barefooted ... those bare feet are rather harder than the hardest toe-cap of any football boot.' A native of Burma, meanwhile, 'will play football with a dash and enthusiasm that are astonishing, and quite a number of even the backs play with bare feet' (*The Times*, 17 November 1921, p. xii). One article told the story of an English league club chairman who visited the Gold Coast and 'would dearly have liked to sign on an outside left whose skill was marvellous. The drawback was that the lad played with bare feet, and it was felt that boots might cramp his style!' (*The Manchester Guardian*, 21 November 1931, p. 9). Another, reporting this time on Uganda, had no compunction in repeating this stereotype: 'They appear to be natural football players, though their respect for the prestige and the boots of white men ... prevent them fairly matching their prowess. They have not yet evolved that advanced product of civilization, the referee' (*The Times*, 17 February 1937, p. 15). Frederick Molyneux, the Bishop of Melanesia, brought footballs to the Diocese of Melanesia not only as a 'civilizing' tool, but because 'a football is much better for bare toes than a coconut' (*The Times*, 13 August 1931, p. 9).

Despite the respect and coverage given to the country's white teams, South Africa's indigenous players and league were rarely addressed and, when they were, it was only to brand them as backwards and uncivilised. 'A Zulu football team captain,' began one report, 'angry because his team had been knocked out of the league competition, seized the silver cup ... and ... dribbled it down the field. This led to a fight in which several people were injured' (*The Manchester Guardian*, 2 April 1953, p. 7). For both Africa and India, the 'barefoot' trope endured into the post-World War II period. When a team of Nigerian footballers travelled to Liverpool in August 1949, the first aspect that *The Manchester Guardian* (24 August 1949, p. 4) chose to cover was their barefootedness. In 1953, despite their

failure to cover the Indian Football Association Shield, *The Manchester Guardian* (24 September 1953, p. 3) did find it necessary to report on the tournament's stipulation that 'all teams will have to play in boots' as an excuse to bring their barefooted playing style to the nation's attention yet again. As if the message had not been sufficiently conveyed, another correspondent responded with a follow-up anecdote several weeks later (see *The Manchester Guardian*, 6 October 1953, p. 5).

That contemporary racial discourse was reproduced in sports reporting is not surprising, and to comment simply that it was yet another sphere where the prevailing attitudes of the time manifested publically would be of limited historical value. Furthermore, to draw out these perceptions is not to suggest that the reports were fabricated by the press. Many indigenous footballers did, for example, play with bare feet (Dietschy, 2010: 81), although one suspects that this is more a consequence of their access to resources and capital than some quirk in their character. What is notable, however, is the way in which this racially charged reporting in a space that readers perceived as apolitical supported the ideology of empire by transforming its 'civilising' zeal from theory to 'fact'. With only a few exceptions, depictions of this nature were the *only* coverage that most non-European footballing nations received. These reports were not incidental reflections of the prevailing racial attitudes of the era, but the sole representation of colonial football available to the average Briton. There were rarely counter-vailing reports that elucidated the positive aspects of colonial football or set aside these types of dismissive, racially based judgments. Moreover, the brevity of the objective reporting on major events and colonial successes (such as Egypt's victories at the 1928 Summer Olympics) can be juxtaposed against this in-depth cultural coverage that, deliberately or not, trumpeted the political ideology of empire. The British perception of colonial football aided the enterprise of 'civilising' its colonies (which was a justification for imperialism) by reproducing its racist tendencies in 'the apolitical nature of sports, mystified as transcendent legend and supported by the simplistic language of sports writers and sports-apologist intellectuals' (Early, 2011: 208). The tenets of empire, therefore, transformed from mere opinion into fact because they were perceived as being reproduced in spaces where political and academic biases were not present.

One would be remiss, however, not to mention the exceptional instances where the British press dispensed its racially charged proclivities and engaged with non-European football in a neutral or even positive manner. For example, one article in *The Manchester Guardian* (17 November 1934, p. 10) began with the claim that 'there seems every prospect that before long it will be possible to organise a world championship in which the Eastern peoples will give quite as good an account of themselves as the Western'. Yet even in this unusually positive appraisal of non-European prowess, the 'barefooted' trope was present and the 'Eastern' was lacking

some critical component of the Western game, which was referred to in quotations by the corrupted term 'soccer', as if their version was somehow deviant or inferior from the British style. In fact, on the same day and in the same publication, there was a survey of Indian 'soccer' that emphasised their 'barefoot triumphs' (*The Manchester Guardian*, 17 November 1934, p. 11). This sort of backhanded praise occurred sporadically throughout the period studied. A 1926 analysis of Iraqi 'soccer' celebrated the players' 'great aptitude', but noted that the games required 'the supervision of British referees' and portrayed matches in the Baghdad League as chaotic festivals of religious fervour. This section concluded with a segue into the main subject of the article, horse racing, by downplaying the likelihood of the Iraqis ever competing at a level comparable to that of the British: 'The Arab, however, is essentially lazy, and it is not surprising that racing, in which the horses do the work, is even more popular than football' (*The Times*, 17 July 1926, p. 11).

It is also true that the English professional leagues were not devoid of non-European players. The *Daily Mail's* (22 September 1920, p. 9) coverage of Tewfik Abdullah, an Egyptian signed to Derby County in 1920, mentioned that he 'pleased the crowd immediately'. In this he followed in the footsteps of his compatriot Hussein Hegazi, who entered the English system in 1911 and received copious praise from local publications, and was succeeded in 1923 by future international standout Mahmud 'El-Tetsh' Mokhtar after the Bristol Rovers' amateur team gave him a brief trial (*Daily Express*, 2 September 1923, p. 8). That these players came from the nominally independent, but essentially British-controlled, colony of Egypt, should not be surprising, for, according to the *Daily Mirror's* (18 December 1934, p. 27) sardonically titled article 'Desert Challenge to our Soccer Pride!', they allegedly possessed a desire for both the tactics and 'spirit' of the British game and '[w]hen the Arab becomes keen on anything there is no holding him'. A similarly snide article on the matter appeared in the *Daily Express* (21 December 1934, p. 13) a few days later.

Finally, while their journey is too detailed to delve into at length, any narrative concerning colonial football cannot ignore the tale of the Islington Corinthians. The Corinthians were a team from the obscure London Professional Midweek League who embarked upon a world tour that involved nearly 100 matches in countries such as Egypt, British Malaya, Hong Kong, and India. This glib summary raises several considerations in and of itself. Firstly, it demonstrates that there was a notable degree of football contact between Britain and its colonies, regardless of how much coverage it was given in the most popular periodicals. In fact, the tour itself was initiated after the Chinese Olympic squad visited Britain and the Corinthians were chosen as their opponents.⁸ Secondly, the line-up drew, and even lost, against the non-European teams that they encountered. While excuses concerning the players' level of talent, skill, or exhaustion

were made to dismiss the losses, even the Corinthians could not deny that in at least one of the matches (in Burma) they were unquestionably beaten (Alaway, 1948: 108–110). Finally, coverage of the matches vacillated between backhanded compliments and neutrality, but was punctuated with undeniably genuine praise.

Overall, however, these rare cases of coverage that were, vaguely or otherwise, positive did not counterbalance the sustained litany of racialised portrayals of non-European footballers found in the major periodicals. As such, they cannot be considered representative of the general discourse surrounding colonial football. Most of the reporting on the Corinthians tour, for example, came from either the local *Islington Gazette* or the newspapers of the places that the team visited, neither of which can be used as proxy for broader ‘British’ opinion. The publications utilised in this study rarely mentioned the Corinthians and, in the handful of times they did, never devoted more than a paragraph’s worth of attention or any substantial analysis.⁹ Moreover, the story of British nationals of any stature losing against colonials was not part of the overarching narrative. The British conceded, over the years, defeats in many spheres of football, but clung tenaciously to one core belief: in a fair match against the nation’s best on home soil, English football was invincible. This was, until 1953, to remain the basis of their self-perception as the world’s leading football power.

The ‘gentleman’s game’: amateurism and football

Despite, as outlined in the introduction, the potential connections between the ‘gentleman’s game’ and the colonial enterprise, the publications consulted revealed no indication that Britain’s insistence on ‘pure’ amateurism was a response to anything other than ‘working class’ football. Particularly in regard to the 1924 and 1928 Summer Olympics, amateurism, both at home and abroad, was a frequently discussed topic, but there is no suggestion that it had anything to do with a desire not to engage with ‘colonial’ football. Given what has been discussed above, this conclusion is hardly surprising: the British did not take non-European football seriously enough to react to it. Instead, they were consistent in their engagement with the rhetoric of ‘fair play’ that served as a thin veneer over their desire for football to remain, at least at an international level, an elite pursuit.

Across the political spectrum, the papers highlighted the connection between Britain’s strict adherence to amateurism and its reputation as a ‘sportsmanlike’ or ‘fair play’ nation. ‘The whole point of setting up a division,’ claimed one commentator, ‘is to penalise those who can devote all their working hours to a game’ (*The Manchester Guardian*, 17 August 1922, p. 6). Stanley Harris, once captain of the English national side, offered even more pointed criticism: ‘There can be little doubt in the mind of any person who has watched any professional football of late years that

sportsmanship is practically non-existent' because the players are 'slave[s] of circumstance' (*The Times*, 24 October 1922, p. 8). The professional realm tied winning to profit and thus the emphasis fell on victory rather than fair play. In 1924, *The Times* (23 July 1924, p. 14) ran a series of articles criticising the unsportsmanlike behaviour of other nations at the Paris Olympics: 'Judged by the only standard which is worth judging by, namely, their effect on the good will of the world, the Olympic Games of 1924 are a grievous failure.' The press also derided other nations for 'shamateurism'. Criticising the International Olympic Committee's decision that permitted amateurs to receive 'broken time' payments,¹⁰ one journalist decried the decision by remarking that 'honest and open professionalism [would be] better than a system of compromise and subterfuge' (*The Manchester Guardian*, 15 August 1927, p. 6).

The way that the British footballer represented his nation abroad in terms of conduct was more important than the success he experienced, which helped bolster the notion of engaging a 'civilizing mission' in the colonies. In one opinion column, a *Manchester Guardian* (20 August 1923, p. 6) correspondent commented on the 'danger' of attaching too much value to 'the extravagant idealisation of success in sport'. He continued:

It is no disaster for England if every event in the Olympic Games is won by competitors who regard winning as most American competitors are led to do. Nations do not stand or fall by proficiency in football or rowing. It is even possible that super-excellence in these trifles may sometimes be bought at the cost of some slight actual enfeeblement for a nation's real work.

For the most part, when it came to the superiority of the British, sportsmanship, rather than success, was the key metric, and as long as British sport was perceived as superior in some way, it could continue to support the ideological imperatives of the empire.

Britain's status as the leading power in world football remained emphasised through the 1930s, as the narrative increasingly concentrated around the British 'style' and 'sense of fair play' as being more important than success, particularly as it became increasingly obvious that the nation was becoming tactically inferior. As the number of losses increased, so too did the reactionary defences of sports journalists and the emphasis of 'fair play' over victory. One dismissed the 'silly talk about national prestige depending on the result of one match', arguing:

international games are to be encouraged only if they lead towards mutual understanding and goodwill; this they can do only if each side ... learn during the match that their opponents can be just as good sportsmen as, we hope, they are themselves. One of the things of which

this country can be justly proud is that several foreign teams have admitted that they like playing before British crowds because of the fair play which they receive.

(*The Manchester Guardian*, 15 November 1934, p. 8)

Even though it was now able to admit that other nations played good football, and despite its emphasis on 'fair play' over success, some British continued to believe that they would emerge victorious in any 'fair' competition (*Daily Mirror*, 24 October 1934, p. 31). In many ways, they had good reason to maintain this view. On 26 October 1938 a composite English professional team defeated the 'Rest of Europe' 3–0. The headline simply read 'Superiority of England' with the subtitle 'Rest of Europe Convincingly Beaten at Highbury'. During the match, 'any doubt existing as to the question of supremacy disappeared' (*The Manchester Guardian*, 27 October 1938, p. 3). When the British were unfettered by restrictions, they could still produce some of the best football in the world and they therefore rested their supremacy on the foundation of an unbeaten record at home.

For the most part, Britain abandoned the amateur ideal in 1946 when it joined FIFA for good. Having discarded amateurism outside the Olympics, the unbeaten home record was the last thread by which the public could maintain its self-perception as the world's foremost football power. The press clung tenaciously to this strand, refusing to fully admit inferiority to any other nation. One might have thought that the nation would have finally admitted its dire situation following its shocking 0–1 defeat at the hands of a weak side from the United States at the 1950 World Cup, but Britain purged this failure from its national memory within a year. After winning a match against Argentina 2–1 at Wembley in 1951, for example, the press expressed no consternation at the narrowness of the margin of victory, nor did it attribute England's win to luck. In fact, one correspondent argued that 'so pronounced was [England's] superiority ... that had she scored first, or even before the interval, the visitors probably would have been overwhelmed' (*The Manchester Guardian*, 10 May 1951, p. 2). Another noted that 'several of the Argentine footballers were so overcome by losing that they wept in their dressing room' (*Daily Mirror*, 10 May 1951, p. 1).

The undefeated at-home record was the foundation of the nation's belief in its footballing superiority, but the 3–6 loss to the Hungarians at Wembley was not the only English defeat covered by the British press in 1953. A series of failures abroad¹¹ led to early speculation that the 'at-home' undefeated streak would soon come to an end. One in-depth report began thusly: 'England's Association football team has never lost an international match at home ... but it will have a hard task this afternoon at Wembley against Hungary' (*The Manchester Guardian*, 25 November 1953, p. 8). Just over a month prior to

the Hungarian arrival, the English record was spared only by a last-minute penalty against a 'Rest of the World' team from Europe. According to one analysis, it was 'a timely warning to all those who sleep snug in their beds safe in the mistaken belief that England are still the masters of the game' (*The Times*, 22 October 1953, p. 11). Nonetheless, the nation was not completely bereft of hope: 'I defy all logic. I defy all reason. I refute all argument. I have a "hunch"', wrote Bob Ferrier, the *Daily Mirror's* (25 November 1953, p. 14) correspondent, who believed that England's 'knack of winning' and 'moral courage' would prevail against Hungary.

Despite all this, journalists portrayed the defeat as even worse than expected, and the idea of Britain as a world leader in football was finally dismantled. 'The day is long past,' claimed one article, 'when the foreign footballer had to look for England for his schooling ... Beaten we were and by better football, and there are no excuses' (*The Manchester Guardian*, 26 November 1953, p. 6). Articles suggested many different problems (and potential solutions), but the overarching sense was that the result was 'deserved' or, in some cases, *better* than what the team had merited. 'The score 6-3 did the visitors less than justice, and indeed when their sixth goal came after less than hour's play no one present would have been surprised had they scored ten' (*The Manchester Guardian*, 26 November 1953, p. 11). Hungary was not a colonised territory, but it certainly destroyed any lingering illusions about amateurism or national prowess: Britain was now prepared to bow down before 'the new masters of Soccer' (*Daily Express*, 26 November 1953, p. 8).

Conclusion

The idea of Britain as the world leader in football, which was based on their victories prior to World War I, began to be dismantled at the 1920 Summer Olympics and was left in a shambles by the conclusion of World War II, although, as has been shown, it did not disintegrate completely until the 1953 match at Wembley. The press, however, maintained a vision of Britain's superiority by expressing it in terms of its strict adherence to the principles of amateurism whether it won or lost games. It paid little attention to international football, particularly in non-European nations, because it considered the global version to be inferior. When it did address colonial football, the press articulated racial prejudice in the same manner that it did elsewhere: non-whites were intellectually incapable of grasping the notion of football as the British understood it, even if they were enthusiastic. Thus the emergence of football in the colonies was seen as a proxy for the success of the British civilising mission, but never as a true threat.

Sports reporting reinforced the ideology of empire by presenting its civilising mission in a space that people perceived to be apolitical, and therefore 'objective', which transformed these beliefs from theory to 'fact'. If

indigenous people lived up to racial stereotypes even in the football realm, then these stereotypes must have been true outside any biases that may have infected academic or political discourse. The emergence of sport served as a proxy for the success of the empire's 'mission' because the colonials were incapable of grasping the nuances of football and demonstrating their equality with the colonisers. The explanation for Britain's decline as a footballing power, therefore, rests in large part on its inability to dismantle the national narrative of superiority due to the damage it might inflict on its imperial ideology. Football was too important to the nation to be a realm in which Britain could admit weaknesses, which was why they constructed narratives around amateurism and the home record to evoke their superiority despite failures on the field.

This preliminary analysis leaves much territory unexplored. One question that might be asked is how publications that concentrated exclusively on sport, such as *Sporting Life*, might affect the conclusions. On the one hand, they provided a level of coverage and insight unparalleled in other periodicals. On the other, this specialisation could skew findings, as the perceptions of a sports enthusiast may have been very different than that of an average Briton. That in itself raises another question: who was the average Briton, or was there even such a thing? And if there was, is such a concept historically valuable when it excludes Scotland and Wales (whose papers were not among those studied), Britons living abroad in the colonies (who had far more exposure to non-European football), and Britons who followed smaller publications (imagine what perceptions the devotees of the *Islington Gazette* must have had!)? In the end, one should consider the findings here to be representative of the hegemonic perspective of colonial football, rather than the sole one. This is an important distinction because, as Richard Gruneau (1983: 69) outlined in his influential work *Class, Sports, and Social Development*, hegemony is constantly in flux and is always being challenged by 'autonomous cultural processes that involve countering interpretations'. Minority perspectives, therefore, are not to be dismissed, but studied for the ways in which they force the hegemonic viewpoints to defend themselves and adapt. A study that focused more on Latin American football, for example, might demonstrate the ways in which the British press had to modify their narrative to allow it to retain its dominance by preventing it from becoming nonsensical. Moreover, during the 1930s, *The Times* published articles that contained unadulterated praise for South American teams that were similar to the respectful way that European football was portrayed. A comparative discourse analysis between these two continents could better elucidate the ways in which this non-European football fitted into a dynamic hegemonic narrative.

To step back even further, one might consider examining the meaning behind Britain's perception of its sporting prowess in pastimes outside

football. In this study, football was selected primarily due to its near-ubiquity on the global scene and its parallels with the fortunes of the empire itself. An entirely different story might be uncovered, however, with research into cricket, an activity with a completely different social, cultural, and political dynamic. Maarten van Bottenburg (2011) has argued that the diffusion of international sport was determined by the social relationships involved with each particular activity, as well as its culturally constructed context. In most cases, British colonial officials abandoned football as soon as it became popular and focused on cricket to engage and educate the societal elites. It may have been the case that the public was much more willing to produce and consume a positive appraisal of colonial cricket, because equality with the British in this sport might have indicated the readiness of pro-British elites to run their nations without the direct management of the coloniser. On the other hand, a more in-depth look into South African football might illuminate how the segregated leagues allowed football to perform a similar function in that colony.

This study began with the well-established notion that Britain's loss to Hungary at Wembley in 1953 was a pivotal moment in the nation's sporting history. To this one can now add the conclusion that colonial football, even if it was dismissed or denigrated, played a significant role in the self-denial that led to the decisive impact of the Wembley defeat. As the colonies began to slip from its grasp, so too did the sun finally set on the British football empire.

Notes

- 1 England lost on home soil to a squad from independent Ireland in 1949. Many of those players, however, were members of English clubs and thus not entirely foreign (see Cottrell, 1970: 147).
- 2 References to 'Britain' can be assumed to be interchangeable with 'England', unless otherwise noted. While its constituent nations were allowed to compete independently at some international fixtures, only Great Britain as a whole was allowed to compete at other events such as the Olympics and its teams often had a distinctive (albeit not exclusive) English composition. Furthermore, the nation represented itself as British on the international political scene, for which parallels are evident in the realm of sport.
- 3 See, for example, Green's (1953: 84–85) brief discussion of Ottoman and Turkish football.
- 4 The lone exception was the *Daily Express* (30 August 1920), which commented: 'Although Norway defeated us on Saturday in the Olympic football competition, we would not mind laying the proud Norwegians a world's sculling championship to one of their fjords that either the 'Spurs or The Arsenal would give Norway's best the worst time of their lives.'
- 5 While impediments exist that make newspapers an imperfect correlate to public opinion, there are no other sources that can provide such a broad census of general perception on the matter.
- 6 The other five were *The Manchester Guardian*, *Daily Mail*, *The Times*, *The Daily Telegraph*, and *Daily Express*.

- 7 The years of World War II (1939–1945), during which little organised international football of any kind was played, were excluded.
- 8 Moreover, that as minor a team as the Corinthians were chosen to face them in the first place speaks clearly to the regard with which the Chinese side was held by the English Football Association. When it came to powerful teams, such as Arsenal or Everton, the most the Chinese were offered was to watch (see Cavallini, 2008: 26–27).
- 9 For example, regarding the Burma match, *The Times* borrowed only the following from Reuter: ‘A missed penalty cost Islington Corinthians their only match against Burma, who won by the only goal scored in the match’ (see ‘Islington Corinthians Beaten’, *The Times*, 7 January 1938, p. 6).
- 10 ‘Broken time’ payments are reimbursements for wages lost while training or competing in lieu of working.
- 11 England lost 3–1 against an Argentinian squad in May 1953 (see ‘English Team Loses’, *The Manchester Guardian*, 15 May 1953, p. 3.) while their 4–0 loss to South Africa in September was thoroughly criticised (see ‘England’s Heavy Defeat’, *The Manchester Guardian*, September 21, 1953).

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Association football, the armed forces and invisible nationalism in Britain

Roger Penn

Introduction

This section examines the relationship between Association football and the military in contemporary Britain. The study is situated within the broad trajectory of the oscillating relationship between popular attitudes and the military in Britain over the last 400 years. The analysis of the current conjuncture explores this relationship empirically in relation to football at both the national and the local level. The interpretation is supported in part with visual data and involves the application of the notion of ‘invisible nationalism’. There has been considerable variation in popular attitudes in Britain towards the military over the last 400 years or so. From the seventeenth century onwards there has been a persistent hostility amongst the British population to the notion of a ‘standing army’ (i.e. a permanent army under the direct control of the monarch) (Christie, 1982). Reliance on national defence was placed primarily upon naval supremacy (Robson, 1957). Nevertheless, in the eighteenth century, as the British Empire emerged globally, recruitment to the navy was often forced, using the institution of ‘press ganging’ sailors at the main Channel ports in the south of England (Bromley and Ryan, 1970).

Britain’s post-Napoleonic Empire was rooted in overwhelming global naval superiority (Best, 1982). There remained popular hostility towards the army such that by the outbreak of the First World War, Britain possessed a very small army (Beloff, 1984). Indeed, unlike the other major powers in Europe like Germany, France, Russia and Austria–Hungary, Britain did not rely on mass conscription prior to the outbreak of hostilities in 1914. The two World Wars in the twentieth century witnessed widespread (almost universal) conscription in Britain (Parker, 1979). At the end of both wars, there was a strong reaction against military values involving the growth of both internationalism and pacifism, especially amongst those on the left of the political spectrum. By the 1960s, military values and, *pari passu*, the military itself was generally unpopular in Britain (Marwick, 1988; Forster, 2012). However, over recent decades there has been a

concerted effort by successive British governments, as well as by the military itself, to promote the armed services and to legitimise the near-permanent state of war. This has been evident across a wide range of contexts. In 2006, the government initiated Veterans Day at the instigation of the then Chancellor of the Exchequer, Gordon Brown, to recognise the contribution of British veterans. This was changed to Armed Forces Day in 2009 and has involved a burgeoning array of events that involve and celebrate the three armed services. There has also been a growth of links between the military and the educational system. Cadet Forces have been expanded in state schools and the Ministry of Defence (MoD) has funded 'military ethos' projects in schools to the tune of £45 million since 2011. The MoD has also provided teaching resources to help promote the armed forces (Ministry of Defence, 2014) and, in addition, has created a programme designed to channel ex-service personnel into the teaching profession through the 'Troops to Teachers' scheme. There have also been examples of secondary school Academies being funded by defence-related companies, most notably BAE Systems's sponsorship of Furness Academy in Cumbria. Remembrance Day has become increasingly prominent in recent years and this intensified in 2014 at the hundredth anniversary of the outbreak of the First World War.

Sport, and Association football in particular, has been at the epicentre of these developments. This chapter describes these changes both in terms of national sporting events but also at the more local level. By so doing, the chapter reveals how sport and the military are increasingly intertwined in contemporary Britain.

The empirical research

The section explores the relationship between football and the military in contemporary Britain. This has become significantly closer in recent years and can be seen as part of an increasing incorporation of the military within mainstream British culture and society. Much of this process is situated within long-standing historical, cultural, political and social templates. Unlike the United States, the process is largely implicit and part of a deeply sedimented, taken-for-granted wider set of ideological assumptions about British life and British nationalism. The research was conducted in 2014 and 2015 and included ethnographic fieldwork primarily in the north-west of England. It involved thirty interviews and a series of observations at a range of football sites, some of which were captured in the photographs used in the main body of the text. These photographs are an important element in the argument put forward in this chapter and represent an example of the increasing use of visual data in contemporary sociological discourse (Rose, 2007; Pink, 2012). As Jay noted in 1993, the visual has been marginal to social science until comparatively recently. Over the last

20 years, sociologists and ethnographers have increasingly incorporated visual materials into their overall research strategies (Margolis and Pauwels, 2011). Such ocular data can be generated relatively easily nowadays using digital cameras, camcorders and mobile phones. Visual data have featured more commonly within the sociology of sport than in sociological analyses of the military (see Hockey and Allen-Collinson, 2006; Chaplin, 2011). This chapter involves a combination of the two, albeit through the use of nine photographs. The underlying theoretical stance of the chapter involves the application of the conceptual framework associated with the 'Annales' School of structuralist history (Braudel, 1949; Duby, 1973). This emphasises three separate arenas for analysis: long-term 'structures', shorter-term 'conjunctures' and immediate 'events' (see Penn, 2013; Penn and Berridge, 2016 for an elaboration of this approach).

Recent sociological literature on sport and the military

The preponderance of recent sociological literature on the relationship between sport and the military has originated from the United States. Over the past two decades, social scientists have highlighted the growing relationship between the entertainment industries and the military in the USA, which has been particularly prominent in the sphere of sport (Butterworth, 2012). In the aftermath of the 9/11 attacks, sport and the media have cultivated highly visible partnerships with the American military. This has led to many sporting events where appreciation has been shown for the military personnel fighting in America's wars overseas, notably in Afghanistan and Iraq. In 2010, for example, Fox TV included live coverage from Afghanistan during its Thanksgiving pre-match football coverage and other networks have staged live broadcasts from US warships on active service, as well as from the Bagram airbase in Afghanistan (Silk, 2012). In 2011, NBC commemorated the tenth anniversary of 9/11 with a special *Sunday Night Football* programme, which witnessed the unrolling of an American flag the size of the entire field of play. New York Fire Department fire fighters, New York Police Department personnel and members of the armed services lined up on the field between the professional football players themselves; Robert de Niro eulogised the civilian victims of 9/11. Subsequently the crowd chanted 'USA! USA!' and George W. Bush came onto the field and flipped the coin to determine ends. This was followed by a highly emotional performance of the 'Star Spangled Banner' (Fischer, 2014). More recently, Donald Trump plugged into these highly charged tropes during his successful campaign to become US President.

Various American authors have produced conceptual schemes of ever-increasing complexity to capture these phenomena in the USA. Hertz (1997) discussed such connections in terms of a 'military-entertainment complex' and Der Derian (2001) followed this up with his own notion of a

'military-industrial-media-entertainment network'. Turse (2008) subsequently generated the notion of a 'new military-industrial-technological-entertainment-academic-scientific-media-intelligence-homeland security-surveillance-national security-corporate complex'. This he labelled in shorthand as 'The Complex'! Unfortunately these abstruse conceptual schemes have tended to elide important empirical variations within abstract relationships that are assumed rather than demonstrated with evidence. Nonetheless, the general thrust of such approaches is to posit an erosion of the boundaries between the military and everyday life in America. Butterworth and Moskal (2009) portrayed this as part of the wider creation of a 'perpetual state of fear and surveillance' by increasingly paranoid US governments. The military were both lauded and normalised as part of 'the natural order of things'. Jansen and Sabo (1994) earlier explained these phenomena in terms of the symbiosis of sport and war within the semiotic systems of contemporary America as revealed by the explicit militarisation of the Super Bowl and other sporting events in the USA since the late 1960s. Fischer (2014: 201) argued that the NFL's commemoration ceremonies are 'complicit in the silent re-empowerment of the neo-liberal state in times of perpetual war'.

This American literature on the sociology of sport and the military shares a general range of features. Much of it is explicitly hostile to the military itself. Indeed, authors make a virtue of their partisanship. There is, consequently, very little discussion of how audiences both at sporting events directly, or watching more remotely on television, respond or react to such developments. There is a powerful 'marxisant' view that such audiences are passive dupes of externally imposed ideological forces that exhibit and exemplify 'false consciousness'. Personal observations made by the author at live US sporting events over the years in San Francisco, Los Angeles, St. Louis, Detroit, Phoenix, Chicago and Los Angeles suggest that the powerful displays of nationalism evident on such occasions appeared consonant with the dominant values of the spectators present and were received with great enthusiasm.

The analysis of the growing relationship between football and the military in Britain presented here is deliberately neutral as to whether these are desirable phenomena. Rather it takes a broadly Weberian (Weber, 1949) stance: what is of interest sociologically is that the relationship has happened and continues to develop and that, in the main, it has received very little comment in Britain from either social scientists (the main exception has been Mason and Reidi's recent study (2010) of the historical relationship of sport and the military) or from general commentators and pundits. Indeed, it is this very silence that is of central interest in this analysis. The chapter is restricted to an analysis of football. There are important links between other sports and the military in Britain – most notably those involving rugby union. However, these are beyond the scope of the present

analysis. Nonetheless, football remains the most important and popular sport in contemporary Britain, in terms of both participation and support.

The triangular relationship of monarch, church and the military in Britain

The connection between the military and football in Britain is deeply sedimented within broader taken-for-granted cultural, political and social relationships, which have powerful historical antecedents. Indeed, the entwining of football and the armed services is part of a wider triadic relationship that sits at the core of British nationalism and of dominant notions of 'Britishness'. The military provides the bedrock for the British monarchy. The monarch is head of the armed services and service personnel swear allegiance to the 'Crown', pledging to protect the monarch and his or her family. No reference is made within these ceremonies either to the nation or to Parliament. The Royal Family itself has a long association with all the armed services. Prince William and Prince Andrew were both Royal Air Force (RAF) pilots and Prince Harry was an army officer, serving in Afghanistan until recently. Earlier, the Duke of Edinburgh also served in the Royal Navy, as did many of the current Queen's ancestors. Regiments and warships receive royal names and members of the Royal Family often appear in military uniforms in their ceremonial roles as heads of various branches of the armed services. This was evident both at the funeral of the Queen Mother in 2002 and more recently at Prince William's marriage when he wore his uniform as colonel in the Irish Guards (a regiment in the British Army).

The monarch is, of course, also head of the Church of England and has been since the time of Henry VIII. The military are also closely connected to the established Anglican Church. In Holywood, in County Down, Northern Ireland (a part of the United Kingdom) army personnel from the local barracks attended the cenotaph in the centre of the town on 10 November 2013 and then marched up to the nearby Church of St Philip and St James (which is part of the Anglican Church), for a Service of Remembrance that was identical in form and content to those taking place simultaneously in the Church of England on the mainland. Behind the pulpit within the church itself was a memorial to a deceased British soldier from the town who had died during the First World War and had been awarded the Victoria Cross (see Figure 10.1). His marble epitaph had the Union flag as its background motif. Surrounding the font at the other end of the aisle hung a series of regimental standards from the British army and the British Legion, all of which also contained the Union flag. These symbols and objects are standard in all Anglican churches in the UK (as illustrated in Figure 10.2 from Hexham Abbey in Northumbria in England), but they have particular resonance in Northern Ireland as signifiers of the majority population's British heritage.

Figure 10.1

Football, the military and the monarchy

Football in Britain is linked to this triangular relationship of the monarchy, established Anglican religion and the military in a variety of ways. Football is closely connected to the Royal Family. George V attended many FA Cup Finals in the early decades of the twentieth century. The first was in 1914. Subsequently he made it known that ‘Abide with Me’ – the Cup Final hymn sung since 1927 – was both his and his wife’s favourite (see Russell, 2008; Nannestad, 2010). This was introduced into the repertoire and choreography of successive FA Cup finals as part of the general commemoration of the military sacrifice made during World War I and was part of a much wider set of traditions created during the 1920s to commemorate the slaughter during the First World War (Ashplant, Dawson and Roper, 2000). The hymn had been sung earlier in the trenches by Allied troops during World War I. Nowadays it is accompanied at Wembley by a military band, which also marches up and down the pitch playing military marching tunes prior to kick-off and during the half-time interval. In a real sense, these features embody central elements in the ‘invention of a modern tradition’ around football, the military and the FA Cup Final (Hobsbawm and

Figure 10.2

Ranger, 1983). Weber defined the nation as unified around memories of a common political destiny, central to which was war; indeed, societies remember the past through very specific constructs, within which warfare has been pivotal (Connerton, 2000). Images of the past also serve to legitimate the present social order. This became increasingly apparent in 2014 with extensive commemorations of the start of World War I, particularly on BBC television and radio.

The Queen attended her first FA Cup Final in 1949 when she presented the trophy and has attended many since, as well as the World Cup Final at Wembley in 1966. Prince William, a keen player and fan, is currently President of the English Football Association (FA) and regularly attends the Cup Final. The armed services are also closely involved with the internal organisation and governance of the FA. Currently all three branches – the

Army, the Navy and RAF – have representatives sitting on its governing body. Indeed, football has been an integral part of the sporting activities within the British armed services since the game's inception in the last third of the nineteenth century (Fuller, 1991).

The crisis of legitimacy

During the 1970s, crowds at Wembley became increasingly reluctant to sing either the hymn 'Abide with Me' or the National Anthem. Often they would drown these out with their own songs such as 'You'll Never Walk Alone' when Liverpool were one of the finalists. Pop stars like Rod Stewart were brought out to try and engage with the fans without any evident success. This was part of a general distrust of traditional exhibitions of patriotism associated with the rebellious late 1960s and 1970s (see Garvy, 2007; Gildea, Mark and Warring, 2013). It also had a strong class and ethnic element that still is in evidence when certain England players conspicuously fail to sing the National Anthem before international fixtures. A turning point occurred with the Falklands War in 1982 when singing the UK National Anthem 'God Save the Queen' became fashionable again. This initiated a re-militarisation of the Cup Final and a recalibration of its ideological traditions. This has intensified since the invasions of Iraq and Afghanistan and has been paralleled at other major footballing events such as the Play-Offs at Wembley that complete the season in England. At the 2008 Play-Off Final, which determined promotion from Division 2 to Division 1 played between Rochdale and Stockport County, a range of service personnel from different arms of the military marched around the perimeter of the pitch to loud applause prior to the game (see Figure 10.3). These developments paralleled a wider transformation in the way military sacrifice had come to be represented in Britain (King, 2010).

The 2014 and 2015 English FA cup finals

During the preliminaries to the 2014 English FA Cup Final at Wembley in London between Arsenal and Hull City, a sailor in full uniform brought the new FA Cup onto the pitch and placed it on a plinth with both clubs' sets of ribbons. This merited no comments from the match presenters on BT Sport, which was showing the match live on television. In the press the next day, there was also a complete silence about this aspect of the immediate build-up to the game. Subsequently, more than 20 people who had watched the build-up to the game on television were interviewed and not one reported noticing these events! This prompted the present research into what these events signified and into the current relationship between professional football and the military in Britain. A very similar set of phenomena featured during the 2015 English FA Cup Final between Aston Villa and

Figure 10.3

Arsenal. Music before the match was played by the Band of the Brigade of Gurkhas. This was not mentioned at all on BBC1 or BT Sport, which both televised the game live. In fact, the choice of the Gurkhas (who originate from Nepal) was deeply symbolic of their historic imperial links since 2015 represented the 200th anniversary of their service within the British Army. The FA Cup was brought onto the pitch and placed on a plinth by a Gurkha soldier in full uniform. This was not shown on BBC nor mentioned by their commentary team. BT, on the other hand, showed the episode but did not comment upon it. The soldier was Sergeant Dipprasad Pun who had received the Conspicuous Gallantry Cross for his actions in Afghanistan in 2010. Subsequently the hymn ‘Abide with Me’ was sung by a choir of 64 fans, each of whom represented one of the 64 clubs who featured in the third round of that year’s competition. The BBC commentator called it ‘one of those great traditions of the Cup Final’, despite its novel character.

Renewed nationalism

As has been described earlier, during the build-up to the 2014 FA Cup Final at Wembley, the band of the Welsh Guards provided the music for the hymn ‘Abide with Me’ and a sailor placed the new FA Cup trophy on a plinth on the pitch before the players walked out for the match. The sailor – Liam O’Grady – had won the Military Cross in Afghanistan in 2012. This was

followed by Prince William being introduced to the two teams, followed by a lusty rendition of 'God Save the Queen'. These rituals are part of a collective unconscious of sedimented taken-for-granted nationalistic tropes and assumptions built into the very fabric of successive FA Cup Finals. Such is the level of ideological routinisation that these features no longer merit comment. Football's showcase end of season match is celebrated amidst the monarch (or her representative), the military and the communal singing of religious and patriotic/nationalistic songs. In a real sense, the nation is re-imagined (Anderson, 1983), re-created and celebrated anew but within tightly circumscribed parameters. However, as always at such occasions, there is a profound ambiguity as to which nation (or nations) is being evoked. Is it Britain or England or both? The monarch herself represents both as does the National Anthem, whilst the Welsh Guards clearly represent another part of the UK and not England, a complexity enhanced by the fact that major Welsh football teams feature in the FA Cup competition itself. This ambiguity is a long-standing feature of British nationalism, forged as it was in the eighteenth century amidst military conflict with France at a time of burgeoning imperial ambitions (Colley, 1992).

Football and the military: local links

The increasing links between football and the military in Britain can also be seen clearly at a more local level at specific English professional football clubs. Bolton Wanderers, for instance, has a Book of Remembrance built into the structure of the Macron Stadium (formerly the Reebok Stadium) (see Figure 10.4). This originally commemorated those Bolton spectators who had died at the Burnden Park (their previous ground) disaster in 1946. More recently, it has been extended to include the names of other Wanderers' supporters who have passed away. The pages are turned daily in a way that mimics Books of Remembrance for fallen members of the armed services in Anglican churches (see Figure 10.5). The club also holds an Annual Service of Remembrance for those listed in the Book of Remembrance, which starts pitch-side and then moves into a suite inside the stadium itself. Here the names of all those who have been added to the Book of Remembrance over the last twelve months are read out. In addition, all the names in the Book are scrolled onto a screen and families can light a candle to commemorate their deceased loved ones. Generally between three and four hundred people attend. This is complemented by readings from the Bible plus the singing of 'Abide with Me'. In 2014 a generic commemorative message was added to the Book of Remembrance on 4 August (the anniversary of the UK's entry into World War I) as a memorial to the dead of the First World War. A Remembrance Service to commemorate the centenary of the outbreak of the First World War was also held at the stadium in August 2014 (see Figure 10.6).

Figure 10.4

Figure 10.5

Figure 10.6

In 2013 the club created a new Duke of Lancaster Regiment Suite within their stadium. This was based on a desire to recognise the dead in recent years from the local Regiment, many of whom had been Wanderers' supporters. In the words of the club's chaplain, Phil Mason, this is part of the club's wish to recognise military service for country as a 'part of everyday life'. The club sends mementos to troops serving abroad with the Regiment. On Remembrance Day itself (11 November), the club holds a short ceremony and then the traditional two minutes' silence at the pitch-side for those Bolton Wanderers' employees who wish to attend and it also supports the British Legion's Poppy Appeal at an appropriate home match. In 2014 the club commemorated the outbreak of the First World War a century earlier. Bolton Wanderers has a long tradition of supporting charities that assist veterans of the armed forces and announced that BLESMA – The Limbless Veterans Charity – was their national charity of choice for the 2014/2015 season. This had the wholehearted support of the club's new Italian shirt sponsors – *Macron* – who recognised a shared history of mass slaughter in Britain and Italy during the First World War. In September 2014 the club brought out a special, limited edition green 'military-style' third strip for wearing at certain away games during the 2014/2015 season to support BLESMA (see Figure 10.7). For each shirt sold, the charity received £10. The shirt had the words 'Lest We Forget' embossed on the reverse with the words from Laurence Binyon's poem 'For the Fallen' featured inside the neck label (see Figure 10.8).

These recent developments are situated within a long tradition of close relations between Bolton Wanderers and the military. Famously, in August 1939, at the beginning of the new league season, the captain of the first team announced to the home crowd that the entire team was going to join up immediately after the match. This they did and the team were incorporated into the 53rd Field Regiment of the Bolton Artillery that faced action in the North African, Italian and Normandy campaigns as part of the Eighth Army from 1941 onwards (Purcell and Gething, 1996). This paralleled earlier examples of footballers joining the army as volunteers in 1914 and 1915 (see Foley, 2007; Terret and Mangan, 2012; McCrery, 2014), most notably the Footballers' Battalion (the 17th) of the Middlesex Regiment which saw action at the Battle of the Somme in 1916 and incurred heavy casualties (Riddoch and Kemp, 2011).

Remembrance and nationalism

Remembrance itself is situated within broad tropes of British nationalism. The commemorating of the sacrifices made in successive World Wars is intimately connected to the victories in these conflicts. The addition of successive wars to the litany of sacrifice serves also to incorporate them into this broad commemorative matrix (King, 2015). However, many of

Figure 10.7

Figure 10.8

Britain's military engagements since 1945 have been far less successful and some, notably the invasion of Suez in 1956, were disasters politically and failed to achieve their military aims. The wars in Iraq and Afghanistan have been increasingly seen as mistakes by the majority of the British population and in many respects as failures (see Hines et al., 2015). Currently, at the time of writing, the British government is in the process of pursuing wars in Syria and in Libya, despite strong popular hostility.

The commemoration of the centenary of the outbreak of the First World War in 1914 ratcheted up these phenomena throughout 2014. Amidst the commemoration of the enormous numbers who died during the First World War (almost a million dead out of a total military force of around six million), the military was prominent. They embodied the continuities between past and present, thereby eliding and obfuscating the nature of contemporary military entanglements, whilst to a large degree legitimising them. This was seen clearly before the kick-off at Villa Park on 2 November 2014. Prior to the game between Aston Villa and Tottenham Hotspur, a bugler from the Signals Regiment played the 'Last Post'. On the perimeter of the pitch a group of veterans from the Normandy landings in 1944 were lined up and members of the current armed services stood to attention during the minute's rendition. The crowd of 32,000 remained totally silent during this episode. The television commentary was restricted to stating that the minute's silence 'had been totally respected by the crowd'. None of the other elements were explained or even noted. Similar phenomena occurred at the match between Liverpool and Chelsea at Anfield on 8 November 2014. The commemoration of the centenary of the outbreak of World War I was situated within televised shots of both current servicemen and veterans standing to attention during the minute's silence at the ground. Past and present were conflated and the presence of the military in uniform – itself a relatively uncommon site – linked past sacrifice and the current military into one integrated visual spectacle.

There was an interesting difference in the style of commemoration between football and rugby union over that weekend. During the former it was the outbreak of the First World War that was commemorated, whilst at the two rugby union international matches at Twickenham in London and at the Millennium Stadium in Cardiff, explicit references were made by television commentators to the 'sacrifices' made in both World Wars and more recently, in Iraq and Afghanistan. This message was reinforced by soldiers located on the perimeter of the national flags laid out on the pitch. They were dressed in combat uniforms as if ready for war. The uniforms themselves were in the new 'desert' camouflage style. The link with the increasing involvement of the military in Iraq and Syria was there hidden in plain sight! These phenomena are built upon deeply sedimented popular cultural references. The chant popular with England football fans 'Two World Wars and One World Cup' emphasises the trope of victory. This is

reinforced by films, magazines, television programmes and even comics. Fans also sing or whistle the theme tune to *The Great Escape*, a film about prisoners of war escaping from a German camp in World War II which culminated in the murder of many of them upon recapture. This is the central ambiguity at the core of remembrance. The sacrifices made in the two World Wars were in pursuit of victories that were and remain relatively uncontroversial. Indeed they underpin strong elements of the national narrative, which includes 'Standing Alone' and the bravery of 'The Few'. This has become increasingly evident since the Brexit Referendum in June 2016. More recent conflicts have been much more controversial. It is by no means clear that either the Iraq wars or the Afghan war were victories or even successful. Remembrance also evokes collective thoughts of futility and destruction. Remembering is clearly a double-edged sword.

Football and the military: further local links

Carlisle United represents another English professional football club that exemplifies more general links between football and the military at a local level. Seven years ago the club joined the 'Tickets for Troops' scheme. This mimicked earlier US schemes such as *Gameday for Heroes* and *Seats4Soldiers* and provides free tickets for members of the armed services to attend Carlisle United home matches. This was partly because the Duke of Lancaster Regiment (also the club's local Regiment as a result of the reorganisation of the army) was deployed at the time in Afghanistan and there was a sizeable contingent of Carlisle United fans there on active service. On three occasions the club arranged special celebrations for the return of the Regiment from overseas' tours of duty (twice to Afghanistan; once to Northern Ireland). On these occasions, ten soldiers provided a guard of honour for the players' entry onto the pitch and also brought the ball out to present it to the referee (see Figure 10.9). These soldiers were provided with free tickets, food and hospitality. Around 11 November each year, the players commemorate Remembrance Day by wearing black arm bands with a poppy on them along with many other teams in Britain. Every summer the Duke of Lancaster Regiment's Outreach Team visits the club to provide military-style training as part of the club's pre-season preparations.

Challenges to the increasingly close relationship between football and the military

The increasingly symbiotic relationship between football and the military evident in Britain over recent years has not gone unchallenged. Explicit hostility to the incorporation of military themes within professional league football has centred on spectators and players who contest the current constitution of the United Kingdom, particularly the status of Northern

Figure 10.9

Ireland. In 2010, spectators at Celtic Park in Glasgow held up a large banner on the day the club had agreed that their players would wear a poppy on their shirts to commemorate Remembrance Day. This read 'Ireland, Iraq, Afghanistan; No Blood Stained Poppy on Our Hoops; Your Deeds Would Shame All the Devils in Hell'. The Celtic club and its supporters have a long-standing historical connection to the cause of Irish nationalism, which is symbolised by the flying of the Irish tricolour over its ground. In 2012 the Sunderland player, James McClean, who had grown up in the Nationalist Creggan estate in Derry in Northern Ireland where six of the dead shot by British paratroopers in controversial circumstances on 'Bloody Sunday' in 1972 had lived, refused to wear a special shirt with a poppy on its chest as part of the Remembrance Sunday commemoration. McClean has continued with this stance in the period since at Wigan and West Bromwich Albion, to the increasing anger of many English football supporters.

Conclusion

The phenomena outlined in this chapter and illustrated by the photographic evidence that has been included reveal a powerful and burgeoning link

between English football and the military. Much of it remains invisible in the main, scarcely worthy of comment in most cases within the media. This raises important theoretical and conceptual issues. How can one interpret phenomena that are both invisible and present? Discourse analysis (see Gee, 1999; Wooffit, 2005) provides a way of simultaneously probing what is present and what is absent. However, in the case presented here, the phenomena are present but generally invisible. In many ways they represent the unexamined backcloth to professional football in contemporary England. They are seen as 'natural' by media commentators, crowds at matches and, in all probability, by most television audiences as well. They represent a classic example of cultural hegemony whereby dominant ideological nationalist assumptions present a particular representation of what is 'normal' and 'natural' (Merleau-Ponty, 1968). They also represent and exemplify the changing role of the military in contemporary British culture. There has been a long-standing suspicion of the military in Britain historically. Alone among the main combatant nations in 1914, Britain did not make use of conscription for providing its military forces. This was grounded in a long-standing hostility to notions of a 'standing army' and the press-ganging of sailors into the navy. For the last 200 years most of the British army has been billeted abroad as a cornerstone to the wider imperial project. Its barracks in Britain were (and remain) largely outside the large conurbations where the vast majority of the British population live. Soldiers, sailors and RAF personnel are rarely to be seen in British cities, partly because generally they do not wear their uniforms when off-duty.

Nonetheless, despite the fact that Britain has been in an almost permanent state of war since 1945 (Dorling, Newman and Barford, 2008; Smith, 2014), the Falklands War in 1982 marked a seminal moment in the relationship between the military and wider British society (Middlebrook, 2012). The television pictures from Goose Green and the assault on Stanley rendered the war immediate and graphic to the population back in the UK. It is interesting to note that in the early years of the author's teaching at Lancaster University, the Falklands War stood out as the only political issue where students came to blows with each other. The Falklands War also represented a turning point in public perceptions of Britain's military. This has been ratcheted up further as a result of the Iraq and Afghan Wars. The paradox is that whilst these wars have become increasingly unpopular (Hines et al., 2015), the military have become more and more centre stage in Britain. The pervasive power of such ideological hegemonic assumptions renders the phenomena examined in this chapter for the most part invisible. They embody a scopic regime that is simply not seen by most participants and audiences in English football. In a real sense, these phenomena, which are highly visual, have been rendered culturally and politically invisible. They are hidden in full sight. They are the equivalent of cultural wallpaper (Keeble, 2010) – there but rarely seen or acknowledged. The photographs presented as corroborative evidence in this

chapter are also of a similar status: they delineate key visual aspects of phenomena that are generally invisible.

The argument presented in this analysis is significantly different from most US literature on the relationship between sport and the military. The practices and patterns under scrutiny in Britain are far less explicit than those evident in the USA. They are understated, subtle, scarcely visible, hidden in plain view but nonetheless powerful. They represent part of an emergent set of phenomena in the present conjuncture. Are these phenomena new? In certain respects the present conjuncture represents a new phase in the complex and ambiguous structural relationship between the military and popular sentiment in Britain (King, 2015). In the case of football there has been an increasing interpenetration of the two institutional spheres. However, these developments also represent a return to an earlier relationship between the two which was evident during the two twentieth-century World Wars and also in the immediate post-1945 era. This was partly underpinned by the large number of men (and to a lesser extent women) who had direct experience of military service through conscription. This ended in 1960. The 1960s and 1970s witnessed an increasing disconnect between popular sentiments and the military in Britain. This has been progressively reversed since the Falklands War and the phenomena analysed in this chapter reveal some of its central features in the sphere of football.

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Sporting spectacle, 9/11 and the reconstitution of the American nation

Michael Silk

Within this chapter I centre on a specific moment in history – the aftermath of the events of September 11, 2001 (hereafter 9/11). In particular, I focus on the role of sport (mediated and commodified) within a period of ‘hot nationalism’ (Billig, 1995), a time that saw American security disrupted and in which there emerged an exacerbated display of national sentiment. Sport was fully bound within the immensely public grieving in the immediate aftermath of 9/11, a time that featured a forced material and discursive inf(lection of ‘Americanness’ – a re-examination of nationhood at a fundamental level. Indeed, sport provided an unprecedented space for the critical interrogation of the American national imaginary in the wake of 9/11. Even though this is an important name-date (Redfield, 2008), the messages, narratives, rhetoric, policies, and structures that acted upon (and within) sport in the aftermath of 9/11 have a deeper history. That is, the embedded nature of the sport and the media, the role of the media as a harbinger for war/nation, or indeed, the use of sport as de facto cultural shorthand for nation (see Silk and Andrews, 2001) did not magically appear as a knee-jerk response to the events of this day. These structures and processes have been in place for some time, and have been delineated at length in excellent scholarship that has identified the relationships between sport, the media, and (national) culture (e.g. Andrews, 2006; Bairner, 2001; King, 2009; Maguire, 1999; Newman and Giardina, 2010; Rowe, McKay and Miller, 1998).

9/11, the nation, and sport

Suggesting that sport plays a role in the delineation of particular national (and imperial) sensibilities is, of course, far from new. The twentieth century witnessed a strengthening of the bond between the discursive (re)production of specific national cultures and select sporting practices, such that sport has become arguably the most emotive vehicle foregrounded in the material relations of the temporal conjuncture. Often involving the simplification, amplification, (de)politicisation, and (re)invention of nation,

sporting discourse readily reflects and reproduces social hierarchies, is often highly gendered, and offers particular constructions of *the* character, culture, and the historical trajectory of people, constructions that by their very nature are acts of inclusion and exclusion (cf. De Cillia et al., 1999; Hobsbawm, 1990; Hogan, 2003; Silk and Falcous, 2005, 2010). Indeed, these 'narratives of nation' (Hall, 1992) at major sporting events are also far from new; David Rowe and colleagues (1998) suggested major sporting events, such as the Olympics, World Cup soccer, and the Commonwealth Games, are the most concentrated and powerful intersections of media, nation, and sport, despite (perhaps in spite of) the political, economic, and cultural trajectories of globalisation. In this sense, sporting discourses, practices, and experiences often serve as a juncture for particular dominant groups to further (re)define the parameters of *the* 'sanctioned' identity, and are often mobilised and appropriated with regard to the organisation and discipline of daily life, in the shaping and 'education' of citizens, and in the service of particular corpo-political agendas (Giroux, 2001; Grossberg, 1992, 2006).

Yet, despite the role sport plays in the shaping of the citizenry, critical discussions of national identity in and through American sport have to some degree been absent (Bairner, 2001). To interrogate sport, then, as a particularly 'lustrous' and affective cultural form, requires critical examination with respect to how sporting events, spectacles, (hi)stories, and technologies of corporeal recollection and embodiment become ingrained with the discourses of nation, subjectivity, fear, regulation, and consumption (Giroux, 2000; Giardina, 2005). To understand the meanings of nation in this moment is also to understand how the producers of popular culture and the political elite worked complicity to manufacture particular understandings, especially at a time of disruption or crisis. Of import and interest in this chapter are the ways in which the state, sporting organisations, transnational corporations, and media organisations (and the lines between these are blurred at best) operated with a collective affinity to reproduce and co-produce meanings about 9/11 through televised sporting rhetoric and discourse.

9/11 struck 'America as a thunderclap, disclosing something that had been excised or repressed before: namely, the vulnerability of the country in the midst of a relentlessly globalizing world' (Dallmayr, 2002: 138). This provoked, aroused, a slumbering gargantuan; one that looked inwards in the reassertion of its mythical self, a need to (re)define itself and defend its identity (Coles, 2002). The context provided the opportunity for the discursive production of American 'national fantasies' (Berlant, 1991) and a *revision of the past* that reflected the interests of US (read global) capital. Indeed, the (re)emergence of national sentiment and fantasies in the (re)discovery of self was deeply reliant on specific, and selected, versions of the past within the post-9/11 present. To reassert itself, to carefully contour

and discursively reconstitute an 'authorised' past by powerful groups at particular points in time, required dipping into the vaults of the past, and picking out selected/preferred events, bodies, and histories for performance in the present. Of course remembering the past also required a collective forgetting, a collective amnesia (Renan, 1990). In this sense, and in the post 9/11 moment, the reconstitution of an 'authorised' past did not attempt to convey historical veracity; rather, the representation and mythologising of the nation in the post-9/11 period acted to reshape (manipulate) past events to the relevancies of the post 9/11 moment (Smith, 1999: 185).

In addition to the spectres of the past, and as Sassen (2002: 242) proposed, 9/11 meant that governments 'had to re-enter domains from which they had withdrawn ... in an era of privatization and market rule, we are facing the fact that governments will have to govern a bit more'. For Sassen (2002) this did not necessarily mean a return (if we ever left) to old forms of a nation-state paradigm in which countries surrounded themselves with protective walls. However, the post-9/11 *zeitgeist* charged the debates over multilateralism and internationalism, as well as the multifarious spaces in between (Dallmayr, 2002; Sassen, 2002). Indeed, in the conjuring up of the spectres of state sovereignty, emerging from behind the 'mirage of imperial sovereignty' (Wang, 2002: 48), the 'otherness of the other' (p. 53) was rediscovered (if it was ever actually lost) and created a rupture (see Cocco and Lazzarato, 2002) in the neoliberal ascendancy of the market immediately following 9/11. Even though state sovereignty may not have been totally eclipsed prior to 9/11, following this date, there was a (re)emergence of a sovereign nation-state that mobilised political will, civic spirit, patriotism, and a zeal for homeland security that silenced dissent and curtailed civil liberties (Wang, 2002). Indeed, this was a decidedly undemocratic moment, in which citizenship – in its fullest sense – was suspended and in which being American meant supporting the war on terror and aligning with President George W. Bush. This led to a re-examination of 'we', a realisation of one 'we' among many others, and a recognition and realisation that America can be 'exceptional' no longer (Dallmayr, 2002). As Croft (2006) argued, the reconstruction of the self – focused on freedom, justice, and 'our' way of life – was a central narrative in the mediated response to 9/11. This is perhaps even more pronounced, not surprisingly, for, at times of rupture, as David Rowe and his colleagues (1998: 133) argued, the nation is conjured up at those moments when an 'affective unity can be posited against the grain of divisions ... the more national-political, economic, and military sovereignty is undermined, the greater the need for states to construct a semiotically potent cultural nation'. In this regard, in the immediate aftermath of 9/11, national symbolism was mobilised as a potent source of collective cohesion that not only signified who belonged, but clearly demarcated and eviscerated (materially and symbolically) particular forms of difference from the national 'we'. These were inf(lect)ions that

mobilised and appropriated the sporting popular as a key symbolic space in the war on the everyday and the death of people, culture, and truth (Denzin, 2012).

Albeit part of a continuous process, the events of 9/11 provided a new context for understanding the relationships among sport, television, culture, pedagogy, and politics. This was a moment in which the state visibly returned (if it had ever been away), in which the military further capitalised on sporting narratives, in which the ruling elites appropriated sport as a space in which to forward political rhetoric, in which the collective affinity between the Pentagon, Hollywood, and the networks reached new heights, in which corporate entities operated to contour national narratives, and in which a rhetoric of fear, terror, religiosity, and moral authority and absolutism was sutured into sporting narratives. It was a moment in which dissent was silenced, a time in which it was not possible to fully articulate a sense of being American outside that which was normalised; it was a moment in which George W. Bush appropriated sport and television, mobilising the affective realm of the mediated sporting spectacle – the popular – to harness, educate, and advance, through sometimes (not so) subtle rhetoric, a particular geo-political trajectory built on economic, military, religious, and ideological domination. This was a moment, then, in which the banal, the sporting popular, was harnessed, politicised, and, as an affective public pedagogy, deployed as soft-core weaponry in a hard-core militarised industrial complex, fighting wars on both a domestic and national stage. It short, this was a moment in which a number of interests – sporting, state, corporate, philanthropic, military – operated with a seeming collective affinity to conjure up nation, to define nation and its citizenry, and to demonise and pathologise others. It was, quite simply, a moment in which televised sport, as a powerful and highly visible pedagogic weapon in the armory of the Bush administration, operated to define ways of being American and thus occlude other ways of being. Within this chapter, I point to two emblematic exemplars – the delayed Super Bowl and the opening ceremony of the 2002 Winter Olympic Games – that both took place in February 2002 to aid understanding of the ways in which the meta-narratives of the ‘war on terror’ become ‘institutionalised’ and ‘embedded’ (Croft, 2006; Jackson, 2009) in the sporting popular.

The sanctioned sporting nation

As US nationalism faced a challenge to its self-referentiality and its existentialism, it became more conscious of itself in the cold light of an externally enforced rationality (Hedetoft, 1999): sport was central to this re-awakened consciousness. The meta-narratives of the response to 9/11 (Croft, 2006) – in sport, initially sutured with baseball (see Butterworth, 2008) – were especially pronounced through two events that took place within days of each

other and some five months after 9/11: the delayed 2002 Super Bowl and the opening ceremony of the Salt Lake City 2002 Winter Olympics. The 'sanctioned' sporting discourse of February 2002 appropriated and mobilised the affective orientation of popular commodity signs in the substantiation of a post-9/11 corpo-political American rhetoric. Deployed through multiple agents (media outlets, advertising, Olympic committees, national governing bodies of sport, presidential appearances at particular sporting events, and the rhetoric of key political leaders) who appropriated, and mobilised sport within certain dominant definitions of 'nation' and 'other', these events stressed the enduring resonance of nation and offered occasions for potent significations of the local (see Andrews and Cole, 2002; Rowe, 2003; Silk and Andrews, 2001). These were sanctioned sporting performances of nation that built upon 'common' histories, mythologies, and memories, no matter how exclusionary and fabricated, which, through particular reconstructions of history, linked the present to the past (Hall, 1994, in De Cillia et al., 1999). These were narratives that reordered chronology and emphasised certain events or meanings while simultaneously downplaying, ignoring, or marginalising others; they explored, mourned, and exorcised the past to enable 'us' to come to terms with the present (Cook, 2005). Simply put, the sanctioned sporting narratives of nation in the post 9/11 moment reconfigured and colonised the past 'by obliging it to conform to present configurations' (Hutton, 1988: 311), and which acted to obfuscate any lines between truth on one side and myth, ideology, and illusion on the other (White, 1996).

Re-telling history: Hope, Heroes, and Homeland

In this moment, the ghosts of America's past – or more accurately, specific, 'selected', and sanctioned spectres – were rolled out in multiple popular cultural forms as part of a 'gigantic abreaction' (Baudrillard, 2001) to the events of 9/11. These sanctioned narratives centred, for example, on the signing of the Declaration of Independence, the 'winning of the west', the golden age of World War II, and the 'Cold War'. Often reducing and reconfiguring the past to the geo-political trajectories of the conjunctural moment, and leaving the consumer with a 'moral' message and a feeling of uplift, the mediated representations of Super Bowl XXXVI and the Salt Lake City opening ceremony drew on selected elements of *the* collective memory (Halbwachs, 1950), retelling histories in line with the reconstitution and reproduction of social hierarchies. Fox Television's Super Bowl pre-game show was based on the narrative *Hope, Heroes, and Homeland*, a self-examining, self-referential, existential narrative of the American nation in the wake of an ontological social and historical disruption (Giroux, 2002) wrought by 9/11. The *Hope, Heroes, and Homeland* narrative theme, introduced by then Secretary of State Donald Rumsfeld, ran

throughout the pre-game, post-game, and half-time segments of the 2002 Super Bowl, and attempted to redefine *the* national identity in the light of an externally enforced rationality. In particular, following Healey (1997), through the 'performance of the past within the present', American history, or more precisely, a mediated, highly selective, commodified pastiche of the past, was acted out through this theme in multiple ways.

The cultural producers at Fox Sports engaged in the discursive construction and reproduction of national identity through strategies of dissimulation, through clearly marking off the threatening and abject 'other' (during the 2002 Super Bowl this was most notably Afghanistan), and assimilation, through the selective remembering (and thereby collective amnesia) of the past. Fox's Super Bowl XXXVI pre-game show opened with a 'live' satellite image of the globe, with two points clearly marked: Afghanistan and the Louisiana Superdome (which itself was graphically reinscribed in the collective memory, given its key location for the exposure of massive social and racial containment after Hurricane Katrina in 2007), the venue of the 2002 Super Bowl. The satellite image gradually zoomed in on the Superdome; however, Afghanistan was far from forgotten throughout the remainder of the broadcast. There were numerous visits to Kandahar, where Fox, along with the American Forces Network, had gathered troops on active duty to watch the game in the desert. Indeed, part of the show's presentational component took place 'live from Kandahar', in 'postcards' from Afghanistan (in which military personnel sent home messages to friends and family). At one stage this featured a proposal of marriage across cyberspace – the masculine war rhetoric (see Jansen and Sabo, 1994) being rescued, if it was under question, with the use of a hand-grenade ring in lieu of a jeweller's ring (she said yes). In these segments, the viewer was invited to *remember*, or perhaps more accurately, not to *forget*, the service personnel overseas who were 'fighting for American freedom'. To aid this narrative, lengthy archive footage of those lost in Vietnam was utilised, as were graphics throughout the broadcast that tied football with militaristic metaphor:¹ animated servicemen intertwined with the Stars and Stripes and, of course, the Fox Television logo. However, the wider appropriation of contemporary football stars existing as 'heroes' alongside those whom Fox redefined as 'post-9/11 heroes' – police, firefighters, and military personnel – appeared as part of a wider strategy of incorporating football as a cornerstone of the (re)imagined nation.

The Fox-defined 'representative subjectivities' (Marshall, 1997) of the American nation not only dominated graphical representation, these 'heroes' also performed key perfunctory duties, within the heavily propagandistic and carefully choreographed pre-game show. As a coterminous element of the wider narrative, commercials that played throughout the game reflected, and supported, the *Hope, Heroes, and Homeland* theme. Unsurprisingly, spots for products as diverse as RadioShack, M-Life, Levis,

Budweiser, Michelob, Charles Schwabb, the Drug Enforcement Agency, and Pepsi, to differing degrees, paid homage to an American nation recovering from a social disruption of 'normalcy'.² Such strategising clearly played on the American populace's social disruption, reaffirming relevant brands within the reconstituted national imaginary, with freedom being defined as the right to pursue individual interest and consume as one chooses (Giroux, 2002).

The process of *re*-membering, as Billig (1995) proposes, simultaneously involves a process of collective forgetting to allow a nation to celebrate its historical recentness. This process was clearly evident in the discursive rhetoric constructed through Fox Television's representation of Super Bowl XXXVI. The main (in both a qualitative and quantitative sense) component of the pre-game broadcast centred on the retelling of particular national histories. Fully in line with the imperatives of the commercial mass media, exemplified in the retelling of the 'Home Depot Declaration of Independence', Fox announced, through various 'representative subjectivities' of the nation (footballers, Hollywood stars, and political officers such as Donald Rumsfeld), that the US was 'united more than ever'. To demonstrate present relevance, the performance of history was spliced with footage of the 'terror attacks' of September 11 and, perhaps more tellingly, the 'good folks at Home Depot' who were taking the 'Home Depot Declaration of Independence' on tour to reaffirm in the minds of distant Americans the values upon which the country was built, no matter whom that excludes or (de)emphasises.³ The production worked, as part of the wider moment, to normalise the 'war on terror', and seduce a 'stupefied citizenry'; they aided in delimiting the possibilities that the audience could take away from the telecast. In this sense, Fox's use of the Declaration of Independence was tantamount to what Stempel (2006) termed 'masculinist moral capital' given that it not only acted as a representation of 'democracy', but served to define democracy in terms that support war, the military, and a certain masculine (hard, not soft) ideal (see Silk, in press, for an elaboration of this argument).

Indeed, the military narrative was embedded throughout: passages of text were read from a naval carrier by serving military personnel, a device that acted to frame the Declaration of Independence as *relational* to the 'war on terror' (bolstered, through incorporating footage from 9/11, New York firefighters, and suggesting that those who were 'sacrificed' on this day did so in the name of freedom and democracy). As an additional element in the selective recollection of past events from the archives of collective historical memories, Fox retold snippets of speeches from Abraham Lincoln through the living former presidents of the US⁴ within the commercial rendition of the (re)imagined nation. This literal retelling of the past – described by Fox host James Brown as 'especially apt right now' – was spoken against the backdrop of the 'wonderfully patriotic' 1942 Aaron

Copland composition *Lincoln Portrait*. As Fox reminded us, 'Copland's stirring music blended with Lincoln's elegant words act to remind Americans still reeling from the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor of their country's history, and to inspire us to continually defend liberty and equality.' Fox then presented the *Lincoln Portrait* 'on film', keying on the 'dogmas of the quiet past [being] inadequate for the stormy present' and on the 'occasion being piled high with difficulty and we must rise to the occasion'. In this rhetoric, Fox provided, as Umberto Eco would say, a discourse on a discourse on a discourse. That is, they revised Copland's revision of Lincoln's words, which themselves were lifted from their historical moorings and utilised as part of the response to Pearl Harbor (although it is far more likely the mythologised account of Pearl Harbor found in Michael Bay's 2000 filmic version that provided Fox's intertextual referent than the actual epic historical moment (see Boggs, 2006)), and then, adding an additional layer of meaning, rearticulated the 1942 revision of Lincoln's words (and the meanings they had with regard to the response to Pearl Harbor) to the post-9/11 moment and the response to the attacks on the Twin Towers. In this sense, not only did Fox rework history, and indeed, an artistic blending of two distinct pasts, but they managed to connect Lincoln, the response to tragedy, and the nobility, courage, and character of the 'greatest generation' of World War II (see Butterworth and Moskal, 2009) with the response to 9/11.

A moral righteousness: a world as it ought to be

Six days after the Super Bowl, the 2002 Salt Lake City Olympic Games opened. NBC's Olympic narrative followed many of the conventions (and indeed was backed by many of the same commercial endorsers) as the previous Sunday's Super Bowl broadcasts. Like their counterparts at Fox, NBC's broadcast keyed on performing America's past within the present. Beginning with a lengthy narrative opening, during which presenter Jim McKay explained that there was 'no turning back ... that nothing has looked the same since we awoke from a slumber to see the heart of darkness and came to live with the souls of heroes, and in defense of liberty, summon a call to arms'; the segment depicted images of the sun setting over the Statue of Liberty, firefighters, police officers, the American flag, the proud display of the medal of valor, and the New York skyline. The narrative continued, suggesting the 'tides of history and the change of seasons are impossible to predict ... the Olympic flame was about to be rekindled in a country, thrust *without warning* into the center of history' (my emphasis). The NBC broadcast stressed unity and peace and the tranquility of a mountainside in Utah, and played heavily on integration and harmony of the citizenry. The opening ceremony itself was based on the 'Light the Fire Within' narrative and contained a number of performative elements,

notably, a piece that recognised the five major tribes who were depicted as Utah's original inhabitants (the first time ever that these tribes had come together at the same event), a cascade of caravans carrying settlers across the West (Spanish missionaries, English and Canadian travellers, Mexicans, Chinese, German and Irish miners, and Mormon pioneers), and finally, as Bob Costas announced the 'train that *joined the nation together*' (my emphasis), a giant train weaving through the stadium to the Dixie Chicks' version of 'She'll Be Coming 'Round the Mountain'.

Following Giddens (1985), these events were dominated by the investment of emotional energy in the symbols of nationhood and in the promise of strong leadership. The national flag became a symbol of this investment; rather than the uncouth, unwaved, unsaluted, and unnoticed flag of Billig's (1995) banal nationalism, the cult of the 'Star Spangled Banner', so heavily desired by 'Americans' that it sold out across the nation, (re)emerged as a waved, noticed, saluted, and counted symbol of nation.⁵ The 'stars and stripes' flag that flew atop the World Trade Center, and that endured the events of 9/11, was a narrative component for both Fox and NBC coverage. It was marched in at both events by heroes of the newly redefined homeland: athletes and members of the Port Authority of New York Police Force; the New York City Police Force; and the New York Fire Department. Bound with the discursive reconstitution of nation after 9/11, the flag was offered as a symbol of future hope, alongside the performance of the US national anthem and 'God Bless America' (sung by New York City policeman Daniel Rodriguez at both the Super Bowl and the Olympics). The flag served as an important physical symbol of this discursive hot nationalist passion that re-emerged; however, it is the meanings that became tied to the flag within the shifting material relations of the US that are perhaps most important in this discussion. As Denzin and Lincoln (2003: xvi) noted, 'we must question flag waving: whose flag is being waved and what does it mean?'

Operating under an Olympic rhetoric of 'peace' and 'harmony', NBC's representation of the opening ceremony drew upon narrative themes that redefined allies and foes and legitimated military intervention in Afghanistan (and subsequently Iraq) as a 'just response' to 9/11. As commentator Bob Costas revealed in the opening segment of the first night of the Olympic Games,

The opening ceremony will *not* convene with a simple ceremony, a ceremony of resonance, where nations have come together to *imagine a world as we wish it could be*, where flags fly with pride, where men and women are not judged by the circumstances of their birth or beliefs but only by the depth of their character and imagination.

(my emphasis)

This thematic narrative was recurrent throughout the opening night. NBC constructed a representation centred on the *world as it ought to be*, a vision that firmly placed, at the centre, *the* legitimate American response to terror. As with Fox's Super Bowl coverage, images of firefighters, police, and sporting heroes were employed to support the narrative that 'the Games represent a story of hope and healing'. This rhetoric, especially in its more self-defining moments, was hyperbolic in addressing ordinary Americans, and following Richard Johnson's (2002) analysis of Bush and Blair's political rhetoric in the weeks following 9/11, made a bid for moral right and hegemony in the world. Through a carefully construed rhetoric of absolute certainty about 'goodness' and a 'caring' way of living, claims were made to a 'power that can legitimately intervene anywhere where American security is involved, and, perhaps, well beyond this too' (Johnson, 2002: 219). Following Johnson (2002), NBC's tyrannical narrative centred on the peculiar construction of the juridical or the concept of 'right' (see also Baudrillard, 2001; McLaren, 2002a, 2002b) and proffered a global moral authority – an authority that spoke with a US voice and a particular version of 'Americanness'. Indeed, and interspersed with images of New York on 9/11, veteran commentator Jim McKay narrated, 'there's no turning back however much we wish we could' and that the Olympic Games would 'paint a landscape of utter tranquility, a world as we wish it could be'.

A central element of the 2002 Olympic spectacle was the lighting of the Olympic flame by Mike Eruzione and other members of the 'miraculous' 1980 gold medal-winning Olympic ice hockey team. Following my earlier work (see Silk, Bracey and Schultz, 2008) on Disney's emplotment of *Miracle* in 2003 (part of the Washwood Alliance between movie studios and Karl Rove, then Bush's Deputy Chief of Staff), the choice of this particular team was clearly bound within the material relations of 9/11; the appearance of the team at the climactic moment of the ceremony evoked Cold War triumphs, served as a symbolic assertion of American power, and allowed the substitution of 'terrorists' for 'commies'. Accordingly, a promise was made to defeat the newly defined enemy in the war on terror (Johnson, 2002; see also Morris, 2002; Wang, 2002).⁶ Importantly, for NBC, past conflicts were rendered 'finished' or 'closed'. As with Afghanistan in 1980 and the allusions to World War II and Vietnam throughout the sporting popular, in NBC's presentation of Native American tribes and in Fox's announcement that Americans no longer 'see in black and white, but beautiful red, white, and blue', both domestic and international conflicts, save of course for the post-9/11 war on terror, were given a sense of closure. These unfinished histories (say of racial and social division in the US, or the Cold War enemy) were instead presented through the sporting popular as closed – 'historical artifact rather than present reality' (Kane, 2004: 564). This of course provided space for the narrative construction of the 'real' enemy, the process of 'otherisation', and the attempts to assemble a set of

allies who were ‘with us’ in the war on terror. In this way, the sporting popular in the post-9/11 moment was a key symbolic space that promoted the burdens of history, the atrocities, errors, and crimes of a *finished* past, legitimating, if not masking, the atrocities of the present (Graham, 2002). With U2 and Paul McCartney having performed during the 2002 Super Bowl, framed as ‘the rest of the world standing up with America’, the parade of nations during the Salt Lake City opening ceremony provided a space to simultaneously align the US with a number of other nations united under the rubrics of an assured moral certainty and supremacy, whilst at the same time, to exclude those nations not operating in the material fruits of Western capitalist expansion. In a series of montages that spliced together ‘tranquil’ winter scenes of the mountains of Utah and images of New York on the morning of 9/11, McKay explained how this ‘tranquility had been rekindled as the [American] nation was thrust without warning into the center of history’ on that ‘morning *without reason*’ (my emphasis).

Following Richard Johnson’s (2002) analysis of political rhetoric at this moment, these sporting events offered a rich and powerful public pedagogy that focused on an ‘expanded “Us” – an “unprecedented global consensus” – ... defined against a paradoxically diminishing “Other” – the terrorists’ (Tony Blair, October 12, in Johnson, 2002: 217). The majority of nations were given a distinctly American frame of reference as they entered the stadium during the parade of nations. However, and congruent with the processes of forgetting and remembering, accolades were reserved for certain countries. France, for example, entered the arena with each athlete holding a flag that on one side revealed the Tricolor, whereas on the other side, the Stars and Stripes led to an excited Bob Costas inviting us to ‘look at the flags, look at the flags’.⁷ Uzbekistan received a rapturous response from Bob Costas, who informed the audience of its shared border with Afghanistan and praised the nation for allowing its land to be used by US troops and aircraft. The biggest accolade was reserved for the British, who not only were lauded for their alignment within a new spatial order, but were given the ‘honor’ of ‘leading in’ former San Francisco quarterback Steve Young who represented the preferred patriarchal body politic of the post 9/11 moment (see Silk, in press).

In contrast to the alignment of nations with the US and ‘our humanity’, ‘our provisional coalition’, and the willingness of countries to do something to ‘help us’ (Moten, 2002), several nations received vastly differing representation by NBC’s commentary team. When Afghanistan should have been next in the parade of nations, Bob Costas reaffirmed their non-presence due to the policies of the Taliban. As Iran entered the arena, they were discussed as part of what President Bush called the ‘Axis of Evil’ in his State of the Union address the previous week (while the camera centred on a ‘stone-faced’ Bush). Here, coverage both echoed and amplified a central doctrine of the post-9/11 political (re)definition of American enemies. NBC’s coverage was mere popular stenograph for the Bush Doctrine, Iraq, Iran, and North

Korea defined as an axis of evil threatening the peace of the world, the world's most dangerous regimes. Through emphasising this narrative, NBC played its part in camouflaging how democracy was being undermined in another relentless attempt to depoliticise politics (Giroux, 2003) and played its role in normalising the escalation in the war on terror (Kellner, 2002). From a tranquil mountainside in Utah, through a supposed banal and apolitical sporting space, the narratives aided in both defining an absolute and tangible 'enemy' (the converse of how Baudrillard (2001) referred to terrorists in the post 9/11 moment as nebulous and viral like) and in reasserting the claim to global support and leadership of a collective of nations 'for freedom' and 'against terrorism' (Croft, 2006).

Concluding thoughts: the irreversibility and fixity of the past?

Within this chapter, I have suggested that within the wider cultural politics of the post-9/11 moment, a 'sanctioned' sporting discourse appropriated and mobilised the affective orientation of popular-commodity signs in the substantiation of a post- 9/11 corpo-political-militaristic American nation. These broadcasts, whilst emblematic, were far from alone – the post 9/11 moment provided a number of sporting occasions from NASCAR to WWE, the Little League, through Collegiate sport to Major League Baseball (see Silk, 2012) – in redefining 'us' and 'them' in this particular moment in history. Forming part of the wider reconstitution of *the* American nation after 9/11, the contouring of identity was heavily politicised – remembering the existential values, meanings, and 'authorised, collectively held past' (Brow, 1990) upon which the nation was 'founded'. At the same time, the nation was depoliticised – forgetting and essentialising difference and diversity through celebration of a harmonious pluralism and the construction of 'sameness' (Sennet, 1999). Somewhat reconfiguring Berlant (1991), this was manifest through promising relief from the struggles of the present through protection of the (national) normal (despite detaching and marginalising certain segments of the 'anti-normative' cultures within the nation) and mobilising the public sphere to fight on behalf of this 'normal', yet fictitious, imagined national hegemonic culture. In this regard, the discursive (re)constitution of *the* national mythology acted as a *foci imaginarii* (Bauman, 1991), which centred on a national response, grounded in past historical victories, to an inexplicable act of terror. This mythologising, in Billig's (1995) parlance the implicit, symbolic, repetitive, and habitual domains, discourses, and practices of nationalism in a time of immense hotness (see also Hearn, 2007), provided citizens with the tools with which to make sense of 9/11: compelling political and pedagogic discourses that clearly indicated who mattered, and who did not, to and for America in the immediate aftermath of 9/11.

In this regard, the post-9/11 sporting popular was as much about social reproduction, cultural production, and moral and political regulation, about the culture of politics and how that culture of politics, in part, educated 'us' toward a particular national (American) future (Robbins, 2009), as it was about the television production of sporting events. In this moment, culture became eminently pedagogic and pedagogy eminently cultural, the symbolic strategising of state/corporate/military interests providing seductive cultural pedagogies that position and shape citizens and external audiences, directing their knowledge and behaviours toward certain ends. The sporting spectacles offered a synthetic and seductive version of America/the American corpus in which difference – or perhaps more accurately, contestations over difference – became banished or erased (Gilroy, 1997). In glorifying militarised attributes of heroism, bravery, and aggression, not only did the moment regressively occlude more egalitarian constructions of masculinity, it served to render women virtually invisible (Vavrus, 2007). Indeed, re-membering, as part of the reconfiguration of nation post-9/11 served to further pathologise 'others'; women, 'suspicious' people of colour, 'non-manly men' unable to rise (to stand tall) and penetrate the mythical territories of a pugnacious yet mutating 'enemy'. Furthermore, and despite erasure and efforts to mask deep and structurally entrenched social, gendered, and racial cleavages in the production of unity ('us') and social and moral righteousness, difference existed not only 'abroad' (them) but also domestically, characterised by assaults on the bodies, psyches, and rights of Arab, Muslim, and South Asian immigrants, as well as the 'Muslim looking' (through official immigration policies, or racial profiling at airports, or on the New Jersey turnpike) (see Ahmad, 2002).

Arguably, and whilst acknowledged that these processes were already deeply entrenched, if anything, the post-9/11 moment normalised the ways in which the state, the military, and the political and economic trajectories of neoliberalism and neoconservatism became sutured to sport. That is, sport became a particularly lustrous and affective cultural form in the service of particular geo-political agendas in the post 9/11 moment.⁸ The legacies of this moment are rife and continue to inform global politics as well as daily life; panics over 'homeland security', international air travel, border-crossing, fear and suspicion of 'others/ed' bodies, international relations, the emergence of 'new' enemies, new forms of warfare, transformations in detention, civil liberties, the mobility and migration of people, surveillance, the design of cities, and so on have seen significant change in the 15 or so years since 9/11. Indeed, at the time of writing, the entrenchment of a coalescence of dangerous ideologies around nation, nationalism, patriarchy, hate, and xenophobia – so manifest in the post 9/11 moment – have come to dominate American politics, nowhere more so than in the 2016 presidential campaign of Republican Donald Trump. There has

perhaps never been a more important task than unpacking this moment and its legacies for American national identity, culture, politics, and everyday life. There has never been a more important time to undertake an exercise in ostranenie, to unpack the normalised sporting popular, to expose its social and structural inequalities, and to make it appear uncomfortable.

Notes

- 1 See Guttman (1978) for example for a detailed account of the history of American football as a substitute for war.
- 2 By way of example, a Budweiser commercial drew on the brand's famous Clydesdales, who were engaging in a journey from the 'snowy Midwest' to New York. In the shadow of the Statue of Liberty, the Clydesdales bowed their heads in respect toward what had then been termed 'Ground Zero'.
- 3 The retelling of the Declaration of Independence has become something of a 'staple' in Fox Super Bowl productions since its first outing in February 2002, a plot deployed to display the cornerstone of American patriotism.
- 4 With Nancy Reagan standing in for her husband, Ronald Reagan, a significant moment because, with the exception of Britney Spears in a Pepsi commercial, this was one of the few times when a female was present, let alone featured.
- 5 A theme repeated in a number of promotional campaigns by a multitude of organisations ranging from 3M to McDonalds, Wal-Mart to Visa.
- 6 This narrative continued throughout NBC's Olympic coverage – one of NBC's Olympic vignettes, for example, visited Sarajevo, site of the 1984 Winter Olympic Games, and focused on the rebuilding of the Eastern Bloc and its realignment with 'Western' commerce – the former enemy through the Olympic sporting spectacle.
- 7 The ephemerality of such discursive constructions is clear in this example – just a few short months later France refused to join a US resolution for war on Iraq. The response included political condemnation, product boycotts, an attempt to introduce a bill to repatriate the remains of US World War II soldiers buried in France, and several restaurants rewriting their menus, replacing 'French fries' with 'patriot fries' (see Moore (2003) for a discussion of Fox's 'official' movement in this direction).
- 8 See especially, the work of scholars such as Michael Butterworth (e.g. 2008; Butterworth & Moskal, 2009), Samantha King (2008, 2009), Josh Newman and Michael Giardina (2010), Mary Vavrus (2007) and Kyle Kusz (2007).

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Shaolin, Buddhism, martial arts and national identity

Lu Zhouxiang

Buddhism was brought to China during the Han dynasty (206 BC–AD 220) by monks from India via the Silk Road. Over the past 2,000 years, Buddhism has been successfully integrated into Chinese culture and has grown into one of the most popular and influential religions in China (Jin and Qiu, 2011). Today, Buddhism is widely regarded as an important, indigenous Chinese tradition (Jansen, Klein and Meyer, 2014). Various schools of Buddhism have developed in China over the course of time, of which Tiantai, Huayan, Pure Land, Vajrayana and Chan are the most popular forms. The development of Buddhism in China led to the building of renowned statues, monasteries and historical sites, including the Longmen Grottoes in Henan, the Guoqing Monastery in Mount Zhongnan (Tiantai) and the Donglin Monastery in Mount Lushan (Pure Land). The Shaolin Monastery in Dengfeng is considered to be the epicentre of the Chan school of Buddhism. It is also well known for its martial arts tradition and has long been recognised as a unique Chinese cultural heritage site and an important symbol of the Chinese nation. Using the Shaolin Monastery as a case study, this chapter intends to examine the relationships between religion, wushu and national identity. It will highlight the role of Shaolin and Shaolin kung fu in the construction of Chinese national identity.

Chan Buddhism, wushu and Shaolin's martial tradition

Following the collapse of the Jin dynasty (AD 265–420), China was divided into the Northern dynasties (AD 386–581) and the Southern dynasties (AD 420–589). In the South, four different dynasties were established in succession, while Northern China saw the rise and fall of five dynasties. This era witnessed endless rebellions, civil wars and unrest. It was also a time when Buddhism spread across the country. After the establishment of the Northern Wei, the first dynasty in Northern China, the Buddhist faith was promoted by Emperor Xiaowen to consolidate the legitimacy of his regime and strengthen the unity of the empire. Funded and supported by Xiaowen and his successors, a large number of Buddhist temples/monasteries were

constructed (Yang, 2012). In 496, Emperor Xiaowen built the Shaolin Monastery 50 miles south-east of Luoyang, the capital city, to accommodate the Indian monk Batuo, who had travelled to China to spread Buddhist teachings. After its establishment, wushu – also known as kung fu or Chinese martial arts – was introduced to the monastery by Batuo's disciples (Wushu Research Academy of the Sports Ministry, 1997). In the following centuries, the Shaolin monks developed a unique school of wushu called Shaolin kung fu, which became an integral part of Shaolin monastic life by the Ming dynasty (Shahar, 2008).

Descriptions of wushu can be traced back to the Shang (1600–1046 BC) and Zhou (1046–256 BC) dynasties. At that time, wushu was an important part of military training (Graff and Higham, 2002). After the collapse of the Han dynasty (206 BC–AD 220), the wars between the Three Kingdoms (AD 220–280) resulted in the further development of wushu as military and combat skills (Qiu, 2008). By the time of the establishment of the Shaolin Monastery, in a context of political chaos and social unrest, wushu was practised by all social classes as a self-defence skill to respond to unanticipated risks. It was also promoted for health and leisure purposes (Wang, 2012). In this period, many civilians and retired soldiers who were wushu practitioners converted to Buddhism. After becoming monks, they continued to practise wushu (Wushu Research Academy of the Sports Ministry, 1997). Like the monks in many other Buddhist monasteries, the monks in Shaolin practised wushu for self-defence and to maintain their health.

Entering the Sui dynasty (581–618), the Shaolin Monastery gradually gained some fame as a centre of Buddhist studies. As a popular monastery near the empire's major city of Luoyang, Shaolin was endowed with geopolitical importance because of its location and religious status. As was the case in some other monasteries, Shaolin monks undertook semi-military wushu training and acted as a security force for the monastery (Yan, 2015). The seventh century witnessed Shaolin's first recorded involvement with politics and saw the Shaolin monks participate in military combat (Shaolin Monastery Editorial Department, 2015a). In 621, Shaolin intended to free the Cypress Valley Estate, which had been awarded to the monastery by Emperor Wen of Sui (541–604), from the hands of warlord Wang Shichong (591–621). Shaolin monks provided military support to the future Emperor Taizong of the Tang dynasty (618–907), Li Shimin (598–649), and took part in a battle against Wang Shichong's nephew Wang Renze and reclaimed the Cypress Valley Estate. In gratitude for Shaolin's support, Li Shimin rewarded the monks. This was recorded in the Shaolin Monastery Stele of 696: 'Emperor Taizhong of Tang's Letter'. Throughout the Tang dynasty, as Buddhism continued to grow in popularity as a religion and philosophy of life, Shaolin enjoyed royal patronage and received donations from the Tang court (Shi, 2013).¹

The Song dynasty (960–1279) saw the rise of Neo-Confucianism and the official promotion of Daoism by the imperial court. Buddhist and Daoist doctrines were incorporated into the framework of Confucianism. This was called ‘the unity of the Three Teachings’ and laid the theoretical foundation for the following dynasties’ social-ethical values and state bureaucratic system. With the continued development of Buddhism, Shaolin maintained its imperial connection and continued to enjoy prosperity. Between the fourteenth and nineteenth centuries, China was ruled in turn by the Mongols, the Han and the Manchus. Despite the changes of dynasty, the rulers of the Yuan (1271–1368), Ming (1368–1644) and Qing (1644–1911) dynasties adopted the Tang and Song ethos and developed a tolerant attitude toward most religions. Buddhism, Confucianism and Daoism continued to integrate and held a dominant position in the religious and philosophical sphere. Shaolin enjoyed favourable treatment from the ruling regimes. In 1248, Möngke Khan (1209–1259), the fourth Great Khan of the Mongol Empire, appointed abbot Shi Fuyu (1203–1275) of Shaolin the Head of the General Administration of Buddhist Affairs (都僧省) to govern all monks of various ethnicities (Wen, 2009). Influenced by Confucianism, Fuyu introduced a patriarchal clan system to Shaolin. He also founded affiliated Shaolin temples in Helin, Yanji, Changan, Taiyuan and Luoyang (Wen, 2009). He passed away in 1275 and was posthumously awarded the title of ‘Grand Preceptor’ (晋国公) by Emperor Renzong of Yuan Buyantu Khan (1285–1320) in 1312 for his contribution to Chinese Buddhism.

When the Yuan dynasty began to fall apart in the mid-fourteenth century, the Shaolin Monastery suffered from political instability. It was attacked by a rebel group called the Red Turban in 1356, but was soon revived after the warlord Zhu Yuanzhang (1328–1398) established the Ming dynasty (Hu, 2012). Zhu was a Buddhist disciple before joining the anti-Yuan rebellion. As the first Ming emperor, he supported the development of Buddhism and launched a series of reforms to regulate and govern Buddhist monasteries/ temples in China. In this period, the Chan school developed into the most popular forms of Chinese Buddhism. As a centre for Chan, Shaolin reached its zenith in the Ming dynasty, housing over 800 monks. A wide range of combat techniques using bare hands, staffs and various weapons had been created by Shaolin monks (Shahar, 2008). Martial arts experts from around the country visited Shaolin to study this unique school of wushu.

It was the combination of Chan Buddhism and wushu that made Shaolin kung fu special. Unlike other forms of Buddhism, which are heavily focused on literacy, Chan is oriented around the practice of meditation. It emphasises the direct and embodied realisation of Buddhist awakening. Like Chan meditation, wushu requires intense training, dedication, persistence and determination, which eventually lead to the realisation and free control of one’s body and mind (Shi, 2015). The special relationship between Chan and wushu practice is reflected in the legendary stories of the Indian monk

Bodhidharma, also known as Damo, who joined Shaolin between the 520s and 530s. Bodhidharma was regarded as ‘the first Chan Patriarch in the Chinese Chan lineage’ (Li, 2012: 261). Shaolin kung fu manuals published in the Ming and Qing dynasties indicate that Bodhidharma invented a series of qi gong exercises called ‘Yi Jin Jing’ (Muscle Development Classic). It was practised by Shaolin monks to build up their physical strength, improve body coordination and enhance mental concentration, which would, in turn, help with Chan meditation. Although historians later discovered that Bodhidharma’s invention of ‘Yi Jin Jing’ was merely a made-up story, it reflected the close relationship between wushu and Chan practice (Tang, 1930).

Also during the Ming dynasty, Shaolin re-established its link with military combat and politics. In the mid-sixteenth century, monks from Shaolin and several other Buddhist monasteries were assembled by the Ming court to battle against Japanese pirates in coastal regions of south-eastern China on several occasions. A battle fought in Song Jiang was described by seventeenth-century historian Gu Yanwu:

During the Jiajing era, a group of thirty Shaolin monks led by Yuekong were assembled by governor Wan Biao to join the battle against the Japanese pirates in Song Jiang. They killed Japanese pirates with iron staffs.

(Zheng, 1999: 47)

These battles helped Shaolin to win the appreciation of the Ming rulers. The Ming court waived taxes for Shaolin and provided funding to build the Thousand Buddhas Hall and to refurbish other buildings. Shaolin’s contribution to the battles against the Japanese pirates was later given patriotic significance when modern ideas of nationalism and national consciousness started to take root in China in the early-twentieth century, and the monks who had sacrificed their lives in the battles were honoured as heroes who had fought for the nation’s sovereignty.

After the establishment of the Qing dynasty, the Manchu rulers officially supported Buddhism and ruled the country with a Confucian-based bureaucratic system and cultural values. Shaolin received favourable treatment from the Qing government. In 1704, the second Qing Emperor Kangxi (1654–1722) wrote calligraphic inscriptions for the monastery. In 1735, the Yongzheng Emperor (1678–1735) provided funding for Shaolin to rebuild the monastery’s main gate and the Thousand Buddhas Hall. In 1750, the Qianlong Emperor (1711–1799) visited Shaolin and wrote poems for the monastery. Although Shaolin monks continued to practise wushu, they kept a low profile because the Qing government banned the teaching, learning and performance of wushu in public places in 1727. In general, though, the Shaolin Monastery enjoyed a peaceful time under Qing rule.

The rise of nationalism and the militarisation of Shaolin

Harrison has argued that ancient China developed into a 'Tianxia' (world) instead of a 'country' or 'nation'. There was no concept of, or the need for, nationalism in a world that lacked cultural or interstate competition (Harrison, 1969). China's defeat in the First Opium War (1840–1842) forced the Qing government and scholars to redefine the 'Tianxia'. The Western concepts of nation-state and nationalism were introduced to the Chinese by enlightenment thinkers. Leading reformers and scholars in China believed that the culturally bound empire should be replaced by a modern nation-state. From the late 1890s, an anti-Manchu movement organised by Han nationalists and led by Sun Yat-sen (1866–1925) plotted to overthrow the Manchu's Qing dynasty as they believed that the Han Chinese, who represented the majority of the population, should have responsibility for governing the country. Nationalism was utilised to propagandise revolutionary ideas (Lu, 2006). With the accumulation of the resentment caused by the Qing government's inability to defend against foreign aggressions, the growing ethnic nationalism among the Han Chinese sparked uprisings. The Qing government was overthrown in the 1911 Revolution and the Republic of China era (1912–1949) began. Like previous dynasty changes, the anti-Manchu revolution had created a power vacuum that led to political chaos and instability. The Republic was carved up by warlords. The country was dragged into a prolonged civil war. Although a national central government (the Beiyang government) existed in Beijing, it represented the Beiyang Army and exerted no real national control. Local authorities were subordinate to regional warlords who were competing for land, resources and power. Shaolin was not exempt from this destructive warlordism. It was dragged into the conflicts between the Beiyang government, the warlords and revolutionary forces.

At the time of the establishment of the Republic of China in 1912, Shaolin accommodated approximately 200 monks. In order to protect the monastery from bandits, abbot Shi Henglin (1865–1923) decided to ally the monastery with the local Dengfeng authority and established a militia group called the Shaolin Guard Regiment in 1912. The regiment was formed by warrior monks equipped with firearms. Henglin was appointed Chief Commander of the regiment. Shaolin monks assisted the local authority in dozens of small-scale battles and successfully defeated various groups of bandits. In 1920, the governor of Henan province awarded Henglin a medal for Shaolin's contribution in protecting the local towns and villages. The monastery also received a commemorative plaque entitled 'The Holy Spirit Shining Through' (威灵普被) for the Kinnara Hall.

In 1922, the warlord Fan Zhongxiu (1888–1930), a former Shaolin disciple, paid a visit to Shaolin. At the time, Fan was a regimental commander under Marshall Wu Peifu (1874–1939), a principle figure in the

Beiyang government. During the visit, he was disappointed by the poor condition of the monastery and therefore donated 400 silver dollars to renovate the Mahavira Palace Hall. After abbot Henglin passed away in 1923, Shi Miaoxing (1891–1927) became the new leader of the Shaolin Guard Regiment. He was also appointed Chairman of the Dengfeng Buddhist Association by the authorities. In the autumn of 1923, the Shaolin Guard Regiment sided with Fan Zhongxiu and joined Wu Peifu's army. Miaoxing was appointed the regimental commander (Shaolin Monastery Editorial Department, 2014). In late 1923, Fan betrayed Wu Peifu and joined the anti-Beiyang revolutionary force headed by Sun Yat-sen, leader of the Chinese Nationalist Party (KMT) and founding father of the Republic. Two years later, Fan returned to Henan as Chief Commander of Jiangguo Yu Army to re-establish control over Henan province from the warlord Han Yukun (1888–1925) (Jiang, 2009). Assisted by the Shaolin Regiment, Fan and his alliances defeated Han's forces.

Shaolin's alliance with Fan Zhongxiu led to disaster. After the 1927 Northern Expedition, Fan refused to subordinate his force to the National Revolutionary Army led by the new KMT leader Chiang Kai-shek. He occupied south-western Henan. In April 1928, Fan launched an assault on Zhengzhou city and Luoyang city, which were controlled by Chiang Kai-shek's close ally, the warlord Feng Yuxiang (1882–1948). Fan was defeated by Feng's subordinate general Shi Yousan (1891–1940). He retreated to the Shaolin Monastery and used the monastery as his command centre, but he was soon defeated (Jin, 1938). In revenge, Shi Yousan's troops torched the monastery. Most of Shaolin's buildings, the collection of Chan Buddhist history and the Shaolin kung fu manuals were destroyed in the fire. The destruction brought Shaolin to its knees. By 1936, there were only around 50 monks living in the monastery (Lin, 1993).

After the Second Sino-Japanese War (1937–1945) broke out in 1937, an underground Chinese Communist Party (CCP) member named Wei Nianming arrived in Shaolin and became a teacher in the Shaolin primary/secondary school. Wei recruited several Shaolin secondary school graduates into the National Revolutionary Army. After the Japanese gained occupation of Dengfeng city in 1944, an Anti-Japanese District was established in Shaolin. Wei was appointed the mayor and Shaolin monk Shi Yonggui was appointed the vice-mayor. Some monks joined the district militia to carry out guerrilla warfare against the Japanese (Liu, 1994). In 1945, the Shaolin militia joined several military operations led by the Yanshi Independent Regiment and ambushed Japanese troops in the Mount Song region (De, 2005). The Shaolin militia also assisted the Eighth Route Army in the battle of Dengfeng in August 1945 (Liu, 1994). Like in the battles against the Japanese pirates in the Ming dynasty, the Shaolin monks' military involvement in the Second Sino-Japanese War was later interpreted in much historical literature as further evidence of the monastery's patriotic

tradition, which helped to establish Shaolin's reputation as a symbol of national identity.

Retrieving traditional culture and constructing a national identity: Shaolin kung fu in the Republic of China era

Wushu has long been regarded as one of the most important elements of Chinese culture. It helped the Chinese to create a collective cultural identity over the course of time. During the Republic of China era, spurred on by a modern Chinese nationalism and aided by militarism, wushu was widely recognised as a basic approach to achieving national salvation. Supported by the government, a nationwide campaign was launched in the late 1910s to improve individual fitness and to aid national defence (Zhouxiang and Hong, 2013). Wushu was included in school curricula and wushu societies flourished (Li and Li, 2004). By the end of the 1920s, influenced by the anti-imperialist sentiment triggered by the May Fourth Movement of 1919,² wushu received even-stronger support (Li and Li, 2004). The newly established nationalist government in Nanjing founded the Central National Skills Academy (CNSA) in 1928. In the following years, a nationwide network was established by the CNSA to promote wushu (Luo, 2008).

Although the Shaolin Monastery was struggling to survive the hardships brought about by warlordism, Shaolin kung fu was protected and promoted by wushu activists around the country. The CNSA played a leading role in the revival of Shaolin kung fu. The CNSA invited masters from different schools of martial arts to be the wushu instructors for students/members in its affiliated schools and local branches. Popular wushu styles were categorised into two divisions: Shaolin and Wudang, which reflected the important place of Shaolin kung fu in Chinese wushu. Shaolin kung fu manuals were published in large numbers. Major works included: *Key Principles of Shaolin Kungfu* (少林拳术秘诀, 1915), *Shaolin Quanshu Jingyi* (少林拳术精义, 1917), *Shaolin Boxing Skills with Illustrations* (少林拳法图说, 1921), *Shaolin Dual Blade* (少林双刀, 1930), *Shaolin 72 Techniques* (少林七十二艺, 1932) and *Shaolin Staff* (少林棍法, 1936).

The revival of wushu was accompanied by the rise of wuxia (martial arts hero) fiction novels. From the 1920s, a modern form of wuxia stories started to appear in magazines and newspapers and immediately became the readers' favourite stories. These wuxia stories can be divided into two categories. The first category of wuxia stories were set in ancient China. The heroes and heroines used wushu skills to fight evil forces and to promote traditional virtues and norms. Xiang Kairan's *Legendary Heroes in the Jianghu* (江湖奇侠传, 1923) and Li Shoumin's *Legend of Shushan Swordsmen* (蜀山剑侠传, 1932) were among the most popular titles. The other category of wuxia story was those based on the legends and myths of

wushu masters in the late Qing and early Republic of China eras. Plots were usually set against the background of major historical events, such as the 1900 Eight-Nation Alliance invasion of China and the anti-Manchu revolutions, reflecting the strong nationalist sentiment of the time. Xiang Kairan's *Legends of Modern Chivalric Heroes* (近代侠义英雄传, 1926) is one of the most influential works of this kind. The book is based on legendary stories of patriotic wushu masters who fought for China's integrity (Zheng, 2012). As an important supporting pillar of Chinese martial arts, Shaolin kung fu and Shaolin warrior monks frequently appeared in these stories.

The booming anti-imperialist and nationalist sentiment was the driving force behind the success of these wuxia stories. After the establishment of the Republic in 1912, Han nationalists began to promote the new idea of 'five races under one union'. However, anti-Manchu sentiment still ran high. This was reflected in the wuxia novels produced in the 1920s and 1930s. These novels were based on the foundation myths of the Heaven and Earth Society/Hongmen (天地会/洪门), an anti-Manchu fraternal organisation founded in the late Qing dynasty. Legend has it that Shaolin assisted the Qing government to battle against the Xilu barbarians who invaded China. After defeating the barbarians, the Kangxi Emperor was worried that Shaolin monks might use their military power to launch rebellions. So he dispatched troops to eliminate Shaolin. The Qing army burnt down the monastery and killed all the monks. Only five monks managed to escape and they founded the Heaven and Earth Society to overthrow the Qing government. Popular novels of this kind included *Shaolin Warriors' Heroic Battles* (少林英雄血战记, 1931) by Deng Yugong, *Burning of the Shaolin Monastery* (火焚少林寺, 1930s–40s) by Zheng Zherngyin and *Teenage Shaolin Heroes* (少林小英雄, 1931) by Jiang Dielu. From the late 1920s onward, the newly emerging wuxia novels were turned into films and they soon gained popularity (Zhang, 2004). Between 1928 and 1931, 227 martial arts films were produced in China. They greatly facilitated the development of wushu and the Shaolin kung fu culture (Li, 2005).

To conclude, wuxia novels and martial arts films produced in the Republic of China era functioned as important vehicles for the 'maintenance and reinvention of nationhood' (Lu and Yeh, 2005: 2). They served two purposes: reclaiming traditional Chinese culture and constructing a modern Chinese national identity. As the cradle of Chan Buddhism and Chinese martial arts, Shaolin was regarded as the symbol of indigenous virtue and strength and therefore became a popular theme in these novels and movies. Legendary Shaolin heroes and Shaolin kung fu aided the construction of a collective national identity among the Chinese during the infancy of the Chinese Republic. Wuxia stories and martial arts movies, in turn, helped Shaolin to lay a rhetorical claim to Chinese identity.

Shaolin in the era of reform and opening up: blending Buddhism, martial arts and national identity

Following the establishment of the People's Republic of China in 1949, similar to the positions adopted in former dynasties, the Communist government issued policies and decrees to establish control over religious institutions to serve the interests of the state. When the CCP launched the socialist land reform in 1950, all the land owned by Shaolin was confiscated and distributed to local farmers. Many young monks returned to lay life as they were offered land and various means of production by the government. Fewer than 20 monks stayed and they were allocated 28 acres of land. Despite this, as one of the most famous Buddhist monasteries in China, Shaolin received support from the government. Between 1951 and 1963 the state provided 102,500 RMB to Shaolin on four occasions to repair the monastery's main buildings, pagodas and wall murals. In 1963, the Shaolin Monastery was named by the Henan provincial government as a Major Historical and Cultural Site Protected at the Provincial Level (Wen, 2009).

However, from the late 1950s and early 1960s onward, with the rise of Communist ideology and influenced by the Anti-Rightist Movement (1957–1958) and the Great Leap Forward (1958–1960), Beijing's policy on religion became more radical. Religion came to be regarded as part of feudal culture and considered something that should be abolished (Cheng, 1982). During the Cultural Revolution (1966–1976), the state encouraged the people to declare war against feudalism by abandoning traditional ideas and practices. Religious institutions became prime targets for the rebels and Red Guards. Thousands of temples, monasteries, mosques and churches were closed down. Many imams, monks, nuns and priests were forced to return to lay life (Duan, 2013; Palmer, Shive and Wickeri, 2011). The Shaolin Monastery suffered accordingly. Monks were verbally or physically abused by groups of rebels. In late 1966, a group of Red Guards made attempts to destroy the Buddha statues and the Pagoda Forest but were stopped by the monks. A protective order was issued by Premier Zhou Enlai (1898–1976) to save this place of unique cultural heritage (Cao, 1994). Thanks to the monks' efforts and the protection order, and also due to its remote location, Shaolin became one of the few religious institutions that were lucky enough to survive the violent political campaigns launched by the rebels.

After the Cultural Revolution, the Chinese government launched a series of economic and political reforms. New domestic and foreign policies resulted in rapid growth, lifting millions of people out of poverty (Guthrie, 2012). The era of reform and opening up also led to the liberation of people's minds and lives (Guo, 2010).

Profound changes took place in all areas of Chinese society. In the realm of religious affairs, Beijing recognised the importance of religion in society. Mainstream religions were revived to serve the purposes of social stability

and interethnic harmony (Duan, 2013; Wang, 2002). Renowned Buddhist and Daoist temples were turned into tourist attractions to boost local economies (Zhang, 2012). As early as 1974, the Shaolin Monastery received funding from the government to repair its main gate. In 1979, led by the Henan provincial government and supported by the State Administration of Cultural Heritage, a major project was carried out to repair and reconstruct the monastery's main buildings (Wen, 2009). In the same year, Shaolin was opened to foreign tourists.

The revival of Shaolin was stimulated by martial arts movies. As discussed in the previous section, Shaolin and Shaolin kung fu became a popular theme in wuxia novels and martial arts movies in the 1920s and 1930s. Influenced by the events of the Second Sino-Japanese War and the Civil War, novelists and filmmakers retreated to Hong Kong and continued to produce wuxia stories and movies. From the 1940s to the 1960s, legendary folk heroes from the Shaolin school, notably Wong Fei-hung and Fong Sai-yuk, dominated the screen. By creating Cantonese folk heroes who represented the Confucian faith and values, these martial arts movies further consolidated the links between wushu, Chinese culture and national identity (Green and Svinth, 2010). By the 1960s, fanned by the Sino-Soviet Split, the Vietnam War and the Cultural Revolution, an anti-imperialist and defensive nationalism prevailed in mainland China, and it soon spread to Hong Kong, giving rise to anti-colonial sentiment. From the late 1960s, Hong Kong martial arts films formed a new cultural imagination, which was constituted by and constituting of popular nationalism (Li, 2001). This cultural imagination focused on reviving China and relied on the image of a muscular and masculine body 'accoutred' in the regalia of traditional Chinese martial arts (Li, 2001).

In the 1970s, Bruce Lee's *Fist of Fury* (精武门, 1972) and *Way of the Dragon* (猛龙过江, 1972) hit the market and spelled out 'the discontent of Hong Kong's inhabitants toward the British rule and associate[d] that feeling with the racial and cultural memory of a distant China' (Shu, 2003: 53). Bruce Lee's movies had global impact and successfully introduced Chinese kung fu to a world audience. This form of masculine nationalist discourse was adopted by Hong Kong martial arts movies produced in subsequent years (Zhouxiang et al., 2014). The Shaolin monks' fictional rebellions against Manchu rule were among the most popular themes of these movies. Between 1974 and 1980, more than twenty Shaolin martial arts movies of this kind, including *Five Shaolin Masters* (少林五祖, 1974) and *The 36th Chamber of Shaolin* (少林三十六房, 1978), were produced in Hong Kong. These films were released at a time 'when people started to get a grasp on Shaolin kung fu, and that's also when the world was opening up to martial-arts movies' (Beale, 2011).

In 1982, a landmark Hong Kong martial arts film, *The Shaolin Temple*, was aired in mainland China. Unlike previous Shaolin films produced in

movie studios in Hong Kong, *The Shaolin Temple* was filmed in the real Shaolin Monastery at Mount Song. The initiative was proposed by Liao Chengzhi, Vice Chairman of the National People's Congress and Director of the Bureau of Overseas Chinese Affairs. The film was supported and sponsored by the Chinese government and was produced by Hong Kong's Zhongyuan Film Company (Shi, 2013). Staring Jet Li, a national wushu champion from Beijing, the film was based on the legendary story of the 13 Shaolin monks who rescued the future Tang Emperor Li Shimin from the hands of warlord Wang Renze. It achieved record-breaking success in China, generating staggering box office receipts of 74 million USD (Beijing News, 2008). The movie was later aired in Australia, Japan, Korea, Malaysia, Philippines, Singapore, Thailand and the United States, to enormous success.

Soon after the airing of the movie, people around China travelled to Dengfeng to visit the Shaolin Monastery. The monastery received 820,000 visitors in 1982. In 1986, the figure had jumped to 2.67 million. In 1983, Shaolin was named by the State Council as a National Key Buddhist Temple (Wen, 2009). Encouraged by the unexpected success of *The Shaolin Temple*, filmmakers pumped out Shaolin movies as fast as they could (Beale, 2011). Popular titles such as *Kids of Shaolin* (少林小子, 1984), *The Shaolin Cleric Haideng* (少林海灯法师, 1985), *Burning Paradise* (火烧红莲寺, 1994), *Days in Shaolin* (新少林五祖, 1998) and *Shaolin* (少林寺, 2011) further boosted the development of Shaolin kung fu culture.

Inspired by the Shaolin fever brought about by kung fu movies, the Shaolin Monastery established a martial arts performance team in 1987 to revive Shaolin kung fu. In 1989, the team changed its name to the Shaolin Warrior Monks Troupe (SWMT). The mission of the troupe was to promote and publicise Shaolin kung fu and Shaolin culture. Its main task is to perform Shaolin kung fu both in China and abroad. In June 1989, led by abbot Shi Yongxin, the SWMT performed in the Workers' Theatre in Haikou city, Hainan province. This marked the first public Wushu performance by Shaolin monks. In 1990, the SWMT visited Japan and performed Shaolin kung fu in Tokyo, Kyoto, Osaka and Yokohama (Shaolin Monastery, 2016). In 1999, at the invitation of Buckingham Palace, the SWMT travelled to the UK and took part in the Royal Variety Performance in Birmingham. Abbot Shi Yongxin and members of the troupe were received by Queen Elizabeth II. Together with martial arts movies, these performances have helped Shaolin to build its reputation globally (Shaolin Monastery Editorial Department, 2015b). By the early 2000s, the SWMT had become so famous that it was frequently invited by domestic and international organisations and TV producers to demonstrate Shaolin kung fu to wider audiences. By 2011, the troupe had performed Shaolin kung fu in more than 80 countries around the globe (Liu, 2012).

Twenty years after the airing of Jet Li's *Shaolin Temple*, Shaolin kung fu has become a well-recognised brand of Chinese culture. In 2005, Shaolin kung fu was officially recognised as a national representative work of human oral and intangible heritage in China. In 2010, Shaolin was named a World Cultural Heritage Site by UNESCO (Cai, 2005). The monastery (see Figure 12.1) became one of China's most popular tourist attractions for both domestic and international visitors (Beale, 2011). Each year, the monastery is visited by more than 1.5 million tourists. By 2011, the value of the tourist market created by the Shaolin Monastery, including retail, hotel, catering and service businesses, had reached 300 million RMB, accounting for one-third of the annual income of Dengfeng city (Cai, 2005). A wushu education industry took shape. More than 50 Shaolin kung fu schools and academies were established in Dengfeng, accommodating approximately 70,000 students from China and abroad (Liu, 2011).

Shaolin fever also stormed Western countries. Influenced by kung fu movies and TV series, especially Bruce Lee's *Enter the Dragon* (1973), David Carradine's *Kung Fu* (1972–1975) and Jet Li's *Shaolin Temple* (1982), Shaolin kung fu has become one of the best-known Chinese martial arts styles among Western audiences. By the early 2000s, Shaolin had gained mainstream attention and won recognition in the wider cultural spectrum. In 2002, the secrets of Shaolin were unveiled in the National

Figure 12.1 The main gate of Shaolin Monastery, 2016

Source: photo by the author

Geographic documentary *Myths and Logic of Shaolin Kung Fu*. In 2005, the Shaolin Monastery appeared on the popular American animated sitcom *The Simpsons*. In 2007, the *American Shaolin* written by Matthew Polly became a national bestseller in the United States. From the early 2000s, against a background of globalisation and facing the increasing demands of Shaolin kung fu fans in foreign countries, the Shaolin Monastery established cultural centres in America, Asia, Australia and Europe. As early as 2001, Shaolin lay disciple Deller Lehner had established a Shaolin Cultural Centre in Berlin, Germany. In the United States, the Shaolin Monastery launched Shaolin Cultural Centres in Fremont (2007), San Francisco (2009) and Herndon (2010). Shaolin monks were sent to these centres to teach kung fu and Chan Buddhism (Shaolin Temple Cultural Center, 2016). Since 2008, Shaolin has turned its attention to Africa. By 2014, Shaolin had established 52 cultural centres around the globe (Wan, 2014). These centres are probably among the most important institutions effectively promoting Chinese culture and religion in foreign lands.

Conclusion

Deutsch has argued that national identity is based on a 'state of mind which gives "national" messages, memories, and images a preferred status in social communication and a greater weight in the making of decisions' (Alter, 1994: 7). A nationalist devotes greater attention to those messages that 'carry specific symbols of nationality, or which originate from a specific national source, or which are couched in a specific national code of language or culture' (Alter, 1994: 8). Shaolin carries at least two symbols of nationality for the Chinese: Chan Buddhism and wushu, both of which are regarded as national codes of traditional Chinese culture. Although Buddhism was a foreign import from India, the official promotion of Buddhism between the fifth and tenth centuries and the unity of the Three Teachings since the Song dynasty have gradually transformed it into a mainstream indigenous religious tradition. The unique combination of Chan Buddhism and wushu not only facilitated the integration of Buddhism into Chinese culture but also fostered the development of wushu. Stemming from Chan doctrines, Shaolin kung fu has developed from basic combat skills into a supporting pillar of Chinese martial arts and served as a source of strength and pride for the nation.

For individuals, national consciousness and national identity have emerged 'whenever they felt that they belong primarily to the nation, and whenever affective attachment and loyalty to that nation override all other attachments and loyalties' (Alter, 1994: 9). All across history, Shaolin has maintained a reasonably good and cooperative relationship with the ruling regimes, be it Han, Mongol, Manchu, Nationalist or Communist. There has always been a political element to the development of Chan Buddhism and

kung fu attached to the monastery. Loyalty is the keyword. The story of the Shaolin monks providing military support to the future Tang emperor Li Shiming, Shaolin's involvement in military operations against Japanese pirates during the Ming dynasty, the tradition of Shaolin serving the authorities as a military reserve force against bandits and rebellions and the monks' contribution to the Communists' guerrilla warfare against the Japanese during the Second World War have all helped Shaolin to build up its image as a symbol of patriotism and a source of national identity.

Renan argued: 'Nation is a soul, a spiritual principle. Two things, which in truth are but one, constitute this soul or spiritual principle. One lies in the past, one in the present. One is the possession in common of a rich legacy of memories; the other is present-day consent, the desire to live together, the will to perpetuate the value of the heritage that one has received in an undivided form' (Bhabha, 1990: 19). As an important religious institution with more than 1,500 years of history, Shaolin has created a legacy of remembrances that served the formation of the Chinese nation's soul and spiritual principle. Despite repeated destruction in various rebellions, revolutions and wars, Shaolin survived in historical writings, martial arts manuals, wuxia stories and martial arts movies. The Shaolin wuxia story fever in the Republic of China era, the CNSA's attempts to promote Shaolin kung fu in the 1920s and 1930s and the revival of the Shaolin Monastery and Shaolin kung fu since the 1980s have demonstrated the Chinese people's strong will to continue to value such heritage. As a powerful item of cultural heritage, Shaolin not only contributed to the construction of a national identity among the Chinese but also served the cultural exchanges between China and the international community. In the twenty-first century, aided by martial arts movies and facilitated by globalisation, Shaolin has become a brand of China that is attracting a world audience.

Notes

- 1 Buddhism was favoured and supported by most of the Tang emperors. Emperor Wuzong (814–846) was an exception. As a zealous follower of Daoism, he was hostile to Buddhism and believed that Buddhism was a burden to the society and the economy. He launched the Huichang Persecution of Buddhism (844–845) to suppress and eliminate the Buddhist religious establishment.
- 2 The May Fourth Movement was launched in Beijing on 4 May 1919 by students demanding national sovereignty and protesting against the Beiyang government's weak response to the Treaty of Versailles, which had transferred Germany's territory and rights in Shandong Province to Japan. The movement marked an upsurge in Chinese nationalism and gave rise to the Communist movement in China. It triggered a national revolution led by the Nationalists and Communists, which ended the Beiyang government's rule in 1927.

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Sport and the politics of national identity in the Two Chinas

Alan Bairner

Introduction

The existence of a close relationship between sport and nationalism is widely accepted. This relationship manifests itself in the enduring popularity of international competitions, events and contests, in the myriad ways in which politicians and politically motivated groups have sought to harness sport to national causes and also in the concept of national sports (Bairner, 2009). Nevertheless, questions are increasingly being asked about the future of this relationship between sport and nationalism as well as about the fate of the nation itself (Maguire, 1999; Bairner, 2008, Miller et al., 2001). Much of the literature on the relationship between sport and nationhood has been concerned with the ways in which nation-states seek to promote themselves, or simply carry out their economic and diplomatic business, using sport as a useful and highly visible medium. For example, during the Cold War, it was apparent that the Soviet Union and most, if not all, of its east European neighbours used sport in general and especially the Olympic Games to advertise their particular brand of communism (Riordan, 1978; Dennis and Grix, 2012). Moreover, international rivalry was not only acted out on the athletics track or on the high beam but also impacted on the wider context of events such as the Olympics with the United States seeking to lead a boycott of the Moscow Games in 1980 and the Soviet Union and its allies responding in kind when the Olympics moved to Los Angeles in 1984. Related to this is the fact that nation-states also put considerable efforts into acquiring the right to host major events, which are then turned into spectacular exercises in self-promotion by the successful bidders. There can be little doubt that most national leaders in the modern world are highly conscious of the role that sport can play in boosting confidence, facilitating closer diplomatic links and securing markers of esteem.

Sport is also commonly implicated in the cultural politics of submerged nations and nationalisms. Thus within the United Kingdom, for example, sport is a hugely significant vehicle for the reproduction of distinctive national identities – Scottish, Welsh, (Northern) Irish and, increasingly,

English, within the context of a multinational nation-state. Similar observations can be made about Spain, Canada and other nation-states where one finds varying levels of contestation between official nationalities and unofficial national identities. For most sportsmen and women, even in an era when money is a major incentive for achieving sporting success, representing the nation remains important. However, it is quite conceivable that in the course of their sporting careers, they might represent more than one nation with neither ethnic origin nor even well-established civic connections being necessary for a move from one to another. Yet, even in an era of large-scale global migration, for the overwhelming majority of athletes engaged in international sport, the matter of which country to represent remains relatively clear-cut. For fans, things are arguably even simpler. In the modern era, following one's 'proxy warriors' into international competition is one of the easiest and most passionate ways of underlining one's sense of national identity, one's nationality or both (Hoberman, 1984). Needless to say, not everyone wishes to celebrate their national affiliation in this way, in most instances for the simple reason that they are not interested in sport, the nation or the relationship between the two; however, just as for most active participants, for most sports fans the choice is relatively straightforward. This is not to deny of course that in certain circumstances athletes and fans alike may well understand their nations in different ways.

There are some grounds for believing that the link between nationalism and sports is becoming weaker and that the very existence of international competition is threatened by the twin forces of globalisation and consumer capitalism. For the time being, however, even though it manifests itself in a wide variety of ways, the relationship between sports and nations remains strong, nowhere more so than in East Asia, where examples are to be found of sport's role in the quest for prestige, the quest for recognition or a combination of the two. Although analyses of international relations in East Asia often focus on rivalries and tensions involving China, Japan and the two Koreas (Sun, 2013; Lee and Maguire, 2011; Ok and Park, 2015; Bridges, 2015), in terms of the relationship between sport and national identity politics the issue of the Two Chinas has been and remains particularly problematic. The Republic of China (Taiwan) and the People's Republic of China (PRC) have a difficult relationship that can be traced back over centuries depending upon what one considers to be the key contributory factors. Nevertheless, for those whose interest in global politics is largely bound up with a focus on sport, there may well be little or no recognition of the terms Republic of China (ROC) or even Taiwan. On the other hand, seasoned fans of golf, baseball, tennis and the Olympic Games are almost certainly aware of the name Chinese Taipei. This chapter examines the reasons why the name of Taiwan seldom appears as a named polity in the world of international sport despite the fact that much of the island nation's population regard this as the most appropriate name for their country. The

chapter identifies China's role in this situation together with Taiwan's response and also discusses the engagement with sport in relation to the politics of national identity of the Two Chinas.

China, its neighbours and sport

It is relatively easy to trace the most recent manifestation of tensions between China and Taiwan to the end of the Chinese civil war that resulted in the triumph of the Communist Party over the nationalist Kuomintang (KMT), which at that point then decamped to Taiwan, formerly colonised by the Japanese and subject over the years to numerous other foreign influences. According to Roy (2003: 1), 'Taiwan's present circumstances are peculiar and intriguing' – scarcely surprising given the island's complex history. By extension, it should come as no surprise that a country with such a unique past has also experienced a troubled history in terms of sport development, the construction of national identity and the relationship between the two. The main reason for this is the PRC's consistent refusal to allow Taiwan to be recognised as an independent sovereign state. According to an editorial in a Taiwan English-language newspaper, 'Taiwan's isolation from the formal world community despite our substantive status as a democratic independent state due to opposition by the authoritarian People's Republic of China (PRC) has been a long-standing and deeply felt injustice to our 23 million people' (*Taiwan Times*, 30 September 2009).

In reality, one element of the world community from which Taiwan is certainly not formally excluded is international sport. However, the country's relationship with the Olympic movement, and with international sport more generally, has for many years been in circumstances chosen by others – specifically the International Olympic Committee (IOC) and the PRC – rather than by the people of Taiwan themselves. For that reason, the Olympics have long been recognised as political by the Taiwanese. Indeed, all mega events have been politicised as a consequence of Chinese attempts to prevent Taiwan from being a host country. For example, Marcus Chu (2014) has argued that, although, from the 1980s, China has not obstructed Taiwan from joining international sports organisations or participating in international sports events, the Chinese authorities have regularly used competition to host major sports events with the aim of defending its 'One China' policy.

The PRC itself has of course become increasingly involved in international sport, and especially the Olympic movement, its primary goal being best understood in terms of 'soft power' (Nye, 2004). This has been exemplified most dramatically by Beijing winning the right to host both the summer and winter Olympics. However, in addition to strengthening China's standing in the world of nation-states, another significant objective

of the Beijing Games for the PRC leadership was to promote the cause of Chinese nationalism (Price and Dayan, 2008). One element of that overall ambition was to strengthen cohesion within a multinational and ethnically diverse country and also to make the special administrative regions (SARs), i.e. Hong Kong and Macao, identify more strongly with mainland China than perhaps had been the case in the past, particularly in the case of the former (Ho, 2012; Ho and Bridges, 2014). It is worth remembering, for example, that Hong Kong, the former British colony, was selected as the venue for the equestrian events at the Beijing Games (Ho, 2012). Ho (2012: 33–34) concludes her analysis of the impact of this event on attitudes in Hong Kong by commenting on ‘the initial excitement about the opportunity to co-host the equestrian event, the exaggerated popularization of equestrianism in a small city like Hong Kong and the active promotion of Chinese nationalism to achieve a sense of internationality by promoting the Olympic spirit’. Here the objective was to link sport to China’s ‘One Country, Two Systems’ policy rather than the ‘One China’ approach, which has bedevilled relations with Taiwan. More in keeping with the latter was the presence of members of Taiwan’s indigenous tribes alongside representatives of mainland China’s minority groups at the Opening Ceremony of the 2008 Games. However, China’s strategy was recognised by leaders of the Taiwan delegation who objected to any reference to the aboriginal performers as being members of a ‘minority’, making it very clear that they were citizens of the Republic of China, i.e. Taiwan and not simply members of another Chinese minority (Loa, 2008).

In addition to this relatively covert operation, an overt attempt was made to bring Taiwan further into the PRC’s ambit by arguing that the use of the name ‘Chinese Taipei’, ironically insisted on in the past by China to make Taiwan’s Olympic participation acceptable, should be replaced for the Beijing Olympics with ‘China Taipei’ (Bairner and Hwang, 2011). As Hong Kong was referred to for Olympic purposes as ‘China Hong Kong’, such a name change would have created the false impression that Taiwan is also a SAR. This demand was successfully challenged by the Chinese Taipei Olympic Committee (CTOC). The entire episode, however, was by no means a simple matter of sports diplomacy. The issues involved go right to the heart of the problem of contested identity in Taiwan. It is significant that, although the Beijing Games had the potential to enhance the pride that Taiwan’s Han Chinese majority has in its Chinese ancestry and culture, the attempt to translate this pride into closer political identification with mainland China has been, for various reasons, largely unsuccessful as manifest, for example, in the electoral success achieved by the pro-independence Democratic Progressive Party (DPP) in 2016. For greater understanding of the development of sporting relations between the PRC and Taiwan, however, let us first look back at the origins of this particular issue.

The emergence and unfolding of the 'Two Chinas' issue

Taiwan itself is a society divided along the lines of ethnicity and national identity. There are four major groups on the island. The earliest recorded human inhabitants of what we now know as Taiwan consisted of the ancestors of today's indigenous or aboriginal peoples who constitute around two per cent of the island's current population. Officially there are fourteen aboriginal ethnic groups registered in Taiwan: Ami, Atayal, Bunun, Kavalan, Paiwan, Puyuma, Rukai, Saisiyat, Tao, Thao, Tsou, Truku, Sakizaya and Seediq. Their languages are part of the proto-Austronesian linguistic family to which Malaysian and Hawaiian also belong. The Han Chinese group (consisting of Holos and Hakkas) who moved from southern mainland China to Taiwan from the end of the seventeenth century comprises 85 per cent of the population (Holos 70 per cent; Hakkas 15 per cent). They are often referred to as internal province people and are generally able to speak Taiwanese and/or Hakka as well as Mandarin Chinese. Those who escaped to Taiwan after 1949 and the triumph of the Communist Party in mainland China and their descendants constitute around 13 per cent of the overall population. They are referred to as external province people and are relatively seldom able to speak Taiwanese or Hakka. Although Japanese colonial rule, which was introduced in 1895, met with some initial resistance, over time there emerged widespread acquiescence amongst the Holo, Hakka and aboriginal populations. Indeed, there remains a large measure of admiration for what Japanese colonialism bequeathed to Taiwan in marked contrast to attitudes in both Korea and mainland China to their former imperial overlords (Ok and Park, 2015). Rule by the incoming KMT was never accepted to the same extent. Indeed, the new rulers were only able to maintain order and stability through an extended period of martial law, which led to the deaths and imprisonment of members of the opposition movement. The contemporary political situation is paradoxical given that the PRC claims sovereignty over Taiwan – hence the concept of 'One China' – while the KMT also seeks closer ties with mainland China, although not full incorporation while the communists remain in power. Meanwhile a range of opposition voices led by the DPP seek full independence for Taiwan and recognition of its status at the United Nations.

In relation to sport, the PRC was ostracised by the Olympic movement from 1949. After an absence of over 30 years, however, it was restored to the Olympic family and its athletes competed at the Los Angeles Games in 1984, the first occasion when the PRC and Taiwan took part at the same Olympics. In 1949, some Chinese Olympic Committee (COC) members had fled with the KMT to Taiwan and the ROC government maintained contact with the IOC, claiming jurisdiction over Olympic affairs in both mainland China and Taiwan. This claim was subsequently challenged by the PRC,

since the Chinese National Amateur Athletic Federation (CNAAF) was still based in Nanjing (in mainland China). Subsequently, the CNAAF was reorganised and renamed in October 1949 as the All-China Athletic Federation (ACAF), which claimed leadership over all Chinese Olympic activities. These competing claims for jurisdiction by the PRC and Taiwan inevitably led to conflict. The PRC had no contact with the IOC until February 1952 when the ACAF sent a message expressing its wish to participate in the Helsinki Games, placing the IOC in a difficult position, since Taiwan also intended to take part. According to IOC rules, only one national committee was permitted to represent a country and there were differences of opinion among IOC members as to which Chinese committee should be recognised. Neither the PRC nor Taiwan was willing to negotiate or to form a single team. As a result, the IOC adopted a proposal permitting both committees to participate in those events in which they had been recognised by the relevant international governing bodies. Taiwan was disappointed by the IOC resolution and withdrew from the 1952 Helsinki Olympics in protest.

Two years later, the PRC was formally recognised by the IOC as the Olympic Committee of the Chinese Republic (later changed to the Olympic Committee of Democratic China) (*Olympic Review*, Nos. 66–67, May–June 1973). At the same time, Taiwan was recognised in the name of the COC. In this way, the Olympic movement had reached a ‘Two Chinas’ resolution and both the PRC and Taiwan were invited to take part at the 1956 Melbourne Olympics. On this occasion, however, the PRC withdrew in protest at Taiwan’s participation and demanded its expulsion from the IOC. In response, Avery Brundage, the then President of the IOC, wrote to Beijing on 8 January 1958: ‘Everyone knows that there is a separate government in Taiwan, which is recognized internationally, and specifically by the United Nations consisting of the governments of the world. Your government is not recognized by the United Nations’ (*Olympic Review*, No. 145, November 1979: 628). Disappointed by this, the PRC withdrew its membership of the IOC and of nine other international sporting organisations in 1958 and, as a consequence, during the 1960s, Taiwan was able to claim to represent all of China in international sport. However, in October 1971, after the PRC had been admitted to the United Nations, creating a major political setback for the KMT, the ROC (Taiwan) was expelled, thereby aiding the PRC’s efforts to participate in other international organisations and, specifically, the Olympic movement. The PRC applied to rejoin the IOC in April 1975 and was granted admission in 1979. How precisely was Taiwan affected by these developments?

Prior to the 1976 Olympic Games to be held in Montréal, the PRC requested Canada to unconditionally bar the Taiwanese delegation from Montréal. Instead, the Canadian government asked Taiwanese athletes to compete without any mention of the word China or use of the term

'Republic of China'. The IOC considered the Canadian action to be a breach of a promise made in 1970 when Montréal was chosen as the host city (Espy, 1979) and, to avoid further confrontation with the Canadian government, submitted a plan that Taiwan should be allowed to participate as 'Taiwan-ROC' with a flag bearing the Olympic rings. This solution attracted opposition from both the PRC and Taiwan with the former indicating that 'ROC' was only an abbreviation of the title Republic of China and, therefore, to adopt it would be to officially acknowledge the 'Two Chinas'. For its part, Taiwan insisted on competing under its own flag using the name, 'Republic of China'. Thus, from the moment of its admission into the Olympic family, the PRC maintained that there was one China not two or even one China and one Taiwan and refused to accept any conditions under which Taiwan could be recognised. In June 1979, the IOC executive committee meeting in Puerto Rico confirmed China's Olympic Committee's title as the 'Chinese Olympic Committee'. It also recommended that Taiwan should stay in the IOC as the 'CTOC' with a different national anthem and flag (Bairner and Hwang, 2011).

Taiwan was again disappointed with the IOC decision to the extent that Taipei's Olympic Committee and Henry Hsu, an IOC member from Taiwan, filed lawsuits at the Lausanne Civil District Court against the subsequent Nagoya resolution, which confirmed the decision taken in Puerto Rico, claiming that it violated IOC rules. This claim was rejected by the court. In his ruling, Judge Pierre Bucher said that it seemed obvious that Taipei's Olympic Committee had no right to bring a suit against the IOC (*Daily Report*, 17 January 1980: A2). However, the new IOC President Juan Antonio Samaranch sent a letter to Hsu, dated 4 December 1980, guaranteeing that Taipei's Olympic Committee would get the same treatment as any other national committee if Taiwan accepted the conditions of the Nagoya resolution (Chinese Taipei Olympic Committee, 1981). Consequently, the Taipei Olympic Committee agreed to change its name to the 'Chinese Taipei Olympic Committee' and to adopt a new flag and emblem. According to the agreement, the CTOC would, thus, be entitled to take part in future Olympic Games and other activities sponsored by the IOC like every other National Olympic Committee, with the same status and rights (*Olympic Review*, No. 162, April 1981). At least temporarily, the question of Chinese representation was settled. For the PRC, there were no 'Two Chinas' or one China and one Taiwan. There was one China with Taiwan, to all intents and purposes, being subsumed or subordinate – implicitly at least according to the naming of the two Olympic committees. This outcome helped to facilitate communication between China and Taiwan through sport and was even seen by some as conducive to a reunification process. For Taiwan, there was no option but to accept the resolution if it wished to stay in the Olympic movement; for the IOC, one of its biggest problems of the previous 20 years had been resolved.

By the time of the 2004 Olympics in Athens, the National Council on Physical Fitness and Sport announced that the Chinese Taipei Olympic team would consist of 85 competitors across 12 events. Coverage of the Games would be provided by digital broadcast stations with the IOC granting broadcasting rights to Taiwan Television Enterprise Limited, China Television Company, Chinese Television Systems and Formosa Television. The CTOC praised the IOC for promoting cooperation between the four stations not least because the mission of the CTOC remains that of promoting the Olympic movement in Taiwan. This should not be taken as incontrovertible evidence, however, that problems associated with acts of naming were at an end.

Representing Taiwan

Although it is undeniable that successive Taiwan governments have emphasised the significance of sport, it is important to understand what this has meant in practice. China's traditional values, which have been as influential in Taiwan, if not more so, as they have been in mainland China, consciously distinguished *wen* and *wu*, meaning the 'civil' (or cultural attainment) and the 'martial' (or physical valour), respectively. Overall, *wen* refers to the use of the mind, while *wu* concentrates on the body and refers to physical strength. Due to the civil service examination system that was put into effect during the Sui dynasty in China, the idea that 'everything is low-class work except academic study' has permeated Chinese society and indeed east Asian society more generally.

The ancient Chinese philosopher and follower of Confucius, Mencius, developed this idea even further by saying:

Great men (gentlemen) have their proper business, and little men (petty men) have their proper business ... Hence there is the saying 'some labor with their minds and some labor with their strength. Those who labor with their minds govern others; those who labor with their strength are governed by others. Those who are governed by others support them; those who govern others are supported by them' (*Laoxin zhe zhiren, laoli zhe zhiyuren*). This is a principle universally recognized.

(Mencius, 1960: 124)

If we remind ourselves of the ethnic divisions within Taiwan's population, we find what might be described as 'over-representation' of aborigines in baseball, Taiwan's national sport, a legacy of the Japanese colonial period. Whilst aboriginal people account for only two per cent of the overall population, in the eighteenth season of the Taiwan Professional Baseball League there were 76 aboriginal players, nearly 41 per cent of the total number of

players. In the 22nd Asian Baseball Championship in 2003, the Taiwan team, runners-up and gaining automatic entry into the Athens Olympics of 2004, was 45 per cent aboriginal in composition. Although Taiwan aborigines and baseball have become synonymous, the contingent impact on their identity is relatively rarely discussed either in national discourses or in sport studies. Yet this is an important subject not least because sport can be such a significant factor in the production and reproduction of national identity and, in the case of Taiwan, this has been most clearly demonstrated as a consequence of the achievements of athletes who belong to a relatively small, indigenous section of the overall population. In many ways, the story of aboriginal players in Taiwanese baseball is familiar but no less depressing for that. It is a tale of sport being used by successive ruling elites in order to incorporate indigenous peoples into a collective national project. Subaltern groups are offered the opportunity through sport to progress to professional careers and, in some cases, to national acclaim. Many others fail to make the grade and, in the meantime, stereotyping coalesces around the idea that whilst aboriginal peoples may have innate physical prowess, their mental capacities are limited. As a consequence, other careers are denied to those who do not make it in sport not least with the emergence of schools primarily concerned with athletic talent spotting (Yu and Bairner, 2010).

Thus, although baseball has been central to attempts to use sport for political purposes in Taiwan it has been problematised by the disproportionate role played by aborigines and the ramifications that follow from this. Furthermore, for serious competition in East Asia, Taiwan has traditionally looked to Japan and to a lesser extent South Korea given that baseball has been relatively insignificant in Chinese sporting culture. However, it did make its mark on China–Taiwan relations during the Beijing Olympics with the Chinese Taipei team's losses in Beijing at the hands of their Chinese opponents representing one of the lowest pints in Taiwan's sporting history. On 15 August 2008, after 12 innings, Taiwan's national baseball team lost to the PRC team for the first time ever. This was a massive shock for most Taiwanese. The following day, Taiwan's media was calling it 'the darkest day of Taiwan's baseball history' (Huang, 2008). According to Tseng et al. (2008), Taiwanese baseball fans were so upset that some requested that the national baseball team 'swim back' to Taiwan as a form of punishment. Some Taiwanese saw 15 August as a day of national humiliation.

In this regard, it is also useful to understand the ways in which Taiwanese female athletes have been represented in media discourses of sport and Taiwanese nationalism and the symbolic roles they have been assigned (Chiang et al., 2015). Born in 1944, Chi Cheng is the most famous woman track and field athlete in Taiwanese history. She won a bronze medal in the 80 metres hurdles at the 1968 Summer Olympics. The webpage of the

National Museum of Taiwan History's 'Women of Taiwan' section describes Chi Cheng as follows:

Who achieved such a great success? The American media called her 'the fastest woman in the world'; the German press praised her as 'the Oriental Flying Antelope'; the Greek media called her 'Yellow Lighting'. She is the well-known 'Flying Antelope' – Chi Cheng. Chi Cheng was the 'glory of Taiwan' in the 1970s.

As a former 'glory of Taiwan', Chi Cheng became a political figure after retirement. She was elected as an independent legislator, serving from 1980 to 1989. In 2009, she was appointed as a National Policy Adviser by President Ma Ying-jeou. Chi Cheng became not only an ambassador for sport in Taiwan, but also an important media resource when Taiwan faces difficulties in international sport politics. By 2001, she and other athletes were rallying support for a cross-strait, long-distance run in support of Beijing's bid to host the Olympic Games. At a later stage, when, for political reasons, the Olympic torch was unable to pass through Taiwan, Chi Cheng stated straightforwardly that this was a disappointment (Bairner and Hwang, 2011). Nonetheless, prior to the Games themselves, Chi Cheng herself suggested boycotting the opening ceremony of the Beijing Olympics, expressing concern over President Ma's acceptance of China's arrangement for the Taiwanese sports team's order of appearance in the Olympic procession (Su, 2008). Between 1960 and 2008, whether for 'the Republic of China Olympic Committee' and 'the Chinese Olympic Committee, Taipei' or the 'Chinese Taipei Olympic Committee', Taiwan athletes won 19 medals at the summer Olympics. Ten of these were won by female athletes. At the 2004 Olympics, female Taekwondo player Chen Shih-hsin won the first Olympic gold medal in Taiwanese history, thereby becoming the 'glory of Taiwan' for that particular year.

After the embarrassing failure of the national baseball team at the Beijing Olympics, the dominant discourse linking male athletes to nationalism was transferred to their female colleagues. Women athletes who had initially been trapped in a marginal position within media representation became the focus of coverage and the source of national hope for Taiwan. Many female athletes achieved good performances in the summer Olympics. Thus, when Taiwan's male athletes failed in the Olympics hosted by the country's biggest rival, these women athletes seized the moment and thereby boosted their own social status. The extent of this sort of empowerment is, of course, minimal. There was nonetheless an opportunity for Taiwanese female athletes to experience a degree of upward mobility (Chiang et al., 2015). Whether such progress can be maintained is another matter although the election of a female President, the DPP's Tsai Ing-wen, is further evidence of change.

The 2008 Beijing Olympic Games

In seeking to host a range of sport mega events, the Chinese government demonstrated its recognition of the value of 'soft power' and the extent to which it could enhance China's image and allow for more harmonious interaction with the rest of the world. For example, unlike US President Barack Obama, UK Prime Minister David Cameron and German Chancellor Angela Merkel, who refused to attend the Sochi Winter Olympics opening ceremony on 7 February 2014 because of the Russian government's harsh crackdown on the homosexual community (McDonnell, 2014), Chinese President Xi Jinping had no such reservations (Chu, 2015). But why did Xi attend the widely boycotted event at the Russian seaside resort? This chapter argues that the Sochi trip aimed at (1) displaying Xi's personal charisma, (2) consolidating China's relations with Russia, (3) promoting China's determination to secure world peace and (4) improving Beijing's odds to win the 2022 Winter Olympics bidding contest. All of this underlines that the Games were to be used as a means to support the realisation of Xi's ambitious 'China Dream' (Chu, 2015). But if that 'Dream' was also to include the constitutional incorporation of Taiwan, the difficulty of achieving that particular objective was underestimated even though events in the lead-up to the Beijing Olympics had given notice of the obstacles that would have to be overcome.

The Olympic Torch is intended to symbolise peace, unity, progress, mutual respect and accommodation. The Chinese regime used it (and their bid to host the 2008 Olympics) to become more closely integrated into the international community, albeit with the potentially ominous implications of pursuing the dream of a harmonious global society. Conversely, the international community thought that the PRC would soften its existing image in order to win the bid to host the Olympics successfully (Tsai, 2007; Yeh, 2004). Despite their proclaimed intent to take the Olympic Torch on a 'harmonious journey', the Chinese authorities planned a route that raised questions about their political motives in relation to Taiwan (Huang, 2007). The major point of contention was that the route for the Olympic Torch, announced on 26 April 2007, included Taiwan as part of the domestic leg, indicating Taiwan to be a local government under the jurisdiction of the PRC. Additionally, the COC demanded that no national flag, national emblem or national anthem representing Taiwan should feature on the Torch Relay route, which triggered considerable public resentment in Taiwan. The IOC has historically emphasised a separation of the Games themselves and the policies of individual governments for fear of allowing nation-state politics to impede international sporting exchanges. The fact remains, however, that it has proved very difficult, if not impossible, to protect the Olympics from political undertones (Tsai, 2007; Bairner and Molnar, 2010). Certainly the Torch Relay and its repercussions reinvigorated discussions about Taiwan's identity.

The simple announcement of the logistics of the Olympic Torch Relay touched a raw nerve for many Taiwanese people and inevitably discussions on the related subjects of Taiwan's sovereignty and the significance of the China connection ensued. As revealed in a poll conducted by Taiwan's Executive Yuan Mainland Affairs Council, over 60 per cent of the respondents expressed the view that to allow the Torch to pass through Taiwan would diminish the country's claim to sovereignty, and, for that reason, Taiwan should not accept such an arrangement (Tsai, 2007). When asked about the Torch passing through Taiwan during the first stage of the PRC's domestic route, with the stipulation that Taiwan be referred to as 'Taipei, China', nearly 65 per cent of the respondents said this was unacceptable, and only 16.3 per cent of the respondents said they would accept Taiwan being the first stop on China's domestic Torch route. As to whether the issue of the Torch passing through Taiwan should be negotiated, those in agreement and those opposed accounted for 42.7 per cent and 45.7 per cent, respectively. These figures reveal that over a half of the respondents had doubts about Beijing's goodwill, although a substantial minority wanted continued negotiations with the PRC authorities in order to allow the Olympic Torch to be taken successfully via Taiwan (Huang, 2007). According to this poll, the concept of Taiwan as a political entity had garnered increasing support following political change in the 1980s and 1990s.

A study that was initiated in January 2007 involved questionnaire surveys and interviews conducted before and after the Beijing Games (Lee et al., 2010). The initial research method employed a questionnaire survey approach to collect information that helped identify respondents' positions on Taiwanese identity in relation to the circumstances of the 2008 Games. Research participants were identified using the 2007 National Inter-collegiate Athletic Games in Taiwan as the sampling frame. These Games included competitions across 11 sports and involved 8,199 student athletes from 167 universities in Taiwan. The collegiate athletes were selected because of their status as both athletes and citizens. In addition, their high level of education, together with their knowledge of both sports affairs and the particular relationship between China and Taiwan, were also important concerns. A total of 2,176 surveys were conducted and 1,929 surveys were utilised in the subsequent analysis. The study additionally drew on interviews conducted after the Beijing Games when interviewees' accounts of their thinking about the Games provided the basis for a deeper analysis of the relationship between Beijing 2008 and national identity issues.

When the respondents were asked, regardless of Beijing's hosting of the 2008 Olympic Games, if they would identify themselves as Taiwanese, both Taiwanese and Chinese, or Chinese, 62.41 per cent selected Taiwanese as their preference; 27.06 per cent preferred to be identified as both Taiwanese and Chinese and only 8.09 per cent selected Chinese as their favoured mode of self-identification. When respondents were subsequently asked to iden-

tify themselves in the event of Beijing hosting the Olympics successfully, those who claimed they were Chinese constituted more than 12 per cent. The Taiwanese option still came first but its ratio in percentage terms declined from 62.41 to 54.02. In addition, the percentage of the group identifying as both Chinese and Taiwanese showed a slight increase from 27.06 per cent to 29.86 per cent (Lee et al., 2010). This, according to these findings, meant a successful hosting of the 2008 Olympic Games had the potential to affect Taiwanese self-identification, albeit not to a dramatic extent (Lee et al., 2010). The Beijing Games certainly offered China an ideal opportunity with which to undermine confidence in and identification with a distinctive Taiwanese identity. The evidence suggested, however, that it was unlikely that Beijing's hosting of the Olympic Games would be the catalyst for any instant or major transformation of Taiwanese political attitudes (Lee et al., 2010).

Not surprisingly in a context in which national identity is a highly contested issue, this was by no means the only reading of these events. According to Tzu-hsuan Chen (2010), for example, during the whole negotiation process, the DPP and the administration of Chen Shui-bian, Taiwan's first native-born president, oscillated between different positions. Chen claims that from February 2006 to February 2007, a friendly position was taken, this being an extension of the government's softening position towards China. However, when a series of scandals erupted, the administration's approval rating plummeted and, in February 2007, a more hawkish cabinet was appointed. According to Chen (2010), these moves were aimed at redirecting the nation's attention away from Chen Shui-bian's personal scandals. Inconsistency in terms of attitudes towards the Torch Relay was the inevitable consequence.

There is certainly no denying former President Chen's attempts to construct a distinctive Taiwanese identity – a 'Taiwan spirit' – to which he frequently referred in his major speeches (Chang and Holt, 2009). Like so many of his predecessors who had been empowered to govern Taiwan, he too sought to harness sport for his political ends. In his New Year's Speech of 2000, '[r]eflecting the hope of the new millennium ... Chen describes a black-and-white picture of an aboriginal baseball batter of the Red Leaf Little League Team concentrating on the next pitch, while his teammates hold their breath to encourage him. "Such a beautiful moment", Chen says, "perfectly captures twentieth century Taiwan and is a memory I will never forget"' (Chang and Holt, 2009: 320). Whilst there was certainly inconsistency on Chen's part in relation to the Beijing Games, and his own personal difficulties were no doubt influential in this regard, it would be wrong to assume that statements of this kind did not reflect a genuine concern for the promotion of a distinctive Taiwanese identity. More problematic perhaps is the question of what exactly should constitute such an identity. Indeed, this may also become an issue that is relevant to the PRC given President Xi's

insistence that football should play a leading role in realising the 'China Dream'.

Compared with China's prominent achievement of winning most gold medals with 51 (100 medals in total) at the 2008 Olympic Games in Beijing, the outcome of its investment in elite football seemed to have brought shame to the then president of the PRC, Hu Jin-Tao. As a result, after the 2008 Olympics, Hu demanded further actions in order to fulfil China's sports policy goal of going 'from a major sports country to a world sports power'. Moreover, during an official visit to Germany in 2009, Xi Jin-Ping, the then-vice president and now the current president of the PRC, also expressed the country's determination to put considerable effort into China's elite football development. At an official meeting with the president of the Korea Democratic Party in 2011, Xi had highlighted his three World Cup dreams of 'participating in the World Cup', 'hosting the World Cup', and 'being the World Cup champions'. In light of China's leaders' concerns about the future of the country's elite football, the once-neglected 'campus football' has attracted increasing attention in the wider society.

Conclusion

Despite problems associated with the Torch Relay, in general, former President Ma's KMT administration succeeded in forging closer links between Taiwan and the PRC. With the election in May 2016 of Taiwan's first female president conditions have changed. In addition to seeking to disparage President Tsai's leadership ability, the Chinese authorities have already taken steps to control the amount of Chinese money that goes into the Taiwan economy.

The PRC has also been affected in recent years by events in Hong Kong, which have challenged any idea that all Han people can be united around a single political project. Just as Hong Kong looks towards Taiwan, so many Taiwanese people look towards developments in Hong Kong. In addition, China contains 55 ethnic minorities, most of which have no separatist aims. However, problems remain in some parts of the country, most notably among sections of the Uyghur population, which do have secessionist ambitions. Sport has done a lot to unify people in the PRC as well as in Taiwan. To that extent, President Xi's inclusion of sport in his aspirational project makes sense. One wonders, however, if the focus on football could yet present further challenges to the unitary character of the Chinese state as localism, regionalism and, in particular, city loyalties begin to grow stronger as they do in other countries with a much longer attachment to the game.

I shall conclude this chapter with a story that provides further insight into the often difficult relationship between the PRC and Taiwan and demonstrates that it is not only sport participation that has been affected but also the academic study of sport. In 2014, the annual congress of the

International Sociology of Sport Association (ISSA) was held at Peking University in Beijing. A significant number of academics from Taiwan had registered to attend. Not long before the congress was due to take place, the ISSA executive board was alerted to the fact that there was unease on the part of the Chinese hosts that the association's promotional material appeared to indicate that Taiwan is a country. It was suggested that the use of the phrase 'countries and regions', referring to where delegates were from would help. This was unacceptable and equally unacceptable to the Taiwan delegates was a suggestion that the term 'Chinese Taipei', so familiar anyway in the world of sport, could replace 'Taiwan'. In the event, an impasse was reached and the Taiwan delegates decided *en masse* not to attend. It will be interesting to see how things unfold when the 2017 ISSA congress takes place at the National Taiwan Sport University.

It would be easy to represent relations between the PRC and Taiwan in sport and much else as overwhelmingly unequal. Yet, it might also be argued that Taiwan has the potential to forge a more inclusive national consciousness than can be achieved by the PRC other than by force. What is not open to debate, however, is that the relationship between the Two Chinas offers countless insights into the ways in which sport can play an integral part in the politics of national identity.

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